ANTIQUITIES
OF
INDIAN TIBET

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET

In 2 Vols. Bound in One.

Volume-1

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

WITH MAP, 45 PLATES AND 4 TEXT-ILLUSTRATIONS

A. H. FRANCKE

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
DELHI-110052

Distributed By:
D K Publishers Distributors P Ltd.
1, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj,
New Delhi-110002
Phones: 3278368, 3261465
Fax : 3264368
visit us at: www.dkpdindia.com
e-mail: dkpd@del3.vsnl.net.in

First Published 1914
Reprinted in **LPP** 1999

ISBN 81-7536-167-0

Published By:
Low Price Publications
B-2, Vardhaman Palace,
Nimri Commercial Centre,
Ashok Vihar Phase-IV,
Delhi-110052
Phone: 7401672
visit us at: www.lppindia.com
e-mail: lpp@nde.vsnl.net.in

Printed At:
D K Fine Art Press P Ltd.
Delhi-110052

PRINTED IN INDIA

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, NEW IMPERIAL SERIES, VOL. XXXVIII.

Antiquities of Indian Tibet

BY

A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D.,

OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION

PART I

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

WITH MAP, 45 PLATES AND 4 TEXT-ILLUSTRATIONS



Edited under the authority of the Govenment of India

CALCUTTA
SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1914

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

It was on the strong recommendation of Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., Director-General of Archæology in India, that the Government of India applied to the Moravian Mission Board for the loan of the services of Dr. A. H. Francke with a view to his carrying out an archæological survey of the districts which once formed the kingdom of Western Tibet. These mountainous regions, now belonging to the Indian Empire and therefore here indicated as "Indian Tibet," had never been explored by any scholar combining a knowledge of local history and antiquities with a thorough acquaintance of Tibetan. These rare accomplishments Dr. Francke had acquired in the course of his many years' sojourn in Ladakh and Lahul, the fruits whereof had been made known to the learned world through a series of valuable publications, among which was his "History of Western Tibet." Dr. Francke was, therefore, singularly fitted for the proposed task, whilst his previous wanderings in the mountains of "Indian Tibet" had trained him to endure the severe privations and hardships which must always attend a journey through so inhospitable a country. We, therefore, owe a great debt of gratitude to Bishop B. La Trobe and the Moravian Mission Board for placing the services of so excellent an explorer at the disposal of the Government of India.

Starting from Simla on the 14th of June, 1909, he travelled up to Satluj Valley through the hill-state of Rāmpur-Bashahr, and by the Hang Pass (16,000 feet) reached Spiti. He then crossed the Pharang Pass (18,300 feet) and continued his journey through Rubshu along the wild shores of Lake Thsomo Riri. Two more mountain passes, the Phologongkha Pass (16,500 feet) and the Thaglang Pass (17,500 feet), had to be surmounted to enable the explorer to reach Ladakh, the real centre of the ancient realm of Western Tibet. After a brief stay at Leh, the ancient seat of the *rGyal-po* rulers of that country, Dr. Francke travelled westwards, and, after crossing the Photho La (14,000 feet), the Namika Pass (13,400 feet) and the Zoji La (11,300 feet), reached Śrīnagar on the 16th of October.

In the course of his four months' travel—it will be seen—Dr. Francke had to cross seven mountain passes of an average height equal to that of Mont-Blanc. In the valleys, also, the roads in these hill tracts are often of the most primitive description, while the crossing of rivers by rope bridges adds to the perils of the journey. Owing to the nature of the country to be traversed, the explorer had to march on foot most of the way from Simla to Śrīnagar, except where the rarified air compelled him to mount the yak—certainly not the most comfortable means of locomotion.

The journal, however, here published, bears ample evidence that the exceptional difficulties of the road had little effect on the spirits of the explorer, who was animated by the true enthusiasm of the scholar and who, moreover, was compensated in no small measure by the solemn grandeur of that mountain scenery so seldom seen by cultured eyes. The very important additions to our knowledge of the archæology and history of Indian Tibet are the best reward for labours so strenuous and so cheerfully borne.

As Dr. Marshall proceeded to England on leave in April 1910, and I was appointed to officiate during his absence, it fell to me to arrange for the publication of Dr. Francke's materials. No task could have been more welcome to me, since for several years I had found in Dr. Francke a fellow-scholar who had chosen a field of research bordering on that which it had been my good fortune to explore. Personal experience thus enabled me to appreciate the value of Dr. Francke's results as well as the exertions by which they had been attained.

The Government of India readily sanctioned our proposals which provided for the publication of Dr. Francke's results in two parts, one giving the personal narrative of his adventures and researches and the other containing all inscriptions and chronicles collected by him in the course of his tour. It has been our object in the present volume to illustrate Dr. Francke's account as fully as possible by means of the excellent photographs taken by Babu Pindi Lal of the Archæological Survey. The forty-five plates, each containing two photographic views, testify to the excellence of Pindi Lal's work, while Dr. Francke's narrative bears ample evidence that the explorer found in his photographer not only a useful assistant but also a cheerful companion who did his work successfully under very trying conditions. The reproduction of the plates was entrusted to the well-known lithographers, Messrs. W. Griggs & Sons, of Peckham, London.

The map showing Dr. Francke's route, which has been added to the present volume is an extract from Survey sheet No. 835-S. 1905. It has been especially prepared by Mr. H. Hargreaves, Superintendent, Archæological Survey *pro tempore*, who has marked on it several places not found on the original. Dr. Francke's route, as well as the places visited by him in the course of his tour, has been marked in red. The map has been reproduced at the Office of the Survey of India.

J. PH. VOGEL.

CONTENTS.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

In publishing my journal of an archæological tour in Indian Tibet, undertaken on behalf of the Indian Government, I wish in the first place to express my sincere thanks to Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., Director-General of Archæology, who made all necessary arrangements in connection with my deputation—no slight addition to the already heavy burden of his office—and who has followed my journey with the keenest interest. As in the spring of 1910 he went home on long leave, Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, while officiating for him, undertook to arrange for the publication of my materials. His proposals met with the approval of the Government of India in the Education Department, and it was decided that my report should consist of two volumes both fully illustrated : the first containing a personal narrative of my journey and the second dealing with the historical chronicles and inscriptions collected in the course of my tour. It is a matter of no small satisfaction that, thanks to the liberality of the Indian Government, my results will be made available in so excellent a form. Dr. Vogel's thorough revision of the whole text has in many ways greatly added to the value of the publication. To Mr. H. Hargreaves, Acting Superintendent in the Archæological Department, I am indebted for assistance in verifying references and preparing a map to illustrate my itinerary. Here I wish also to record my sincerest thanks to the following ladies and gentlemen who have been good enough to read through my first rough manuscript of the journal :—to Dr. John Hutchison of the Church of Scotland Mission in Chamba ; to Mrs. S. A. Becker-Chapman of Herrnhut ; and to Messrs. J. E. Wilkinson and J. Thom of Simla.

I owe my gratitude also to the Public Works Department for placing their resthouses in the Satluj Valley at my disposal. At Poo and Leh I was the guest of the Moravian Missionaries who did their utmost to assist me in my work. Of the greatest importance was my meeting Mr. G. C. L. Howell of the Indian Civil Service in Spiti, at a time when I was suffering from illness. His hospitality, knowledge of local conditions and ready help were of the greatest possible assistance in furthering my undertaking.

A. H. Francke.

ITINERARY.

I.—The Satluj Valley.

June 14. Simla—Kōṭgur (map Kotgarh).
„ 15—16. Halt Kōṭgur. Doum festival.
„ 17. Kōṭgur—Nirth.
„ 18. Nirth—Nirmaṇḍ.
„ 19(?) Nirmaṇḍ—Rāmpur (Bashahr State).
„ 22. Rāmpur—Gaura.
„ 23. Gaura—Sarāhan.
„ 24. Sarāhan—Taranda.
„ 25. Taranda—Paunda.
„ 26. Paunda—Urni, by Wangtu bridge
„ 27. Halt Urni.
„ 28. Urni—Chini.
„ 29. Chini—Rarang, by Pangi.
„ 30. Rarang—Kanam, by Jangi.
July 1. Kanam—Shasu (rope bridge).
„ 2. Shasu—Poo.
„ 3—5. Halt Poo.
„ 6. Poo—Namgya.
„ 7. Namgya—Shipke.
„ 8. Halt Shipke.
„ 9. Shipke—Namgya.
„ 10. Namgya—Poo.
„ 11—20. Halt Poo.

II.—From the Satluj to the Indus.

July 21. Poo—Tsuling, by Hang Pass; 16,000 feet.
„ 22. Tsuling—Li.
„ 23. Li—Nako.
„ 24. Nako—Chang (Bashahr State).
„ 25. Halt Chang.
„ 26—29. Chang—Tabo (Spiti).
„ 30. Tabo—Phog.
„ 31. Phog—Drangkhar (map Dankar).
August 1. Halt Drangkhar.
„ 2. Drangkhar—Kaze (map Kaja).
„ 3. Kaze—Kyibar (by way of Ki.)
„ 4. Halt Kyibar.
„ 5. Kyibar—Lhanartsa
„ 6. Lhanartsa—Jugda.
„ 7. Jugda—Drathang, by Pharang Pass; 18,300 feet.

August 8. Drathang—Umna.
„ 9. Umna—Nemo-ringmo.
„ 10. Nemo-ringmo—dKor-rdzod (map Karzok), along Lake Thsomo Riri.
„ 11. Halt dKor-rdzod.
„ 12. dKor-rdzod—Lake mThso-kyag.
„ 13. dThso-kyag—Raldrong.
„ 14. Raldrong—Nyoma (map Nima).
„ 15. Halt Nyoma.
„ 16—18. Nyoma—Lake mThso-dkar, by Phologongkha Pass; 16,500 feet.

III.—The Indus Valley.

„ 19. Lake mThso-dkar—rGya (Ladakh), by Thaglang Pass; 17,500 feet.
„ 20. rGya—Martselang, by Meru.
„ 21. Halt Martselang.
„ 22. Martselang—Leh.
„ 22—September 20. Halt Leh.

IV.—From the Indus to the Jehlam.

September 21. Leh—sNyemo (map Snemo).
„ 22. sNyemo—Saspola, by Basgo and Likir.
„ 23. Visit Alchi.
„ 24. Saspola—sGyera.
„ 25. sGyera—Khalatse.
„ 26—29. Halt Khalatse.
„ 30. Khalatse—Lamayuru.
October 1. Lamayuru—Kharbu, by Phothola Pass; 14,000 feet.
„ 2. Visit Chigtan.
„ 4. Kharbu—Mulbe, by Namika Pass; 13,400 feet.
„ 5. Mulbe—Kargil, by Shargola.
„ 6. Kargil—Shimsha-Kharbu, by Dongga.
„ 7. Shimsha-Kharbu—Dras (or Hembabs).
Dras—Sonamarg (Kashmir), by Zoji La; 11,300 feet.
„ 16. Arrival Śrīnagar.

LIST OF PLATES.

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BAILEY, T. G., A brief grammar of the Kanauri language. *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. LXIII, p. 661.

CONWAY, W. M., Climbing and exploration in the Karakorum.

CUNNINGHAM, A., Ladak physical, statistical, and historical. London, 1854.

DAS, SARAT CHANDRA, Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow. Calcutta, 1893.

„ , dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang, Tibetan Text and Glossary. Calcutta, 1908.

„ , 'aDzam-gling-ye-shes, English translation. *J. A. S. B.*, 1887.

„ , Journey to Lhasa.

„ , Various historical articles, in *J. A. S. B.*, 1882-1910.

DIACK, A. H., Gazetteer of the Kangra District, Parts II to IV, Kulu, Lahoul and Spiti. Lahore, 1889-1897.

„ , The Kulu dialect of Hindi. Some notes on its grammatical structure, etc. Lahore, 1896.

DUKA, Life of Csoma de Körös.

DUNCAN, JANE E., A summer ride through Western Tibet. London, 1906.

DREW, F., The Jummoo and Kashmir territories, A geographical account. London, 1875.

ELIAS, N. and ROSS, E. DENISON, The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlát. A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia. London, 1895.

FLEET, J. F., Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. III. Inscriptions of the early Gupta kings and their successors. Calcutta, 1888.

FERGUSSON, JAMES, History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.

FORBES, G., Simla to Shipke in Tibet. Simla.

FRANCKE, A. H., A history of Western Tibet. London, 1907.

„ , Historische und mythologische Erinnerungen der Lahouler. Kyelang 1907.

„ , Musikalische Studien in West Tibet. *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. LIX.

„ , Historische Dokumente von Khalatse. *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. LXI, pp. 583 ff.

„ , The kingdom of gNya-khri-btsan-po, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. VI, pp. 93 ff.

„ , The eighteen songs of the Bononā festival. Dard text, translation, vocabulary. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIV, pp 93 ff.

„ , Archæological notes on sBa-lu-mkhar. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIV, pp. 203 ff.

„ , Archæology in West Tibet. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 237 ff, vol. XXXVI, pp. 85, 148 ff.

„ , First and second collection of Tibetan historical inscriptions. Leh, 1906 and 1907.

„ , Tibetan inscription in front of the Ta-chao-ssu Temple at Lhasa. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. X, pp. 89 ff.

„ A Lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga, *Bibliotheca Indica*, N. S., Nos. 1134, 1150, 1164, 1218.

„ , The rock-inscriptions at Mulbe. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXV, pp. 72 ff.

„ , and PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI. References to the Bhoṭas in the Rājataraṅgini of Kashmir. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXVII, p. 181.

GERARD, A., A vocabulary of the Kunawar language. *J. A. S. B.*, vol. XI, part II, pp. 479 ff.

„ , Account of Koonawar. Ed. by G. Lloyd, London, 1841.

GRIERSON, G. A., Linguistic Survey of India, vol. III, part I. Calcutta. 1909.

GRÜNWEDEL, A., Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei. Leipzig, 1900.

HARCOURT, A T. P., Himalayan districts of Kooloo, Lahoul, and Spiti. London, 1871.

HEDIN, SVEN, Transhimalaya. Leipzig, 1909.

HIUEN-TSIANG., Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated by S. Beal. London, 1884.

HOFFMEISTER, W., Briefe aus Indien. Braunschweig, 1847.

HUTCHISON, J., Chamba State Gazetteer. Lahore, 1910.

IBBETSON, D. C. I., Gazetteer of the Kangra District, vol. II, Kulu, Lahul, and Spiti. Lahore, 1897, 1899.

JÄSCHKE, H. A., Tibetan-English dictionary. London. 1881.

KONOW, STEN, On some facts connected with the Tibeto-Burman dialect, spoken in Kanawar, *Z. D. M. G.*, vol. LIX, pp. 117 ff.

LAWRENCE, W. R., The Valley of Kashmir. London, 1895.

MARX, K., Three documents relating to the history of Ladakh. *J. A. S. B.*, part I., vol. LX, pp. 97 ff; vol. LXIII, pp. 94 ff; vol. LXIX, pp. 21 ff.

MEEBOLD, A., Indien. München, 1908.

MOORCROFT, W., and TREBECK G. Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, etc., Edited by H. H. Wilson. London, 1841.

PUINI, C, Il Tibet, secondo la relazione del viaggio del P. I. Desideri. *Società Geografica Italiana*, vol. X. Roma. 1904.

SCHLAGINTWEIT. E. VON., Könige v. Tibet, *Abhandlungen der K. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. X.

" , Tibetan Buddhism.

VIGNE, G. T., Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo, etc., Second edition. London, 1842.

VOGEL, J. Ph., Triloknāth. *J. A. S. B.*, vol. LXX, pp. 35 ff.

" , The Rāṇas of the Panjab Hills. *J. R. A. S.*, 1908.

" , Antiquities of Chamba State. Calcutta, 1911.

WADDELL, L. A., Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa. *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, 1910.

WALDEMAR, PRINZ., Reise des Prinzen Waldemar von Preussen. Berlin, 1853

ABBREVIATIONS.

A. S. R. **Archæological Survey Report.**

Ep. Ind. **Epigraphia Indica.**

Ind. Ant. **Indian Antiquary.**

J. A. S. B. **Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal.**

J. R. A. S. **Journal Royal Asiatic Society.**

Z. D. M. G. **Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.**

INTRODUCTION.

Towards the end of April 1909, I received a telegram from the Indian Government asking me to enter their archæological service for a period of eighteen months, from the 1st June of that year. I arrived in Simla on the 30th May and from the 1st to the 14th June, Dr. J. H. Marshall, C.I.E., Director-General of Archæology, sacrificed a great deal of his time in drawing up a plan for my journey and discussing with me various matters connected therewith. Thanks to his energy, all preparations were finished on the 12th June, and on Monday the 14th June, our caravan started for the frontier districts.

As regards our plans, it was determined to cover as much ground as possible and to spend a considerable portion of the summer months within the limits of the Jammu and Kashmīr State. For within its territory are known to exist several interesting relics of Tibetan antiquity which have not yet been properly examined. Putting aside the ordinary routes, the Kashmīr State can be entered from two parts of Indian Tibet, from Lahul and from Spiti. As Lahul had already been investigated by Dr. Vogel,[1] the course to be taken by me was to enter the Kashmīr State from the Spiti side. Spiti was one of the countries of Indian Tibet which I had not yet seen. As the road to Spiti took me high up in the Satluj valley, I proposed to pay a short visit to Tholing and Tsaparang beyond the frontier. These places interested me particularly on account of their connection with Atīśa and d'Andrada. This proposal was, however, not sanctioned by the Supreme Government, and I was advised to remain within the Indian Frontier.

Our party was to consist of a Government Photographer, Babu Pindi Lal of the Archæological Survey, who also knew how to take impressions of inscriptions, and a Khalasi who had to be engaged in the interior. In addition to these there were two men whom I engaged privately, a bearer and cook in one person, and a Tibetan who assisted me in the reading and copying of inscriptions and documents. Dr. Marshall was very fortunate in his choice of the photographer; for in the case of an expedition like ours, an ordinary proficiency in photography would not have sufficed; what was wanted was a man ready to endure hardship, and one who was prepared to carry on his work under adverse circumstances. Pindi Lal has amply justified Dr. Marshall in his choice.

[1] *Cf.* his *Trilōknāth*, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXX (1902), Part I, pp. 35 ff.

CHAPTER I.

The Satluj Valley.

We left Simla on the 14th June and reached Kōṭgur (map Kotgarh) on the 16th at noon. At Kōṭgur I enjoyed the hospitality of the C. M. S. missionary, the Rev. Mr. Beutel, who is an authority on the language, customs and geography of his district. On the rocks near Kōṭgur are found carvings in the shape of a *Yōnī*. This is Mr. Beutel's explanation at least, and it agrees exactly with the interpretation I have given of many similar carvings found all over Kuḷū and Lahul. This symbol is found even in Ladakh, but it is rarer there. I am convinced that this symbol is intended to remind the worshipper of deities of the Kālī type, as we find them all over the hills, under various names. These goddesses, together with gods of the Śiva type, represent the creative principle which is the main feature in the religion of all the Western Himalayan tribes.

During our short stay at Kōṭgur, Pindi Lal witnessed the Doum festival which is celebrated annually. The Doum is a tablet with silver and gold masks fixed to it. As Mr. Beutel told me, such masks are dedicated to the temple by the ruling chiefs of Kōtgur and neighbourhood, on the occasion of deaths in their families. But whether these masks are supposed to be portraits of the deceased persons or not, I have not been able to ascertain. We find the same custom all over Kuḷū,[1] and also at Trilōknāth in Chambā-Lahul. The spirit (of the deceased ?) is supposed to enter a man set apart for this cult, who performs a sword-dance and thrusts needles through his cheeks. When he is in a trance, he is asked questions and acts as an oracle. Pindi Lal placed his apparatus carefully in front of the mask board and was on the point of snapping, when he was suddenly assailed by the priests, who said that they could not allow him to photograph these objects of sanctity. Pindi Lal, snapping off his apparatus, calmly said: "Well, if you will not allow me to take a photo, I can do without it," and carried his treasure home (Plate I, a).

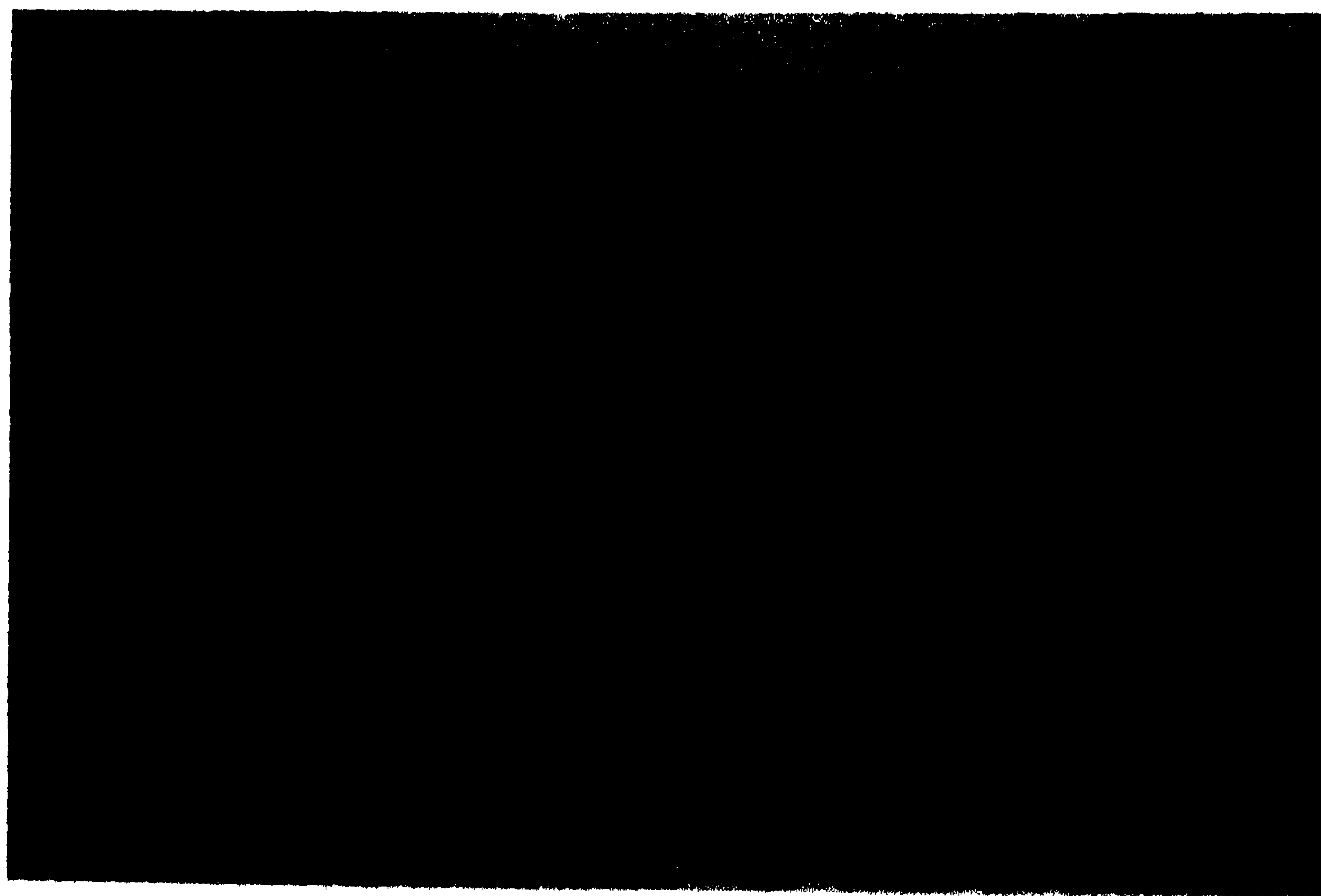
That there is a possible connection between these masks and those used for the devil-dances of Ladakh and Tibet, is made apparent by the following passage by Dr. Vogel,[2] who speaks of two miniature *śikhara* temples at Trilōknāth in which a number of wooden masks are preserved. "At the death of a member of the Rāṇā's family, such a mask is prepared and placed in the temple, whence it is on no account to be removed. An exception is made for three masks which are used at the *Chār* or Spring festival, and are said to represent a man, a woman and a demon, called in the local dialect *gāmi*, *mēzmi* and *kulīnza*. The main substance of the *Chār* festival is a performance symbolizing the advent of Spring and the defeat of Winter. The latter, personified as an evil demon, is represented by the bearer of the *kulīnza* mask, who is

---

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1907-8, pp. 270 ff., plates LXXIV and LXXV.
[2] *Chamba Gazetteer*, p. 41.



a. Gold and silver masks. Doum festival at Kotgur.



b. Sculpture near the Kothi, Nirmand.

chased by the joint villagers and pelted with snow-balls till he retires from the village and drops his mask, after which he joins in a dance with the *gāmi* and *mēzmi* mask-bearers."

Most of the devil dances of Indian Tibet are held during the time of the winter solstice, and in my opinion originally symbolised the struggle between the benevolent gods of spring or summer, and the demons of winter. Lamaism later on converted these performances into a struggle between the elevating elements of Buddhism and its fierce enemies representative of the pre-Buddhist religion.[1]

The greatest enemy of Lamaism, Langdarma, had to take the part originally played by the winter, and it is his tragic end and his torments in hell which are now-a-days celebrated in the mask dances. Side by side with the Lamaist mask dances the ancient ceremonies of chasing out the evil spirits of the winter were continued, and a manuscript describing the festival of the winter solstice at Khalatse and a photo of the interesting Dosmoche performance, at Leh, is among our collections. At the monastery of Nako, we even acquired a very ancient wooden mask which had once done service in the mask dances. This mask was found in a godown and sold to us for one rupee. At Leh we had an opportunity to buy implements and a trumpet made of a human thighbone, used on the occasion of devil dances. (Plate XXIX, b).

As I had the intention of spending Sunday the 20th at Kōtgur, on my return from Nirmaṇḍ, Mr. Beutel advised me to leave Kōtgur on the same day and to cross the rope bridge to Nirmaṇḍ early next morning. The caravan under Pindi Lal was to follow later on. I arrived on the Satluj late at night on the 16th and spent the night in Mr. Beutel's garden house. Early on the 17th I marched with my Khansaman to Nirth and beyond this village to the rope bridge. In the vicinity of Nirth, we searched for the cave inscriptions discovered by Dr. Marshall in 1908, but could not find them. The rope bridge did not look at all inviting, but I thought that I ought to try it, in particular, because we should have to cross several more of them in the course of our journey. So we shouted for the people in the next village who work it. They brought a wooden saddle to which were attached several ropes and led us down the *khud* to the starting place, a rock not much over a yard square, 30 or 40 feet above the river. Before and behind, the rock was perpendicular. From this pedestal one was expected to seize the saddle which dangled above one, and to put his legs through two slings of rope which were attached thereto. While seizing the saddle I jumped up in the direction of the slings, but unfortunately knocked off my hat against the wall of rock behind me. It disappeared at once in the river and was not seen again. I knew that it would not be advisable to continue my journey under a tropical sun without a hat. Therefore, I renounced all further gymnastics on that day and went back to Nirth to write to Mr. Beutel that I had not succeeded in reaching Nirmaṇḍ on the fixed day and had to alter my programme. Early next morning a messenger from Mr. Beutel made his appearance with the latter's *sola topi* and a letter urging me to try again. I must

[1] Luther, in a similar manner, changed the song: Nun treiben wir den Winter aus! into a song celebrating the turning out of the Pope: Nun treiben wir den Pabst hinaus

confess that I felt ashamed that I a young man, should not venture to do what old Mr. Beutel had done so often. The Khansaman and myself, therefore, made a fresh effort, got safely into the sling and across the river and reached Nirmaṇḍ on the same evening, after a long and trying climb.

Pindi Lal marched with the caravan to Rāmpur, but kept himself in readiness to come to Nirmaṇḍ with his apparatus, as soon as he should be wanted. Nirmaṇḍ, the Kāśi of the mountains, as it is called, was perfectly inaccessible in the days of the brothers Gerard (1817) who wished to see it, but were not allowed to enter it. Later on, it was opened to visitors, and Capt. Harcourt (1871) witnessed here the curious ceremony of the swinging rope. A young man is fed at the public expense for a year, during which time he has to plait a rope of considerable length. On the day of the *Mela*, this rope is stretched from the top of a precipice and he has to slide down on it. This custom which is also practised at Lhasa and at Śrīnagar of Gaṛhwāl is, as Dr. Vogel says, probably a survival of human sacrifice, the prevalence of which in former times in these districts is indicated by popular tradition.[1] "But in this peculiar case the victim, instead of being actually killed, had to undergo a risk which endangered his life. An offering was thus made to the deity who might decline or accept the sacrifice according to her divine pleasure. In 1856 the man was killed, and since then the practice has been prohibited."

At Kōṭgur, the tree under which the human sacrifices took place is still shown. Until quite recently several iron links, the last remains of chains, could be seen there. Regarding the abolition of human sacrifices, at Kōṭgur, Mr. Beutel told me the following tale: A young virgin had to be sacrificed every year. Once it was a poor widow's turn to offer up her only daughter. The widow cried and asked the oracle below Hatti if there was not a way out of her difficulty. The oracle answered that on the day of the execution there would be a thunderstorm of unusual force, and the rain would carry off even men, and this would be the end of human sacrifices. When on the day of execution the heavy storm actually broke forth, the frightened Brahmans declared that the divinity was angry and did not wish to accept any more human sacrifices.

The story of the Rākshasa Bamburaha at Kōṭgur, also told by Mr. Beutel, is not very different. This Rākshasa devoured the breasts of women, and from time to time he demanded a woman to eat up altogether. He was blinded by the bird Karaita who thrust pollen of the cedar into his eyes. Then he was killed by armed men. This had also been announced by the Hatti oracle.

Although Nirmaṇḍ is nowadays open to visitors, the inhabitants do their best to make a stay there as unpleasant to the stranger as possible. The town, being a holy place, is inhabited chiefly by Brahmans, who dress in white. Besides them, there are only two other castes represented, the Sōnārs or goldsmiths, and the Kōlīs or peasants (aboriginal population). Wherever one goes, one finds Brahmans on both sides who

[1] *J. A. S. B*, Vol. LXX, Part 1, No. 1, 1902, p. 35.

suddenly stop one and demand a turn to the right or left, or even prohibit one's further advance. In spite of all its sanctity, Nirmaṇḍ is poor in inscriptions and other written records. People showed me the copper plate grant of the 7th century by king Samudra-sēna which has been published by Dr. Fleet,[1] and a very obliterated inscription on a rock in front of the *Dharmaśālā*. We took an impression, but were not quite successful. The script seems to be a late type of Śāradā. As the names of Samudra-sēna's father, grandfather and great-grandfather, which occur on the copper plate, have not yet been discovered in the Bansaulīs of Kuḷū or Bashahr, I hoped to find them among the ancestors of the present Ṭhākur of Nirmaṇḍ. This man, however, did not possess a family record of any kind.

Proof of the great age of Nirmaṇḍ is the fact that all the principal temples are of the hill type. They are built of layers of rubble masonry, alternating with beams of cedar wood. The roofs are sloping and slightly concave on either side of the central beam and laid with slates or wooden shingles. None of these buildings seem to be of a very great age. But, as they were always repaired in the same style, the temples of Nirmaṇḍ of two or three thousand years ago probably did not look different from these extant.

This refers only to the chief temples. By the side of most of them, we find numerous stone temples of the *śikhara* type. (Plate III). They are, however, never in prominent positions. This style of architecture has been fully described by Fergusson.[2] It was introduced into Nirmaṇḍ probably between the 7th and 11th century and many specimens may go back to those times, although there are no written records The many tablets with religious sculptures which are scattered all over the place in great numbers, may also date from those times. It appears that the original cult of Nirmaṇḍ was entirely Śivaist. Most of the temples are dedicated to Siva or Kālī, or to deities of a similar type. Perhaps about the same time when Vishnuism became powerful in Chambā (tenth or eleventh century), this form of worship was also introduced in Nirmaṇḍ, without, however, doing much harm to Śivaism.

Originally the town consisted, it is said, of five main streets with a great temple in each of them. Cholera and small-pox have decimated the population, and the town has become very much reduced in size. Its situation is sublime, on a high practically level plateau with a magnificent view of apparently endless mountain ridges.

I made the following notes on the principal buildings. The Ambikā temple (Plate II, a) is below the village, and a flight of 184 steps leads up towards it, and continues from the back of the temple towards the village. This temple is said to be the oldest in the place, and Ambikā (probably a form of Kālī) is the chief deity of Nirmaṇḍ. According to Pindi Lal, the Dēvī image is in a standing posture and about two feet high. Her face is black, and her clothes covered with gold. Whoever approaches her (only Brahmans are allowed to do so) has to take off his trousers. In this temple is kept the copper-plate grant of King Samudra-sēna of the 7th century mentioned above

[1] *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 286.

[2] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 322.

In front of Ambikā's temple there is an ancient stone figure buried in the ground up to the shoulders.

The Kōṭhī is a large building of the hill type, with stags' and antelopes' horns fixed over the door. Old sculptures are inserted in the walls, for instance, a head on a stand adored by two kneeling figures (Plate I, b). This may have been suggested by the well-known Buddhist sculptures of relics with two worshippers. The head is probably that of Śiva, as we find it on so many temples at Nirmaṇḍ, carved above the entrance. On the right corner of the house, there is a very rude figure of Hanumān riding on a rather diminutive horse. Inside, there are stone figures of Kālī, and a bronze figure of Paraśurāma. The latter is exhibited only every twelfth year when two naked men have to carry it out of its prison. When the image is brought back to the temple, a glass, filled with water, is placed in front of it. This is not removed until twelve years have elapsed, and the water is found as fresh as it was originally. In front of the Kōṭhī is a large round stone seat with sculptures on its circumference, for instance, *makaras* swallowing men (?). An apparently modern cave is in the vicinity.

The *Dharmaśālā* we were not allowed to enter. It is a court formed by houses of the ordinary hill type situated in the middle of the village. On a rock in front there is an inscription in a late type of Śāradā characters much obliterated.

The temple of Chaṇḍī Dēvī is close to the wells from which the people fetch their drinking water. There are several small water tanks of dressed stones below it, and a great number of sculptured slabs are inserted in the masonry of the tank (Plate II, b). Stone figures of Nandi are also conspicuous. One of the sculptures, a head with three faces, is said to look like Paraśurāma in the Kōṭhī.

The temple of Śiva situated above the village, is said to contain a *liṅgam*. Over the door is a sculptured head and a figure of Gaṇēśa. In front of it, there are water tanks with stone reliefs and a figure of Nandi.

The temple of Śiva and the Pāṇḍavas is situated in the middle of the village. It was shown only to Pindi Lal who says that it contains many images in little niches.

The Ṭhākur's temple found in the middle of the village is small and neat, but in bad preservation. The interior was shown to Pindi Lal only, in whose opinion the image was the finest sculpture in the place. Unfortunately he could not photograph it. It represents a man and a woman seated, and another woman lying on the ground. There is an elaborate halo round the three figures.

The doors of all the houses of the goldsmiths are distinguished by well-carved door-posts of stone with the figure of Gaṇēśa in the centre.

In conclusion I may say that we did not find any traces of Buddhism at Nirmaṇḍ.

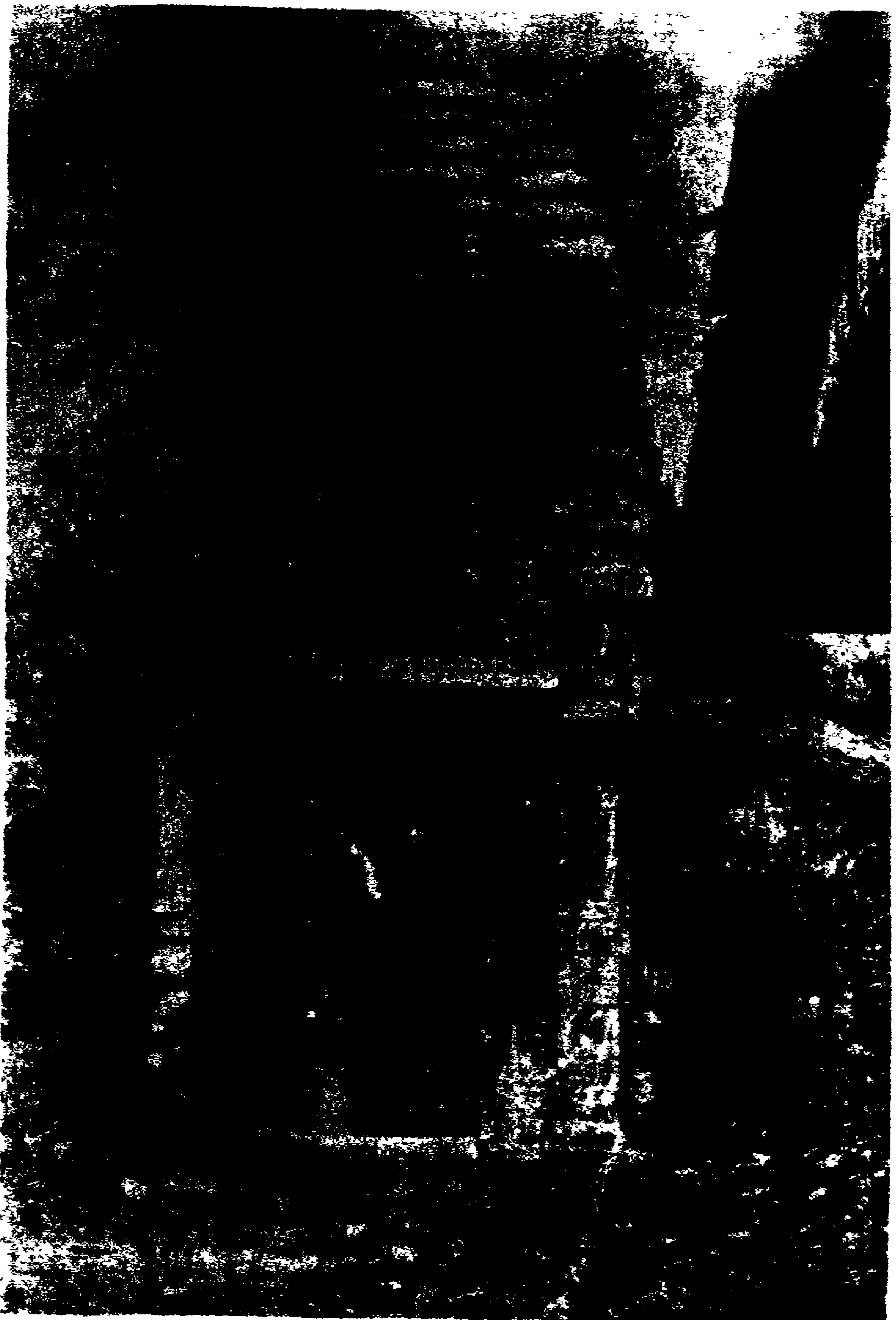
From Nirmaṇḍ we marched to Rāmpur, the capital of the Bashahr State, beautifully situated on the left bank of the Satluj. The descent was steep, but the road well shaded by luxuriant vegetation. The Hindu temples of the city with their very primitive, though not ancient, sculptures did not appear of any interest. Rāmpur is the first place on the road up the Satluj valley where Lamaist buildings may be seen. The



a. Temple of the goddess Ambika, Nirmand.



b. Sculptures at the watertank, Nirmand.



a. Sikhara shrine near the temple of Chandi Devi, Nirmand.



b. Sikhara shrine near watertank, Nirmand.

Lamaist temple is a recent structure and is said to be only twelve or thirteen years old. Its style is not different from that of the ordinary dwelling-houses of Rāmpur: this temple, therefore, differs from the common Tibetan temples, especially on account of its sloping roof. It contains modern frescoes and a huge prayer wheel.

In one of the Rājā's garden-houses, we found more Lamaist frescoes. One of them interested me in particular, for it evidently represents a historical scene. (Plate IV, a). When we met His Highness Shamsher Singh, a few days later, he told us that the picture was a copy of a picture in the palace of Lhasa. The fresco evidently represents the treaty between Tibet and Bashahr concluded about 1650 A.D., when Bashahr was supported by the Mughal emperor. The figure in the middle of the picture is apparently the Mughal emperor, surrounded by his soldiers. The elephant procession which approaches from the left is either the retinue of the Mughal, or of the Bashahr king, Kēharī Singh.[1] A party of Bashahr people, distinguished by their black round hats, are placed in front of the Mughal, while the embassy from Tibet is shown on the right side of the painting. This treaty, which is mentioned in the chronicles of Bashahr, was of great importance to the State. The Tibetans who had been beaten by the Mughal army at Basgo, near Leh, had to cede a portion of Guge, *viz.*, the Satluj valley down to the Wangtu bridge, to the Bashahr State. We had the good fortune, in the course of our expedition, to discover two versions of this treaty, concluded in 1650, in original documents.

At Rāmpur we inspected also the royal palaces, gardens and guest-houses, but nothing appeared to be of particular interest. Unfortunately the Rājā and his party were not present. Here we engaged a Khalasi called Sādhu, to accompany us on our further travels. Although this man had hardly seen any place beyond Rāmpur, he proved useful and was always ready to work even under difficulties.

The road up the Satluj valley, from Rāmpur to Chini, is on the whole very pleasant. The mountains are wooded in many parts, and the rocks and hills which rise abruptly from the narrow valley form charming pictures. The road continually ascends and descends, and for this reason the traveller passes through ever-varying temperatures. Often we started from a bungalow five or six thousand feet above the Satluj in a cool morning breeze. Then the road took us down almost to the valley with its blazing heat, and it was rather hard to begin the ascent again under the scorching rays of a tropical midday sun.

We arrived at Gaura, a little village above Rāmpur on the 22nd June. The people were holding their "Festival of prayers for a good harvest," and for that reason we could not sleep much. They sang without a break through the whole of the night. It would have been very pleasant to listen to them in the day-time, but before the sun was up they had all disappeared. They had always two choirs, one for the line with the lower notes, the other for the line with the higher notes. I took down one of their tunes which is based on the Chinese scale. Others of their tunes were based on different scales. Each

[1] For genealogical list of Bashahr Rājās see beneath Appendix D.

party held out the last note of their melody for a time, whilst the other party started theirs.[1]

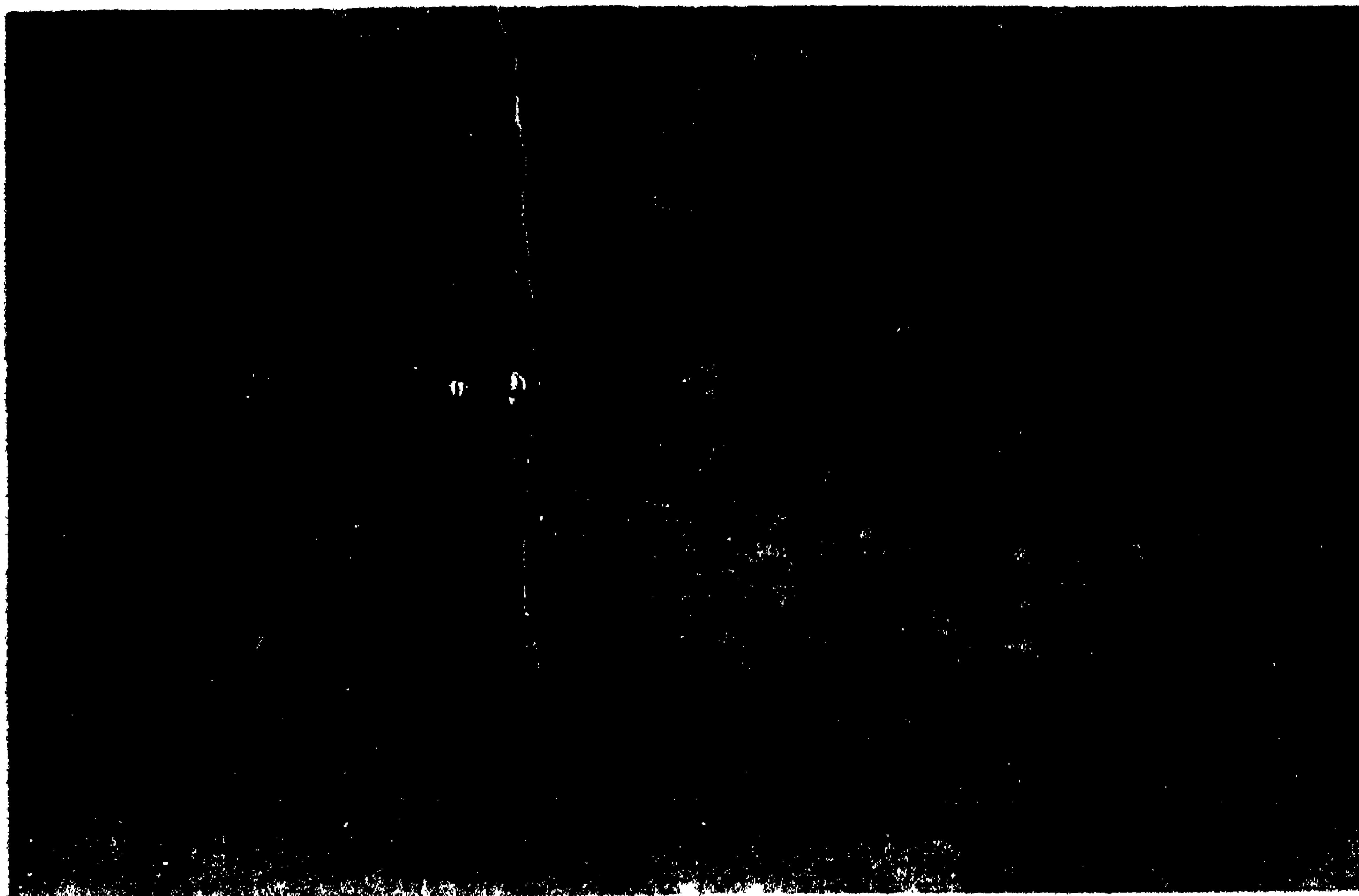
On the following day we reached Sarāhan. It is the ancient capital of the Bashahr State, and the palace here is by far superior to that at Rāmpur. Here we found the Rājā residing. Shamsher Singh, a man of seventy years of age, is the last of a long line of a hundred and twenty Rājās, enumerated in the *Rajowari* of Bashahr, which was first brought to light through Mr. H. A. Rose's exertions. The dynasty claims to have come from Kāñchanapurī (*i.e.*, Conjeevaram) in the Deccan, and to be of Brahman caste Once the throne of Bashahr being vacant, it was prophesied that the Brahman who should enter the palace-gate first, was the destined king. The younger one of two Brahman brothers, Pradyumna, who came from Kāñchanapurī, entered the palace-gate first, and was accordingly made king. The descendants of the elder brother became family priests and are said to be still in office. It is very difficult to believe that the pedigree with its 120 members can be genuine in its more ancient parts. All the Rājās are called by the dynastical name *Singh* (Sanskrit *Siṁha*), but there is no instance of any ancient Indian family which makes use of that name earlier than the 15th century. The family of the Bashahr Rājās, as Mr. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kuḷu, tells me, is recognised all over northern India as very ancient and the other rājās are desirous of receiving their caste-mark from the Bashahr Rājā, even if the latter condescends only to put it on their foreheads with his toe.

Shamsher Singh is very favourably inclined to Europeans and wishes to make friends with all of them. Shortly after our arrival, therefore, he announced his intention to have tea with me. He was carried in a litter by several of his subjects, and a small crowd was gathered together near the bungalow to receive him with shouts, "Ho! Mahārāj." His state is of considerable extent, but thinly populated, and has a future before it. The Rājā asked us first to take a photo of himself, and then to go to the other side of his palace and take a general view of it from there. (Plates IV, b and V, a). The palace presented itself at its best from the mountain side, where it showed all its symmetrical beauty. It is one of the finest specimens of hill architecture I have ever seen. Although there are no written records about it, it is evidently of considerable age. The Rājās ought to be urged to keep it in good repair, but not to make any structural alterations. Like all buildings of the hill-type it is built of layers of rubble masonry and beams of cedar wood. The roofs are slanting and slightly concave like those of the Chinese. In the walls of the court, several carved stone images of very rude execution have been inserted. I was told that they represent Kālī and Bhairava.

There is also an ancient Kālī temple connected with the palace which is not accessible to Europeans. It is said to contain a deep pit. There are rumours that human sacrifices were offered here every tenth year, and that they are still continued secretly.[2] The victim is thrown into the pit. If a human sacrifice be not forthcoming at the

[1] A description of this style of music is found in my article, "*Musikalische Studien in West Tibet*, *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. LX, pp 91 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Gerard, *Account of Koonawar*, p. 86.



a. Fresco in the palace, Rampur.



b. Raja Shamsher Singh of Bashahr.

appointed time, a terrible voice is heard calling from the depth of the pit. We received a full written statement about these practices from a native of the place.

We travelled from Sarāhan to Taranda on the 24th June. In the pass above the village and bungalow, there is an ancient deserted Dēvatā temple of the ordinary hill type with slanting but straight roof, in ruins It contained two beautifully carved columns and other wood sculptures. In front of it, there are several stone slabs with rude carvings of human figures. They look exactly like the slabs put up in commemoration of the dead in Manchad (Lahul) or like very ancient *Sati*-stones in Kuḷū. I was informed that here also, they were erected in commemoration of the dead.

We proceeded to Paunda on the 25th June. Below the village, on the road to Taranda, we saw the first Tibetan *maṇi* wall. *i.e.* a stone wall covered with inscribed slabs of stone, bearing the inscription *Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ*. The characters employed here were mostly Lañthsa. Near the wall was a gate with modern Lamaist frescoes on the ceiling and a prayer flag on the top. These signs of Lamaism do not, however, indicate that the population of this district are believers in Lamaism. In fact, in spite of many inquiries, I could not ascertain that there were any Buddhists round about. I believe that these Buddhist structures were erected by Tibetan travellers on their way to the Rāmpur market.

On the 26th June, we marched from Paunda to Urni. Between Paunda and Nachar is the village of Sungra, a little below the road. It is famous for its ancient wooden Mahēśura (Mahēśvara) temple (Plate VI, a). It is a fine specimen of hill architecture, and reminds one of the famous temple of Hiḍimbā at Manālī in Kuḷū which was built by King Bahādur Siṅgh in the 16th century.[1] While the temples of Nirmaṇḍ have the shape of an ordinary rectangular house with a single gable roof, the temple at Sungra has a square ground-plan and three slanting roofs, one above the other, the lower one being the largest, and the top one the smallest of the three. While the two lower ones are square, the top one is round, of the shape of a funnel. The four corner beams of the lowest roof end in wooden figures of walking lions, almost life-size (Plate VI, b). The temple contains a *liṅgam*. There are no inscriptions round about. In the temple yard we saw two very rude specimens of *śikhara* stone temples.

On the road from Sungra to Nachar we noticed the first Lamaist *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*). It was only about 6 feet high, and contained some dried apricots and a leaf or two of a modern Tibetan printed book with a text half Tibetan, half Sanskrit.

The temple of Nachar has also a certain fame on account of its wood carvings. We did not, however, visit it.

From Nachar the road took us down to the Satluj by a long descent, and at Wangtu we crossed the river by a beautiful modern bridge. There was already a wooden bridge in this place when Gerard travelled here in 1817.[2] This bridge is an important

---

[1] *Cf. A. S. R.*1905-06, p. 26. There are three temples of this kind in Kuḷū; that of Hiḍimbā (or Hiṛmā) *Dēvī* at Dhungrī Manālī, near that of Tripura-sundarī Dēvī at Nagar, the ancient capital, and that of Tiryug Nārāyaṇa at Dhār opposite Bajaurā.

[2] It was destroyed by the Gurkhas in 1819 and replaced by a rope bridge.

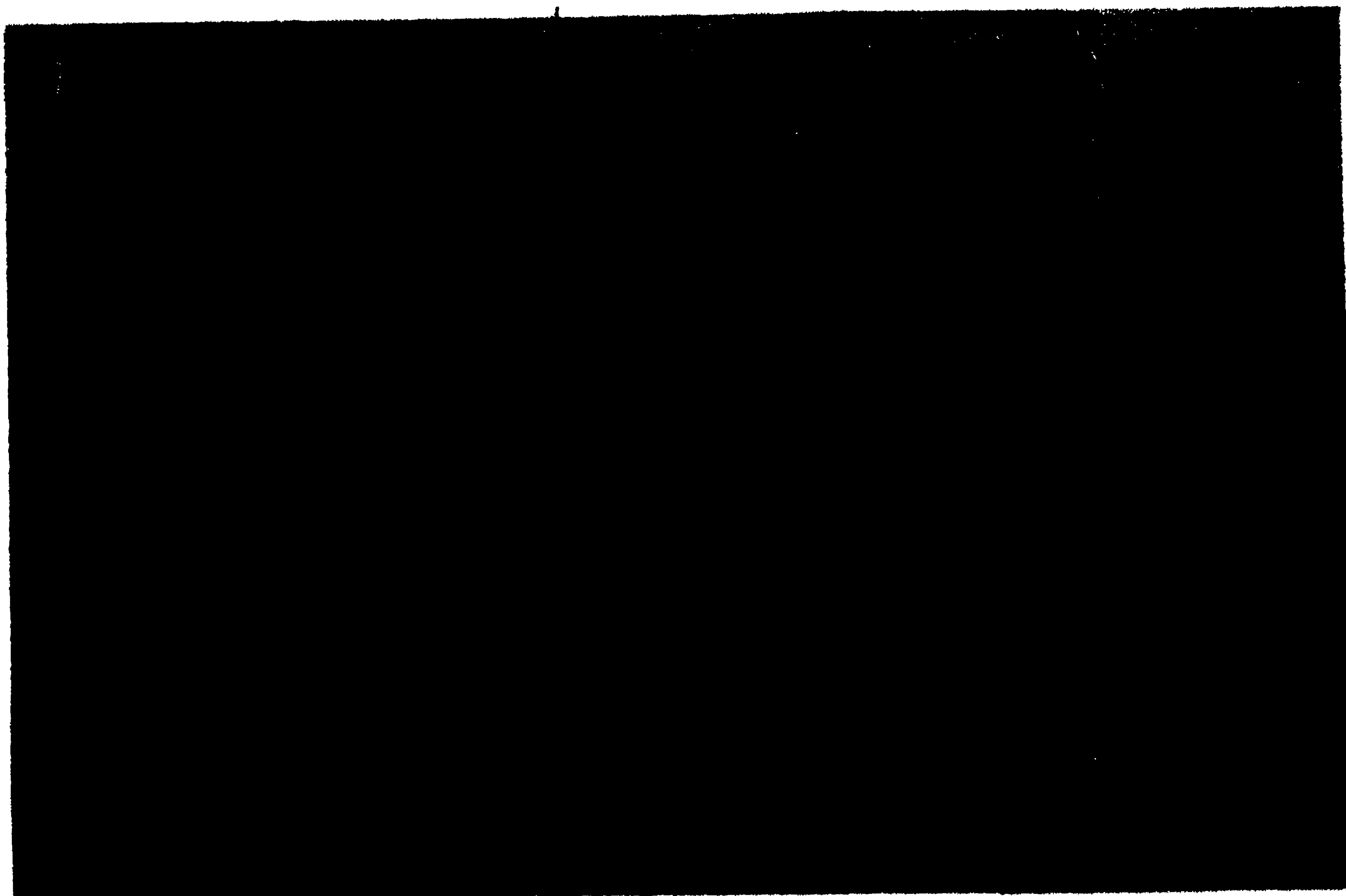
feature in the Bashahr State; for it marks the ancient boundary between Bashahr and Tibet. In fact, the West Tibetan Empire reached as far as Wangtu up to 1650 A. D., when the Satluj valley from Wangtu to Namgya was made over to Bashahr. Although Tibetan is not yet spoken for several marches up the Satluj, the former Tibetan influence makes itself felt in the frequency of personal Tibetan names. We could not escape making this observation, because we had to jot down on our vouchers the names of all the coolies in our employ.

We are now outside the area of the Pahāṛī dialects of the Satluj valley and have entered that of the Kanāwarī language. This language was noticed as early as 1817 by Gerard, who published a vocabulary of it.[1] Mr. Diack made a beginning in the study of its grammar; but the true nature of this language was not recognised, until the Rev. J. Bruske, of the Moravian Mission, began to study the language thoroughly and made a translation of the gospel of St. Mark into it. It was then recognised, as pointed out by Dr. Sten Konow,[2] that the grammar of this language shows close affinities to Muṇḍārī (spoken in Chota Nagpur), and that in very early times in these mountain valleys an amalgamation must have taken place between Muṇḍā aboriginal tribes and Tibetans. Within the fifty miles of road between Chini and Poo, one meets with several more languages of probably a similar type which have not yet been properly studied, although notes on them can be found in various books of travel. The study of the folk-lore literature of the Kanāwarī language has been taken up by Mr. H. A. Rose, who is also compiling a dictionary of this language. Mr. Rose's collection contains historical as well as lyrical pieces. With regard to the former it is strange to note that they all refer to very modern times only. In the course of our journey we heard a song about the Kyahar castle, but it also contained the name of a very modern personage, that of the Ṭīkā Sāhib of Bashahr, who died a few years ago. One of the most interesting of Mr. Bruske's collection is the song on Mr. Minniken, forest officer of Bashahr. This officer is praised in this song as the ideal master of the woods who gives the petitioner as much wood as he wants to get. As regards metre and parallelism, these songs are of the same character as the Tibetan songs.

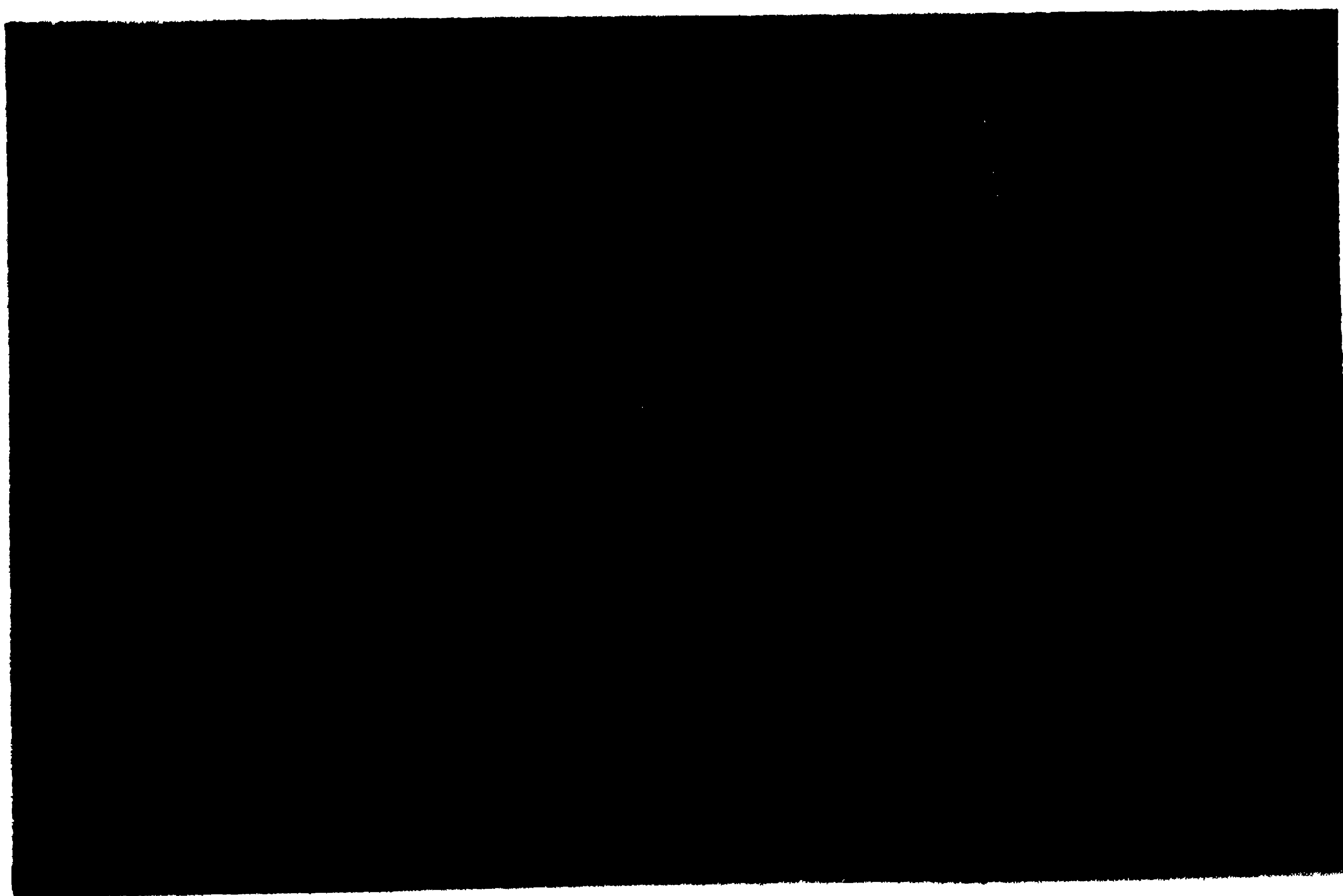
The result of the blending of the Muṇḍā and Tibetan population with a superficial sprinkling of Indian Aryans is not at all bad, and many of our coolie women were of very attractive appearance. I must add a few words with regard to the latter. Among the population of these mountain valleys the cooly caste is not very numerous, and for this reason the villagers, also those of good caste, have to take up cooly work. This kind of forced labour is felt as humiliating by most of the people, and for this reason the male population will not participate in it. They press it on the women of their families, and do not see that they disgrace themselves even more by this arrangement. Our transport therefore was for the greater part of our journey to Poo the work of women carriers. This has its great advantages, as has been observed also by other travellers, for these women are pleasant to deal with, they never grumble, and do their utmost to please the

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI, part I, 1842, pp. 479, ff. *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. III, part I.
[2] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition. Oxford 1907. Vol. I, pp. 396 ff.

PLATE V.



a. Raja's palace, Sarahan.



b. Lamaist gateway, Rarang.

sahib. It is also true that many among them are quite athletic and carry heavy loads over great distances. What I disliked, however, was the injustice done to the female population of a little village when a large caravan like ours demanded the service of practically all the women between twelve and fifty years of age. Then the claims of their babies were left quite out of consideration, and the poor mothers had to see what arrangements they could make with regard to their offspring for a full day or so. Our box which contained the photographic plates was the heaviest of all, and it was always the last taken up. The first comers took hold of the lighter loads and darted off as soon as possible. When we were at Chogan on our way to Urni, this box with the plates did not arrive, and Pindi Lal volunteered to stay behind and wait for it. He caught me up at Urni when it was quite dark. The heavy box had fallen to the lot of a child of fourteen years of age who was absolutely unequal to the task. This girl, therefore, asked three of her friends to assist her in the hard work she had to perform, and so Pindi Lal received the box out of the hands of four girls 'all very young and very beautiful' as he said. They were, of course, all of high caste, and the way they took leave of the Babu and wished him a good journey was quite charming. The system of the Tibetans is quite different from that of the Bashahr State. In Tibet the men come first, and they are ready to do the hardest work themselves. The women who offer to do cooly work are such as can be spared from their homes.

I hope that the chivalrous chief of the Bashahr State will undertake to teach his male subjects a little more chivalry.

The bridge of Wangtu is evidently in a place where there has been a bridge from time immemorial, as is made probable by ancient carvings on the rocks. One of them shows a man with a sword in his left hand, and a club in his right. In the rocks there are many caves used by travellers, and on the rocks about them I saw many Tibetan inscriptions in charcoal and red chalk, one of them reading: *Sa-kya-pa-mkhyen-no,* "Take notice of this (or 'of me') O Sakya-man!" In one of the caves, there were many tablets of burnt clay, just like those which are made of clay and the ashes of the dead. They have generally the figure of a Buddhist saint printed on them and are deposited in *mchod-rten* or caves. Here, however, they were quite plain. A dead lama was probably cremated here in ancient times, and a mould not being at hand, the clay-tablets were formed without it.

Sunday, the 27th June, was spent at Urni. In the afternoon I went to see the *mandirs* or temples. The 'old temple' is of the square tower type, like so many of Kuḷū, and has a wooden verandah running round below the slanting gable roof. It was almost without any carvings, and people said that the *dēvata* had left the place. The 'new temple,' not far from the old one, was thoroughly renovated, as people say, about twenty years ago. There are many wood-carvings dating from that time, for instance hunting-scenes: a man shooting a leopard with a rifle. They were all very primitive. There was also a carving of a cock, and what I took for a hen with chickens, eating a snake. But people said it was a peacock. (Garuḍa devouring Nāgas?). The villagers showed

us also several obscene representations of a man and a woman, and said that it was always a grand moment, when these pictures were shown to the girls on the occasion of a *Mela*. This will serve to show what a religion which worships the creative powers leads to. The slanting gable beams of the temple had again representations of walking lions, like those at Sungra.

As regards the houses of the ordinary peasants, here at Urni, and in other places since we passed the Wangtu bridge, the Tibetan flat roof is becoming prominent. Here at Urni village most of the roofs exhibit the Tibetan style. But the *mandirs* still show the old slanting roof of the Indian hill tribes. The first temple with a flat roof I saw at Rogi on the 28th. It is of the square tower type and has wood carvings on the beams.

We spent the night of the 28th and the 29th June at Chini, in the Moravian Mission house. The view from Chini towards the snow mountains on the other side of the river is one of the grandest imaginable. The local name of these glaciers is Kailāsa and a certain pinnacle is called Śiva by the people.[1]

Looking down from the Mission house, there is a large mound to the left of the village (Plate VII, a). This is said to be the site of a castle of an ancient Ṭhākur who came here from the 'Upper Country' (apparently Tibet). Mr. Bruske, who used to reside here as a Moravian missionary, was told that there exists a song which treats of the exploits of this Ṭhākur. But it has not yet been reduced to writing. On the site, many fragments of hand-made pottery can be found, but, people assured me, never any coins. The site is now occupied by small Lamaist buildings, a square tower and an enshrined *mchod-rten*. The fact that Lamaism has taken possession of the site, speaks in favour of the alleged Tibetan origin of the Ṭhākur.

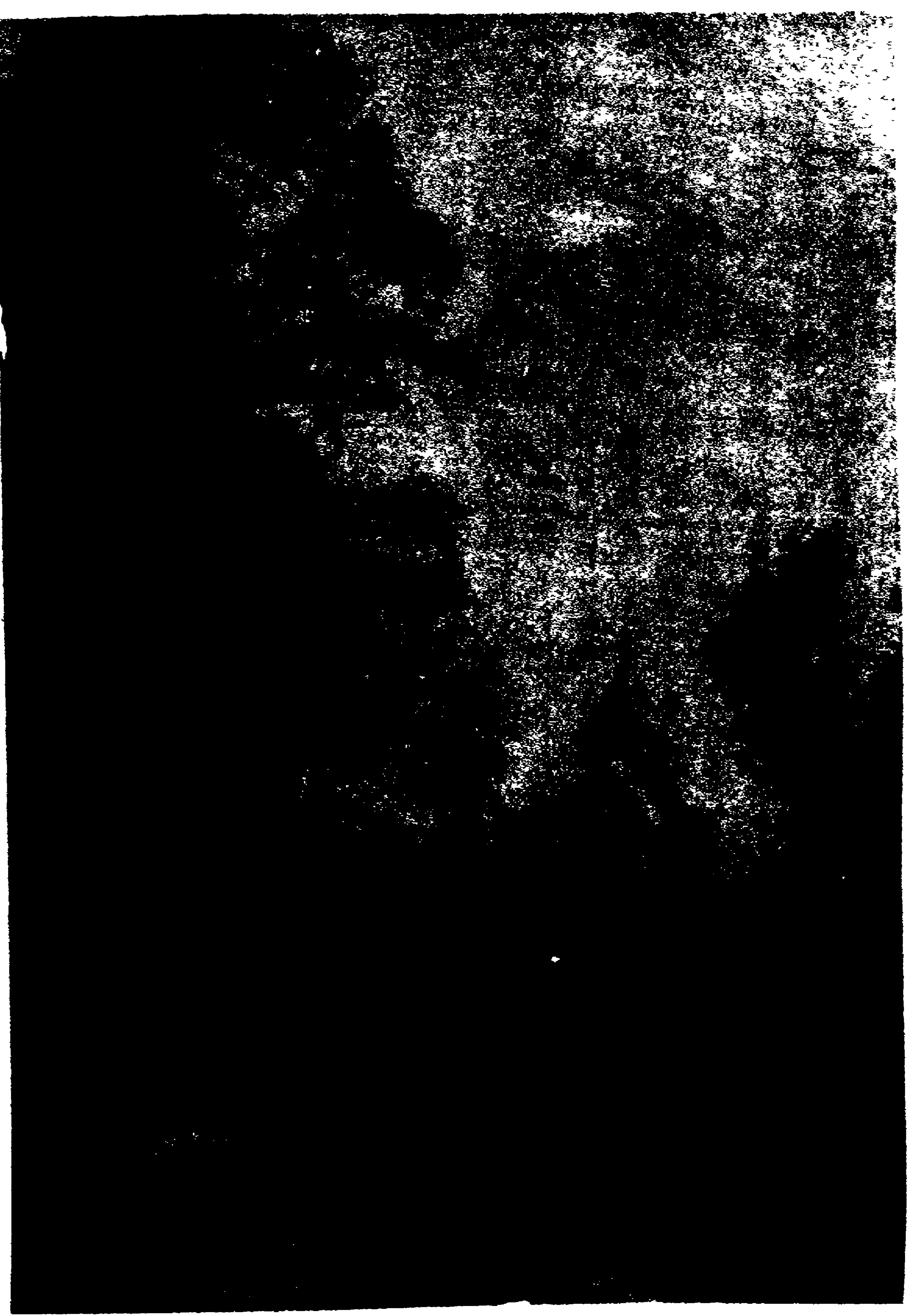
Mr. Bruske informs me that there is another mound below the village where many red bricks can be found. This is held to have been the principal (perhaps winter) residence of the same Ṭhākur. At both sites excavations might prove successful. The most interesting feature in connection with this ancient chief is, as Mr. Bruske tells me, that traces of his aqueducts are met with from time to time by people when digging. They consist of earthenware pipes, and the water was conducted in them for miles.

Above the door over the staircase which leads up to the mound, there is a stone lion, which looks very old indeed. People told me, however, that it was made only a few years ago. Older are the carved slabs of stone on the mound, near the Lamaist temple. They show lines similar to those on a chessboard. On these ancient slabs, the Tibetan game of *mig-mang* was probably played.

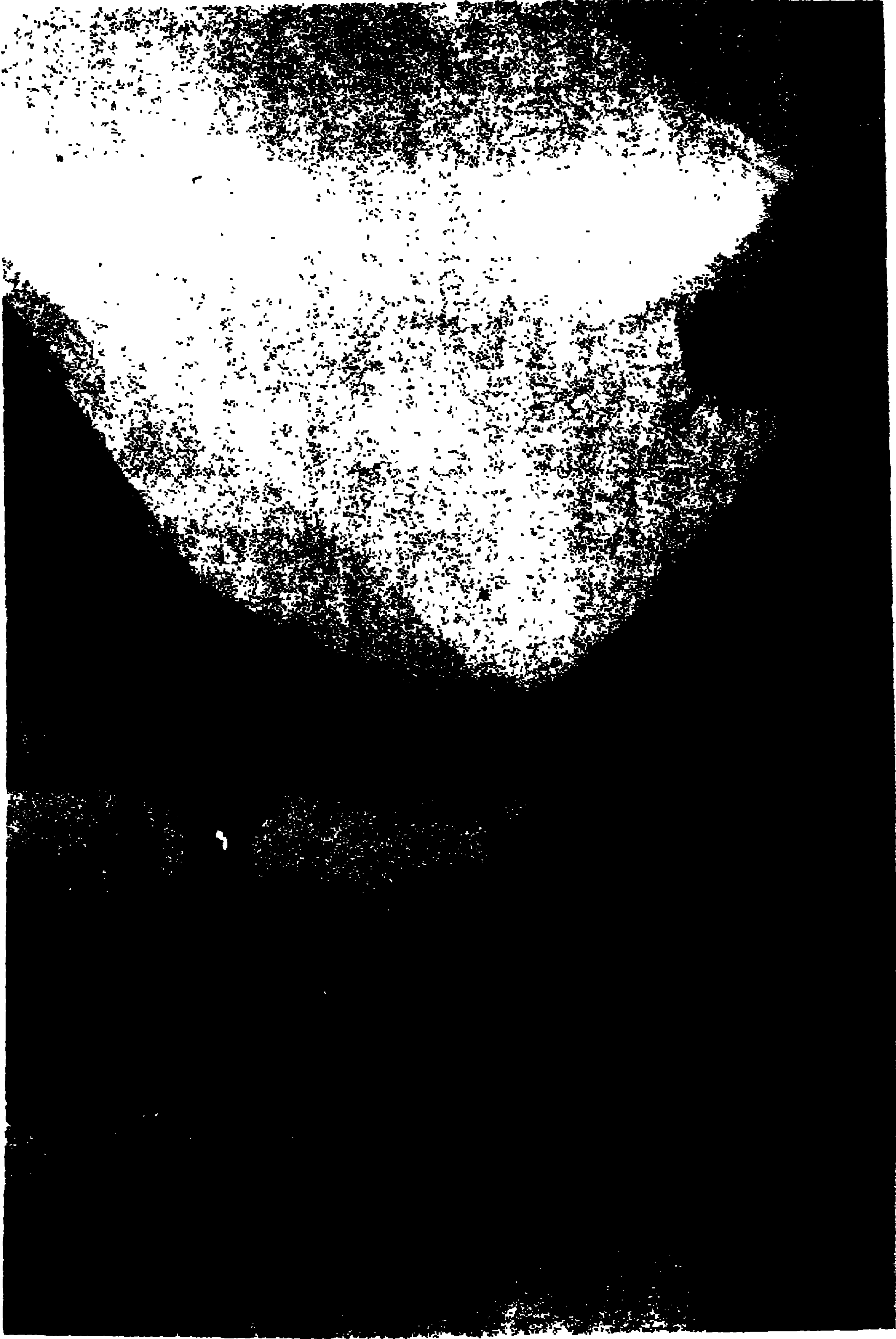
Mr. Bruske tells me that stories of Ṭhākurs are told also of other ruined sites on the way from Chini to Poo. These Ṭhākurs, although independent in a way, probably acknowledged the supremacy of the Tibetan chiefs of Guge, before the country came under Bashahr.

The Kāli temple of Chini is situated below the village. No stranger is allowed to enter it It has been the scene of human sacrifices, and there is a rumour that such

[1] The earliest picture of Chini and the Kailāsa is found in '*Reise des Prinzen Waldemar von Preussen*,' 1846, Plate XVI.



a. Temple of Mahesvara, Sungra.



b. Roof beams with lion figures, Sungra.

sacrifices are still carried on secretly. The following has been observed by a European, whose name I am not allowed to mention. At the *Mela* at this Kālī temple, the object of the sacrifice is carried down to the temple by a person who must not be met by anybody. In fact, the rumour is spread that every person who meets that man will die before a year is passed. The European quite unexpectedly made his appearance before the priest who cursed him. However, he is of opinion that what the priest carried wrapped up in his bundle looked very much like human limbs. The prohibition of the Brahmans, that nobody must meet the priest on his way to the Kālī temple, has its origin in the wish to keep eye-witnesses away from this ghastly sacrifice.

On the road from Chini to Pangi, not far from Chini, below the road, there is a ruined house which is known as the house of the first European who settled in the country. He was married to a Kanāwarī woman by jungle rites. He has become the hero of a song in Kanāwarī, discovered by Mr. Bruske at Chini, in which the complexion of the European is praised as having been like butter. Like most of the Kanāwarī songs, this one has also a personal touch. These songs treat of prominent people who have become known to the Kanāwarīs. The fact that all the heroes of their songs are modern men, could be explained in this way. The songs were composed in early times in honour of kings or heroes whose names have been entirely forgotten. When a new king, or a new hero arises, the words of the old songs are left unchanged, whilst the personalities are exchanged for new ones. We have very similar cases in Tibetan folklore.[1]

On the 29th June, we passed through Pangi. In the vicinity of the village, there is one of those Lamaist gates built across the road, such as are frequently met with in these parts. (Plate V, b.) In Ladakh there are many similar ones. They all have a *mchod-rten* on the roof, and frescoes on the ceiling. Here in the Kanāwarī country these are distinguished by their elegant wooden roofs which are built over the *mchod-rten,* to protect it from rain. The roof is covered, and, therefore, has somewhat the appearance of a Chinese roof. Gerard believed all this kind of architecture to be influenced by the Chinese style of building, which he believed to exist immediately on the other side of the Tibeto-Chinese frontier. However, we should have to travel thousands of miles, before we should meet with the first representatives of Chinese architecture. These doors are here known by the name of *kang-ga-ni,* a name which is given in Ladakh only to the most ancient specimens.

Close to the door, there are two large erect stones, perhaps rude specimens of *lingams.* They have carvings on them, which I copied. One of the carvings I take for a kind of sun-symbol. It was very distinct on one of the stones. On the other stone was carved a *stūpa* and what appears to be a repetition of the sun-symbol.

At Pangi, I met Mr. Bruske and his wife, who were encamped there. I spent a few pleasant hours with them, and received much valuable information from them.

We spent the night of the 29th and the 30th June at Rarang. In the evening, we visited the Lamaist temple, which is built somewhat in the style of the wooden hill

---

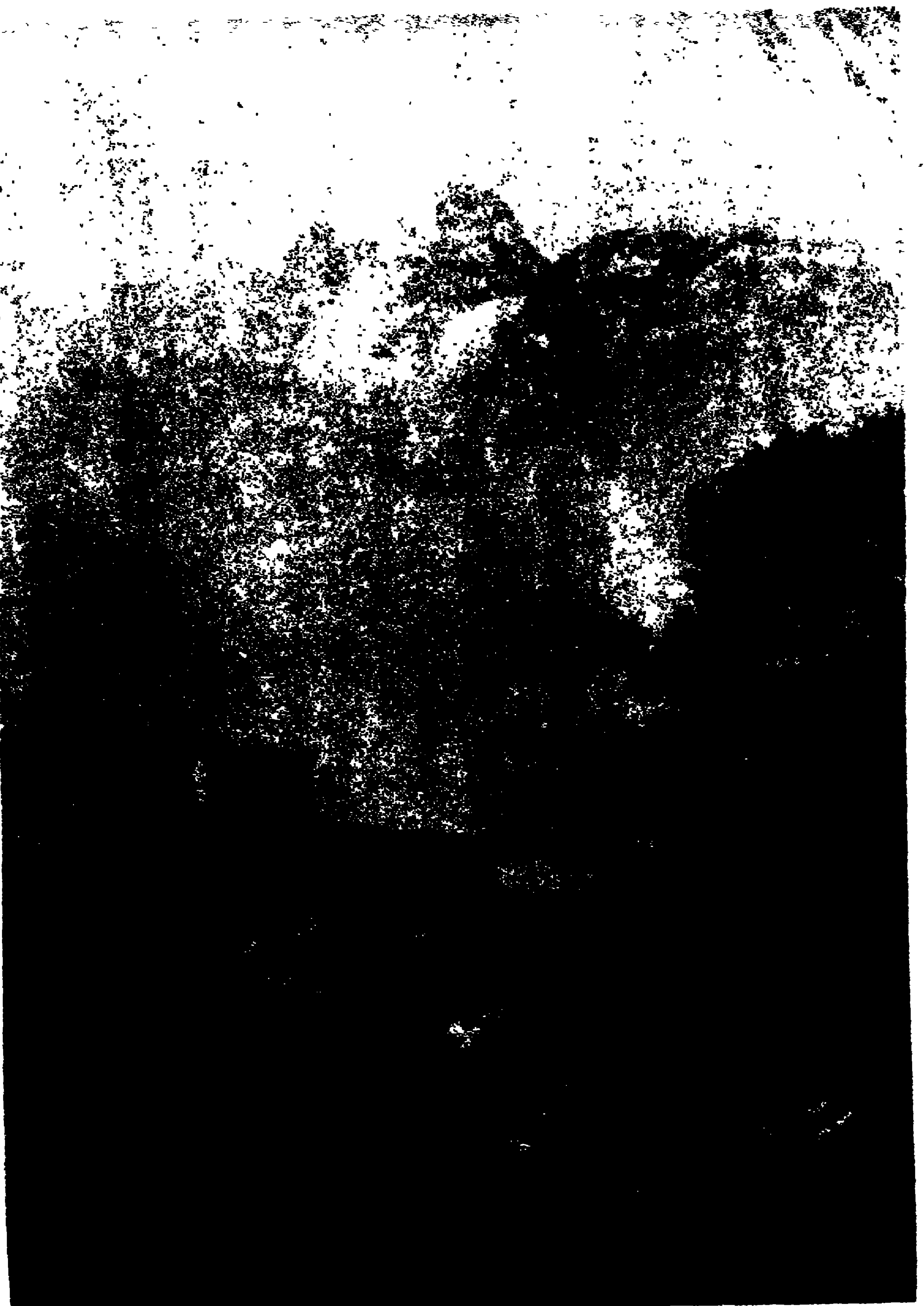
[1] See my Introduction to Ladakhi Songs, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXI. 1902. pp. 87 ff.

architecture, at least in regard to its roof. It is said to be only about twenty-five years old. In the courtyard, we found cremation tablets with figures of Avalōkitēśvara represented with four arms and a lotus, and *Mi-ukhrugs-pa* (Akshōbya). Although they were also said to be of recent date, the mould from which they were cast must be decidedly old. It was possibly brought here from Kanam monastery, which claims to be old. The tablets were furnished with Tibetan inscriptions, but these were so indistinct that nothing could be read. It was just possible to see that the characters employed were Tibetan.

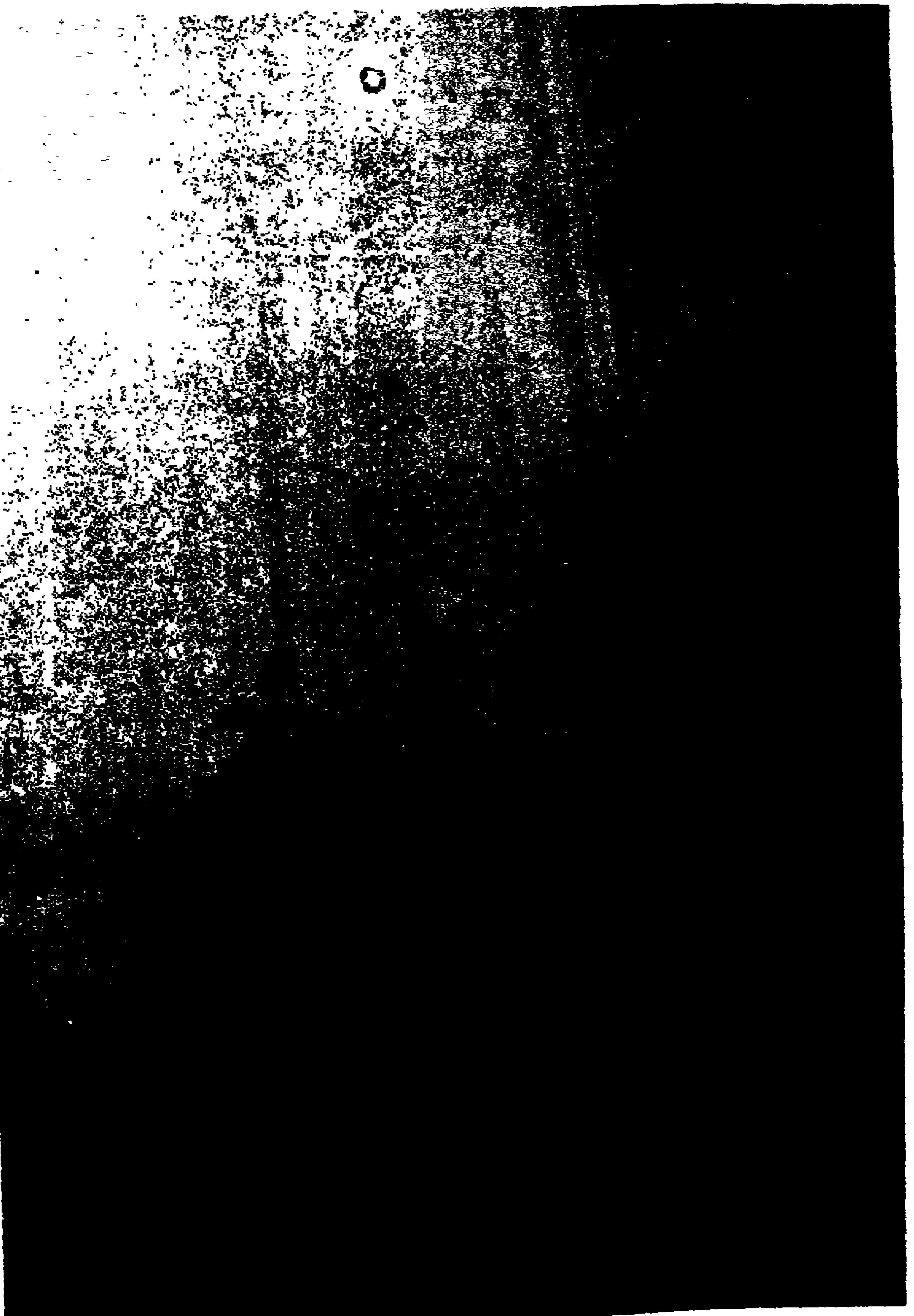
Above the village of Rarang, on the road, there is an old hut which is known as the most ancient *mandir* of Rarang. (Plate VII, b.) It is rectangular, and has a slanting roof. The door beams are furnished with wood carvings. On the lintel, the figure of an elephant carrying a human being can be distinguished. This is possibly a representation of Indra. Of particular interest is the gable-roof which ends in the carving of a ram's head, and thus reminds us strongly of the *dēvatā*-huts in the Manchad valley (Lahul). In its general appearance also, this *mandir* resembles the *dēvatā*-huts of the Manchad valley and goes to prove that the religion of the Kanāwarīs was similar to that of the Manchad people, who are closely related to them by lingual and ethnic characteristics. As this hut is practically the last specimen of Indian hill architecture on the road (not taking into account a ' gate of blessing ' at Poo, which is furnished with a roof in Kanāwarī style), it will be well to review all the observations we have made with regard to this architecture. Under hill architecture are comprised all the structures which are composed of rubble masonry and beams of cedar wood. Of an entirely different character are the structures of the Tibetans, which consist of sun-dried bricks. The former have slanting, and the latter flat roofs. On the frontier between the Tibetan and Kanāwarī peoples there are also some intermediate forms. There are houses built of rubble masonry with flat roofs, for instance the temple at Rogi, and houses built of sun-burnt bricks with a slanting roof, for instance the temple at Rarang.

The most elementary form of hill architecture is represented by the ancient *mandir* of Rarang, which consists of a one-roomed house with a rectangular ground-plan and a slanting roof. Later on, the roof assumed a concave appearance, and was often supported by a covered verandah. This type of house is much in evidence as the ordinary peasant's dwelling on the Satluj up to the Wangtu bridge, and the Nirmaṇḍ temples are of this type. It was then modified in the following way. The ground plan was made square and the walls were raised. This is the type of the Kuḷū castle towers which were introduced even into Lahul, and of the shrine of the old *mandir* at Urni. A beautiful combination of this rectangular house and square tower is found in the ancient palace of Sarāhan. The Kanāwarī gates of blessing have another extraordinary feature in addition to the concave roof, in that they have also the front and back walls widening out towards the gable beam. Thus the walls are further apart at the top than they are at ground level.

On the square ground plan was developed also the pyramid type of roof with four slanting sides. This we find in its simplest form in the modern temple of Urni, and in



a. Site of Thakur's castle, Chini.



b. Shrine of Devi, Rarang.

one of the old temples of Sungra. Then there arose the custom of building with superimposed pyramidal roofs one on the top of another, the upper ones decreasing in size ; the whole structures reminding us of Burmese Pagodas. Such temples we have at Sungra, Manālī in Kuḷū, and probably also at Nachar.[1]

The religious buildings of the Hill-type are distinguished by their wood carvings. Mention has been made of the almost life size figures of lions on the beams of the roof. The most prominent figure among the ornaments, is the full-blown lotus (*padma*) with leaves arranged radially. This ornament was believed by Captain Harcourt to be of Buddhist origin. As has been shown by Professor Grünwedel, however, the wheel and the lotus are by no means purely Buddhist emblems. The same must be said with regard to the snake and bird ornaments which are frequently met with. The continual warfare between Garuḍas and Nāgas was a favourite topic among the hill tribes long before the rise of Buddhism. Representations of the human figure are also of frequent occurrence among these wood carvings. But they are by far inferior to the representations of animals and look very much like the effigies of men on ancient rock carvings. The types are stiff and conventionalised, as if on the way to become pictographs. The wooden eaves-boards which are often seen on the edges of roofs, form a very pretty kind of ornament. Many of the roofs or gable beams end in dragon heads with open mouths. Of the rams' heads at the end of such beams mention has been made.

We passed through Jangi on the 30th June. Tibetan *maṇi* walls are now becoming frequent, but up to this place they contained nothing beyond endless repetitions of the *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ*. Here I found for the first time on our expedition a *maṇi* wall with a votive tablet on one end. This shows that the knowledge of the Tibetan language is more general here than in the previous villages. The tablet was, however, so much worn that I could not read much beyond the words *Khungs-btsun-ga-ga-che*, " the great nobleman of excellent origin." Neither this nor any of the preceding *maṇi* walls look as if they were of great antiquity. In the district between Chini and Poo Lamaism has made progress in outward show during the last thirty years or so without, however, ousting Hinduism.

Opposite Jangi lies the village of Kinam with a fine castle on a rock above the river. It was built, it is said, by the Rājā of Bashahr.

After Jangi, the country begins to show a Tibetan character. Vegetation becomes very scarce, and only a kind of Juniper, generally known by the name of Pencil Cedar (the holy tree of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet) makes us realize that we are not travelling on the moon. The pencil cedar never forms forests, but at best dots a hillside with a tree to every 500 square yards or so. Also the road, which up to this had done great credit to the Public Works Department (to which I am indebted in particular for the hospitality of their bungalows), becomes more and more uncivilised, and reminds one of the days of hardships when Gerard travelled here almost a century ago. After this

[1] As I said before, I did not get to see the Nachar temple, but in Gordon Forbes' book *Simla to Shipki in Tibet*, the Nachar temple is compared to Burmese temples. Similar temples in the vicinity of Simla and Kōtgur were not examined on our tour.

experience of desert travelling it is very pleasant in the evening to branch off from the Satluj valley into a side valley which is irrigated by the glacial stream of Kanam: The green waving fields, the many willow, poplar, and apricot trees refresh the eye of the traveller and invite to a short rest in their midst.

We spent the night between the 30th June and 1st July at Kanam. Although Tibetan is very well understood here, it is not yet spoken among the peasants themselves. They speak a language of the Kanāwarī type. But the village as well as the monastery presents a purely Tibetan appearance. This monastery (Plate VIII) was the first on the road which by the natives themselves was asserted to be of ancient origin. It is said to go back to the days of Lotsaba Rin-chen-bzang-po (Ratna-bhadra) 964—1054 A.D. No relic of these ancient days, however, remains. The monastery consists of three separate halls situated in different parts of the village.

The uppermost of them is called *dGon-pa* or monastery proper. It is a building of the ordinary Tibetan type, constructed of undried bricks with a flat roof. It contains the cells of the lamas who belong to the Ge-lug-pa sect, and an insignificant temple. In the latter is found an image of Buddha, gilt bronze with blue hair of the pin-head type. This image was brought from bKra-shis-lhun-po (*vulgo* Trashi lunpo) about seventy years ago, so I was told. The wooden garlands which are behind this image of Buddha as well as behind some other images, may be older. The chief attraction of the Kanam monastery lies in the fact that the pioneer of Tibetan studies, the Hungarian Csoma de Körös spent several years in it, studying the Tibetan language. According to Duka's *Life of Csoma de Körös*, he lived here from August 1827 to October 1830[1]. In 1829, Csoma was visited at Kanam (spelt Kanum in his report) by Dr. Gerard, who gives a very interesting account of the Hungarian's life and work in this out of the way place. Let me quote a few passages from his account—

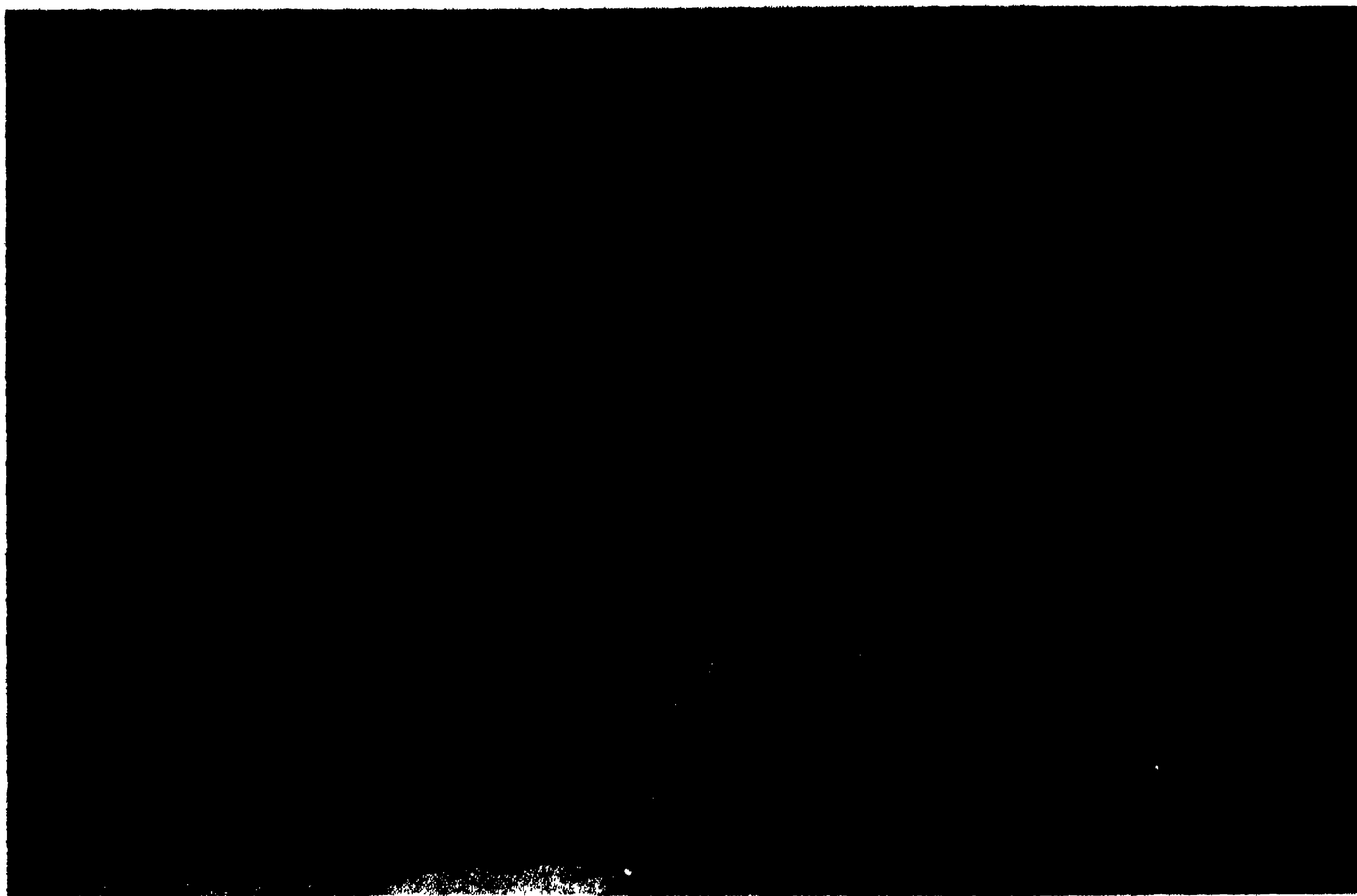
"I found him at the village of Kanum, in his small but romantic hamlet, surrounded by books, and in the best health......The cold is very intense, and all last winter he sat at his desk wrapped up in woollens from head to foot, and from morning to night, without an interval of recreation or warmth, except that of his frugal meals which are one universal routine of greasy tea; but the winters at Kanum dwindle to insignificance compared with the severity of those at the monastery of Yangla (in Zangskar) where Mr. Csoma passed a whole year......There he sat (at Yangla) enveloped in a sheep-skin cloak, with his arms folded, and in this situation he read from morning till evening without fire, or light after dusk, the ground to sleep on, and the bare walls of the building for protection against the rigours of the climate.

"The cold was so intense as to make it a task of severity to extricate the hands from their fleecy resort to turn over the pages,............he is poor, humbly clad, and reserved, unless stimulated to animation by some temporary interest."

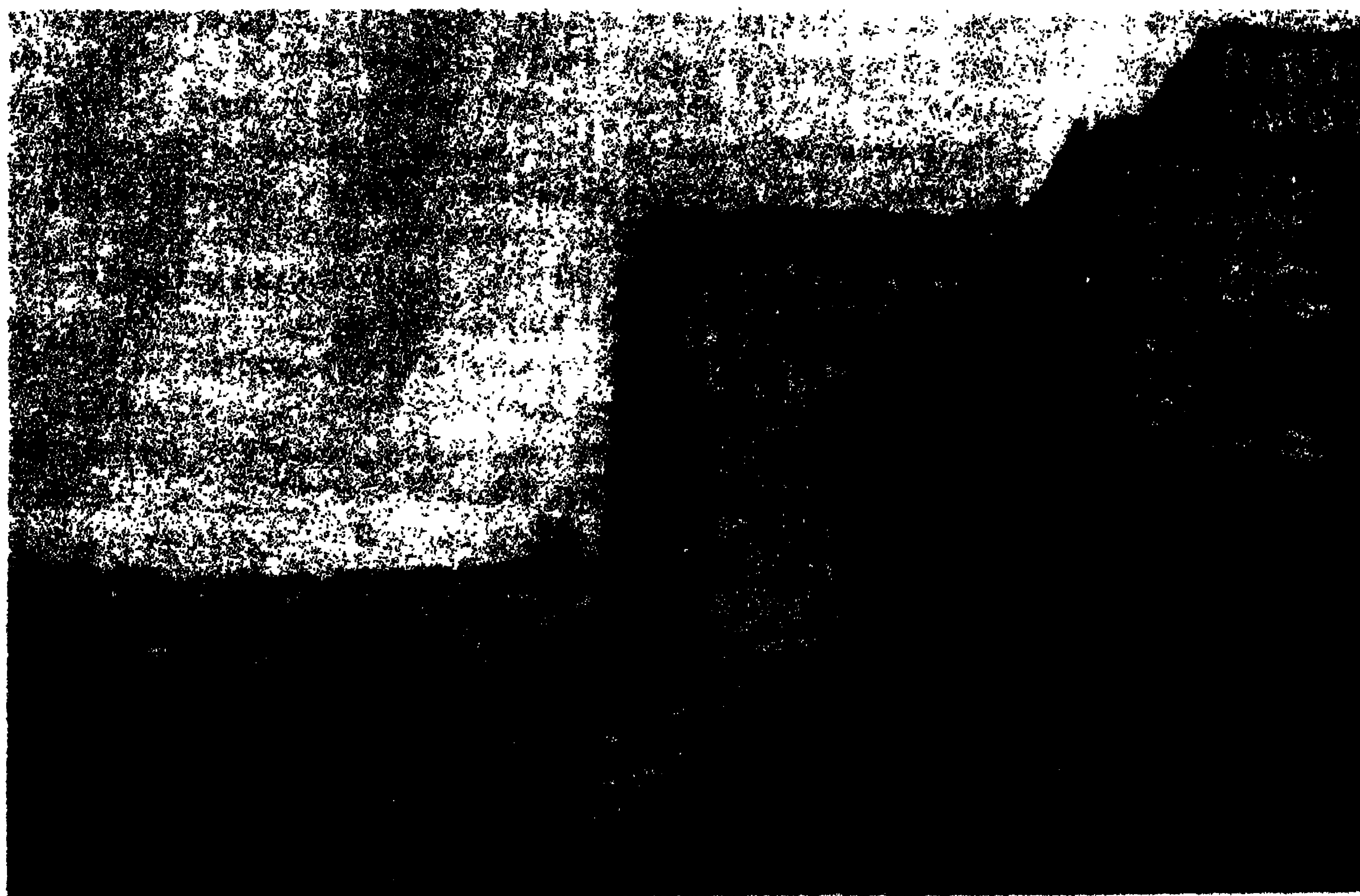
The chief attraction of the little village of Kanam, for Csoma, rested in the fact that the monastery contains complete copies of the *bkā-ugyur* and *bstan-ugyur*, the great

---

[1] See Duka, *Life of Csoma*, pp. 88 ff.



a. Kangyur Monastery, Kanam.



b. Lotsabai Monastery, Kanam.

encyclopædias of Lamaism. It was here that he was enabled to study these gigantic collections of Tibetan literature, and to write his still invaluable 'Analysis of the Kanjur and Stanjur.' The library is kept in a separate building called *bkā-ugyur* some distance below the monastery. Gerard who inspected this library on the occasion of his visit to Csoma in Kanam, has the following note on it: "The edition of the Kahgyur and Stangyur at Kanum was sent from Teshi lhunpo (bKra-shis-lhun-po) only about 9 years ago (*i.e.* in 1820); the printing bears a date of ninety years, yet the ink and type look as perfect and fresh as ever. No insects attack them, though the climate here is varying in summer. The book cases being made of cedar are indestructible......The works, being distinct, are arranged in separate places. These resemble large chests or cisterns, standing on end, and partitioned into cells, each containing a volume, which is carefully wrapped within many folds, laced with cord, and bound tightly between boards of cypress or cedar......Some of the volumes were opened before me, and I gazed with a sort of reverential feeling upon such gigantic compilations yet unfolded to the world, and thought of the humble individual in the hamlet who was occupied in illustrating their unexplored contents."

There is yet a third Lamaist building in the place. It is called *Lhabrang* and is situated between the village and the fields. It is said to be of not much later date than the *dGon-pa.* No ancient relic has been preserved in it. It contains a modern stucco statue of Maitrēya. Another small stucco statue represents the white Tārā and is believed to be of some antiquity. It is a really good piece of workmanship, and the face shows expressive features, more spiritual than usual.

Above the *dGon-pa*, there is a long row of white quadrangular buildings which are said to be crematories. In most villages, a single such incinerator has to suffice for many people. Here one once used for a high lama, is apparently not used again. It is converted into a kind of quadrangular *mchod-rten.*

Although no ancient remains can be found at Kanam, it is quite possible that, as asserted, a Lamaist monastery was built here in the 11th century. The present buildings were probably erected on the sites of still more ancient ones. The monastery may have been ransacked several times ; for the last time by the Gurkhas. When Gerard was on his expedition in the Satluj valley, he met with continual reports of the devastations by the Gurkhas from Kōṭgur to the Tibetan frontier.

On the 1st of July we marched from Kanam to the Shasu rope bridge. I arrived at the bridge at 11 A.M., but did not reach the opposite bank of the river, a tributary to the Satluj, before 5 P.M. When I arrived at the site of the bridge, nothing could be seen but a steel rope. We had sent intimation of our intention to cross the bridge to the next village, but there was no response. I found only a single old man on our bank of the river, who had a one-wheeled trolley without any ropes at hand. When all our coolies had come up and enjoyed a little rest, the ropes which they had used for carrying our bags and boxes, were tied together and fastened to the trolley, and after much experimenting it was found possible to work it, and our boxes one after another were slowly pulled across.

Then one of the ropes broke, just as one of the bags was right in the middle of the steel rope, and we spent a very exciting time in watching two daring youths who waded through the strong current, up to their chins, until they found the broken end of the rope. Having finally reached the other bank, it was night, and there being no time nor room to pitch tents, we had our beds in the open air and slept very comfortably.

We arrived at Poo on the 2nd of July, after a tiring march over a horrible road of very rugged and unstable foundation mostly along the face of the precipice. There were hardly any more Pencil cedar trees (*Juniperus excelsa*) on the road. The scenery was now quite Tibetan in character. Bad as the road was, the Missionary at Poo told me that it was excellent compared to what it had been only five years ago. Honour to the brave Mission-ladies who have travelled on it in its old state! The rocks are dangerous, even to the natives.

About an hour before reaching Poo, the valley widens a little, and it is a relief to be able to walk here without continually looking out for a safe foothold. Poo is situated on a plain on the right bank of the Satluj and looks very pretty with its green fields, apricot and apple tree gardens. Its elevation is about 9,500 feet, and it is the first village on our road, the language of which is entirely Tibetan. It looks as if it was entirely closed in by steep bare mountains.

When approaching the village, we passed by a great number of *maṇi* walls, and as I noticed votive tablets on several of them, I began to study them. None of them seemed to be very ancient. The inscriptions consisted generally of four parts. The first part may be called devotional, the second part consisted of a eulogy of the country of which the village of Poo (spelled *sPu* in the inscriptions) was the centre, the third part praised the Rājā of Bashahr who was reigning at the time, and the fourth part contained the account of the building of the wall, and stated for whose religious benefit it was meant. As regards the names of Bashahr Rājās on the tablets, only the following four have been traced through Mr. Schnabel's and our own combined efforts: Rudar (in Tibetan *Lurdur*) Siṅgh; Ugar (in Tibetan *Urku*) Siṅgh; Mahīndar (in Tibetan *Metar*) Siṅgh; Shamshēr (in Tibetan *bSam-gser* 'golden thought') Siṅgh. These names cover about the last century. But there are some more *maṇi* walls with votive tablets which, instead of giving the proper name of a chief simply speak of 'the great king' at Sarāhaṇ (*So-ra-rang* in Tibetan). This shows that the personal names of the rulers of Bashahr previous to Rudar Siṅgh, were not known to the Tibetans. As regards the geographical part (the eulogy of the country) of these inscriptions, it contained many references to places beyond the border, thus showing that in the minds of the people, Guge and Poo were not yet separated. Of particular interest are the clan names occurring in these inscriptions. One of them is *Thogar*. It is found in two inscriptions and points to the Tokhar origin of part of the Poo population.

During our stay at Poo, we enjoyed the hospitality of the Rev. R. and Mrs. Schnabel of the Moravian Mission, who took great pains to make me comfortable and to show me the sights of the place. Their intimate knowledge of the customs and traditions of the people were of the greatest value in the pursuit of our researches.

I was told that there was an inscribed stone in the village of dKor, below Poo, and went to examine it. Although the stone was generally known, nobody, not even the lamas, had tried to read it. The village of dKor is situated on the right bank of the little brook of Poo. The stone was found in a field belonging to a lama called *bKā-rgyud* It is about six feet high. The upper half of the sculpture shows a well executed representation of a *stūpa*, the lower half that of a human being. This part of the stone is in very bad preservation and most of it underground. The human figure wears a three-pointed hat. On the reverse of the stone is a Tibetan inscription of eleven lines. Only the first two lines are in fair preservation ; of all the other lines only the beginning and end have been preserved, whilst the middle part of those lines has been obliterated. While we were examining the stone, a Christian Tibetan who was with us, began to read the first lines : *dPal-lha-btsan-po-Lha-bla-ma-Ye-shes*............When he had got so far, I suddenly remembered that I had heard of a person whose name began *Lha-bla-ma-Ye-shes*. But what was the syllable following after *Ye-shes* ? It suddenly flashed on me, that it was *'od*, and that *Lha-bla-ma-Ye-shes-'od* was the name of the royal priest, the early king of Guge, who had tried in vain to draw the famous Buddhist monk Atīśa to his kingdom. Did the inscription really contain his name— a name which has not yet been traced anywhere ? We all went close to the stone, and looked at it from all sides, even from below. And lo, it was so. The stone contained the full name of this famous personage of Tibetan history (c. 1025 A.D.) and the words following the name were *sku-ring-la*, meaning 'in his life time.' I was so overjoyed at the discovery of this important record that I could not help jumping about in the field, and then embraced the lama who was just on the point of becoming displeased with my treatment of his crop.

The story of King Ye-shes-'od is found in the second part of the Tibetan historical work *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang*, and a translation has been published by Sarat Chandra Das.[1] Up to the present, nobody had known whether the story contained in those works was really true and whether the persons mentioned in it had actually lived or not. This inscription of King Ye-shes-'od is the first record which can be brought forward to confirm the statements of the Tibetan historians. Fragmentary though it is, it contains some interesting information. We learn from it that in the days of the priest-king Ye-shes-'od the villages of *sPu* (Poo) and *dKor* both existed, that Poo even possessed a palace (*pho-brang*). *dKor* is called *dKor-khang*, house of *dKor*. There were ten princes according to the inscription, and all of them were sent to Poo. What was their object in this place, cannot be said with perfect certainty, but from the frequent occurrence of the words *lha-chos* (religion of the *lha*), and *sngar-chos* (former religion) it appears that they were sent here for the propagation of Buddhism. In the end we read that they erected something. This was probably the first Buddhist temple at Poo of which local tradition asserts that it was erected in the place where now-a-days the inscribed stone is found. This site is lower than most of the houses of Poo, and as an object of sanctity could not be suffered to stand on a lower elevation than ordinary houses, a new temple was built higher up, in the centre of Poo, and embellished with the furnishings of the old one.

[1] *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, pp. 51 ff.

This temple, the oldest of the existing temples of Poo, is called *Lo-tsa-bai-Lha-khang* and is asserted to have been built by Lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-bzang-po (Ratna-bhadra), the spiritual adviser of King Ye-shes-'od. It contains a stucco statue of a seated Buddha, and two standing images of his disciples Sâriputra and Maudgalyâyana, locally known as *Shar-gyi-Bu* (son of the East) and *Mi-yong-gal*. In front of these large images are three small ones, representing Padma-sambhava, Vajra-pāṇi, and Buddha. (Plate IX, a). Besides these images, the temple contains books, musical instruments, and masks. Neither the books nor any of the images are very ancient; there is nothing that can claim to date from the time of Ye-shes-'od. As this temple was the successor to the ancient temple of dKor, all the traditions connected with the latter were probably transferred to the former.

About a mile below the village of dKor, on a hill above the river, there exist the extensive ruins of an ancient fort called Kalagtrung or Kalag Koṭ. It is supposed, once to have been the seat of a Ṭhākur. The Lambardār of Poo tells me that iron arrow-heads have often been found in the vicinity. Such articles are ultimately converted into nails or knives by the people, and therefore I could not obtain any of them. It is interesting that the site of the present summer house of the mission, high above the castle on the hillside, is also called Kalagtrung. It seems to have been part of the same settlement as the castle, in earlier days. We visited the site of the castle on the 14th July. Of ancient remains we found only sherds of hand-shaped pottery, sometimes with linear ornaments impressed on them. Only very little could be seen of ancient walls. The site was covered all over with large undressed stones, such as people still use for building purposes. In a few cases, the site of a former room could be seen, in still rarer cases that of a door. Part of an ancient staircase was in rather good preservation.

Opposite the castle, on the other side of the trade road, were the ruined terraces of deserted fields, abandoned long ago. My impression is that the site does not only contain the ruins of a chief's castle, but that of a whole village. This part of the country was formerly under Guge and Ladakh, and, as in Ladakh, people were here also compelled to live in fortified places on hilltops round their chief's stronghold.

The deserted fields are locally known by the name *Khola-ring*. The word *ring* seems to be the same as Bunan *rig*, 'field.' The name would then mean 'fields of the Khola.' Khola is very likely the same as *Koli*, the name of a low caste all over the Panjāb hills and possibly the tribal name of the aboriginal population of these districts.

High up on the hill-side, above Kalagtrung, there is a locality called "the old place of the Shar-rgan festival." It is a comparatively large plateau which was left vacant in ancient times, as it was used for dancing. At present there have been built on it several enclosures for sheep and cattle, two *maṇi* walls, and some small stone huts. One of the *maṇi* walls contained an inscribed slab in Sanskrit and Tibetan, instead of the ordinary votive tablet. I made an eye copy of it. The inscription contains a passage apparently taken from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, addressed to the Yum-chen-po, the 'great mother.' This great mother is Tārā, the wife of Śiva, and at the same time the goddess of learning. It is not remarkable that we should find here a prayer addressed to the wife of Śiva, for

the festival of Shar-rgan which was distinguished by a human sacrifice, was apparently celebrated in her honour.[1] A little above the old dancing place, the remains of a pit into which the victims were thrown, are shown to the traveller. The pit is said to have been of considerable depth, but now-a-days it is only a yard or so deep. Every year a child of eight years of age was thus sacrificed. Now-a-days a goat is offered instead. This happens at the new Shar-rgan place. Old people in the village say that their own grandmothers were witnesses of human sacrifices in their young days. Behind the pit, there are several terraces, on which people used to sit on the occasion of such sacrifices. The Shar-rgan festival, Mr. Schnabel tells me, as celebrated now-a-days, is a kind of thank-offering by those parents who have been blessed with a son during the past year.

On the occasion of the festival, 'songs of the Shar-rgan festival,' are sung. I discovered a manuscript containing these songs in the village, and had it copied. Although their meaning is not yet intelligible to me in every part, I can see that they are of great importance, with regard to the study of the pre-Buddhist religion of Kanāwar as well as of Tibet in general. The first songs of the collection remind me strongly of songs of the pre-Buddhist religion, as we find them in Ladakh, the *Ling-glu* and the 'Marriage ritual,' some of which have been published by me. It is of great importance that the religion they represent is spoken of as *Lha-chos* and *Bon-chos* in the Poo songs.[2] I have all along been of opinion that in the gLing-chos we have remnants of the earliest type of the Bon-chos, called *Jo-la-Bon* in the *Grub-mtha-shel-gyi-me-long*. This has been ridiculed by men like Dr. B. Laufer who know the Bon religion only from its latest productions, when it took sides with various forms of Hinduism, in antagonism to Buddhism. Literary productions like the "Songs of the Shar-rgan festival" go far to prove that the gLing-chos as brought to light by my efforts, is precisely the Jo-la-Bon religion of Tibet. But the songs of the Shar-rgan festival do not only speak of deities of the Bon religion, Gung-sngon-snyan-lha, the god of heaven, sPang-dmar-lha, the god of the red meadow, the earth, Bya-rgod, the sun, King Ke-sar, etc., but make also mention of new deities, the *pho-lha* and the *mo-lha*, the deities of the 'male and female creative principle.'[3] These are unmistakably the Tibetan names of Śiva and Kālī, the gods of the pre-Tibetan population of the Satluj valley. And it is very probable that the human sacrifices which used to form part of the Shar-rgan festival, belong to the religion of this aboriginal population, and not to the

---

[1] The following proverb, discovered by Rev. R. Schnabel, refers to the former custom of human sacrifices at Poo :

Dang-po-nga-rgya-gar-nas-yong-tsa-na,
glang-phrug-lo-gsum-byis-pa-lo-brgyad.

Translation :—When I (Tārā) came here from India,
[I used to receive] a calf, three years old, and a child of eight years of age.

[2] A class of deity which is of great fame at Poo and surrounding districts are the *dGra-lha* who are also mentioned in the *Shar-rgan* songs. As Mr. Schnabel tell e, there are nine *dGra-lha* of different names said to exist in nine villages of Upper Kanāwar. They are the following *Khro-mo-min*, at Poo ; *Chags-drul* at Kanam ; *Pal-lim-bzang-mo* at Dabling ; *Chos-lha bsang-rig-pa*, at Dobbaling ; *Tsu-khang* at Lid or Sarkhung ; *Klu 'abrug bkra-shis*, at Shasu ; *Ju-ti-dung-mo*, at Khab ; *gSer-yjen-chen-po*, at Namgya ; *dMag-gi-dpon-po*, at Hang. Six of them are of the male, and three of them, those at Poo, Dabling, and Khab, are of the female sex.

Tibetans. The Tibetans practised human sacrifices, but for different motives from what we have observed in the Satluj valley. Oaths at important treaties were emphasised by human as well as animal sacrifices. New houses were inaugurated by immuring human beings and a person was killed when a house was first inhabited.[1] Thus, at the village of Poo, a lama had only recently beheaded his own father while asleep, to make the new house he had built, properly habitable.

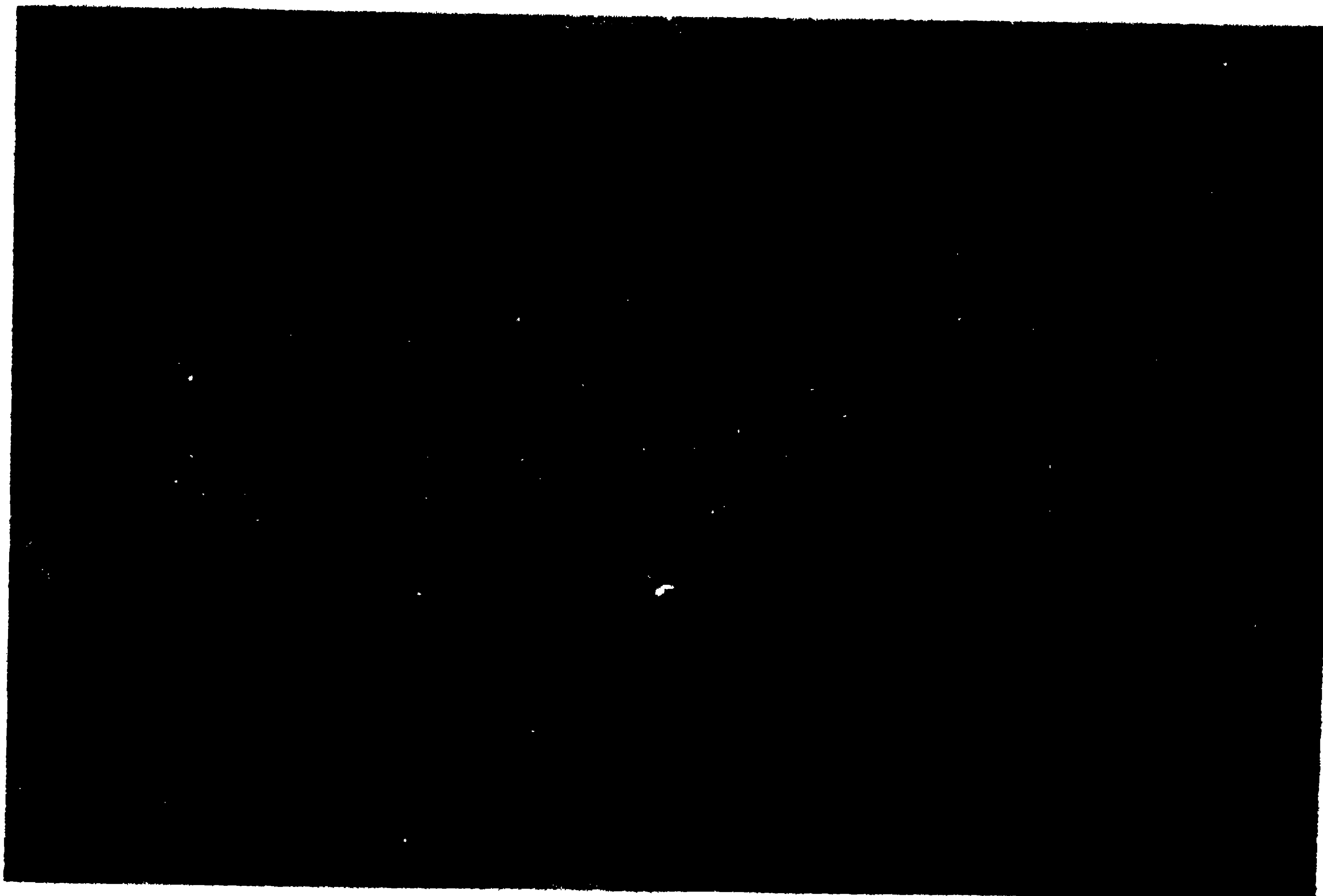
The Shar-rgan sacrifices as well as the human sacrifices in the Satluj valley and in Lahul are of a very different character. To understand them, it is necessary to investigate the character of the deities in whose honour they are celebrated. Śiva and Kālī, as we find them in the Himālayas, are personifications of the creative powers; they do not only produce the harvest of the fields, but also bless the women with children, especially sons. In this respect, the principal deities of the pre-Buddhist religion of the Tibetans, in particular Ke-sar and 'aBru-gu-ma, resemble Śiva and Kālī. For as I have shown previously,[2] Ke-sar and 'aBru-gu-ma were both invoked by the people to grant children. This explains the union which was formed between the Tibetan pre-Buddhist and the aboriginal Śiva-Kālī religion, as we find it represented in the Shar-rgan hymnal. (The word *shar-rgan* means "young and old".) But Ke-sar and 'aBru-gu-ma were not of the fierce character of Śiva and Kālī. The latter were only ready to grant a blessing, when a portion of what they had given, was returned to them. Hence not only a portion of the harvest of the fields, or some of the lambs of the flock had to be returned to them in sacrifice, but they also claimed some of the children with whom they had blessed the village. Almost invariably the traditions speak of children who were sacrificed. Here at Poo, the sacrifice had to be made on the occasion of a festival which is still now-a-days recognised as a festival or thanksgiving for the blessing of offspring. In Lahul, the prayer on the occasion of such sacrifices was apparently intended more as a thanksgiving for a good harvest in the fields.

The old Shar-rgan place is exactly above the site of the ancient castle of Kalagtrung and probably belonged to it. The new Shar-rgan place is situated a little above the road from Poo to Rizhing. At the latter place, there are a few old pencil-cedars, and a number of rough altars, furnished with horns of goats and wild antelopes, and pencil-cedar twigs. They look exactly like the *lha-tho* of Ladakh. A third place which is connected with the same festival is found in the middle of the village of Poo, and is called Dralang (*sGra-lang* (?) 'raising the voice'). It is used for dancing and has a pole in the middle. On two sides of the place, there are *lha-tho* like those on the new Shar-rgan place, and two perpendicular stones, one showing traces of an inscription seemingly *Oṁ-a-huṁ*. The other plain one is probably a rude kind of *liṅgam*, like those in Manchad. Not far from it, there are holes or pits where again children used to be sacrificed. (Plate IX, b).

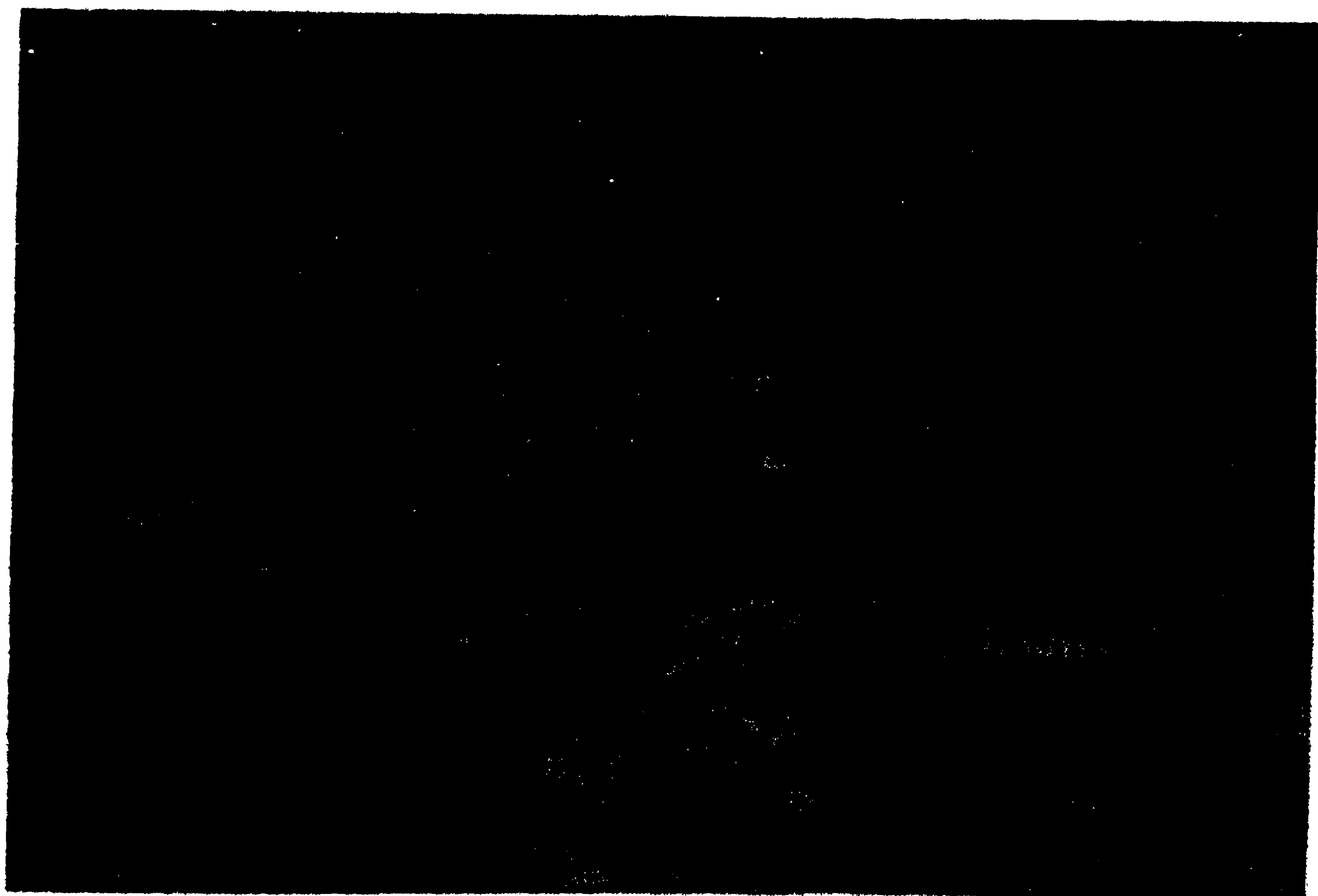
The people of Poo although they are Buddhists, do not always cremate their dead, but bury them in certain cases. There are two burial places outside the village, one for

[1] The Dard Bridge, see my *History of Western Tibet*.

[2] *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 583 ff.



a. Interior of Lotsabai Lha-khang, Poo.



b. Dralang, dancing-place, Poo.

☛

more respectable people, as Mr. Schnabel informed me, the other one for poor people and such as die of infectious diseases. The graves consist of rocks and stones above the ground. Some corpses are even thrown into the river, especially those of people who die of dropsy. Do the people of Poo believe that the accumulation of water in the body of a sick person is a sign that the Nāgas (*Klu*) claim the body?

Before leaving Poo, I consider it necessary to write a short note about the line of kings who reigned here in former days. As has already been stated, King Ye-shes-'od, whose inscription we discovered at Poo, reigned at mTho-lding, the old capital of Guge, in the days of the great teacher Atiśa. Now a king of the same name is mentioned among the descendants of the first king of Zangskar, and closer research reveals the fact that the Zangskar kings actually reigned at mTho-lding in Guge. How is this to be accounted for? My explanation is this: King Nyi-ma-mgon of Western Tibet divided his empire among his three sons. The eldest received Ladakh, the second received Guge and Purang with mTho-lding as his capital, the third one's portion was Zangskar. The historical accounts of the Tibetans relate of descendants of the first and third sons, but they do not give any names of descendants of the second son. There were apparently none. The king of Guge and Purang died without issue. Then his country was seized by the king of Zangskar, whose sway thereby extended over Zangskar, Guge and Purang, and whose glory almost eclipsed that of the kings of Leh. Ye-shes-'od is a member of the important line of kings who reigned over the three countries mentioned above and whose capital was at mTho-lding.

We left Poo on the 6th July on our way to Shipke. At first our road took us down to the rocky banks of the Satluj where we had to cross a rope bridge. The place of this bridge is called mTho-rang, or 'Height itself.' From inscriptions on both banks of the river, it becomes evident that there has been a bridge in this place from ancient times. The oldest inscription is in Gupta characters, and too much effaced to allow of reading more than *sya*, the termination of the genitive case, at the end of the line. Several of the Tibetan inscriptions seem to be almost a thousand years of age, judging by the form of their characters. It is interesting to note that two of them, one on each bank of the river, give the following advice to the person who intends crossing: *Ma-ṇi-grongs-shig*! "Do not forget the *maṇi* (the *Ōṁ maṇi padmē hūṁ*) [when crossing]"! This was very appropriate advice, for unpleasant as this bridge is now-a-days, it was far more unpleasant in the old days when the traveller had to entrust his life to three rotten ropes plaited of willow twigs at an altitude of about 100 feet above a broad and violent stream. No wonder, people called the bridge 'Height itself.' At the present day, the bridge consists of a strong steel cable provided by the Public Works Department; and the usual trolley being broken, a wooden saddle with two rope slings attached to it, has to do service instead. As Mr. Schnabel informs me, hardly a year passes by without accidents on this bridge, and even a battered traveller like Sven Hedin who had to cross it ten months before us, clothed his feelings in the words: "This bridge is a proper place for people desirous of committing suicide!"

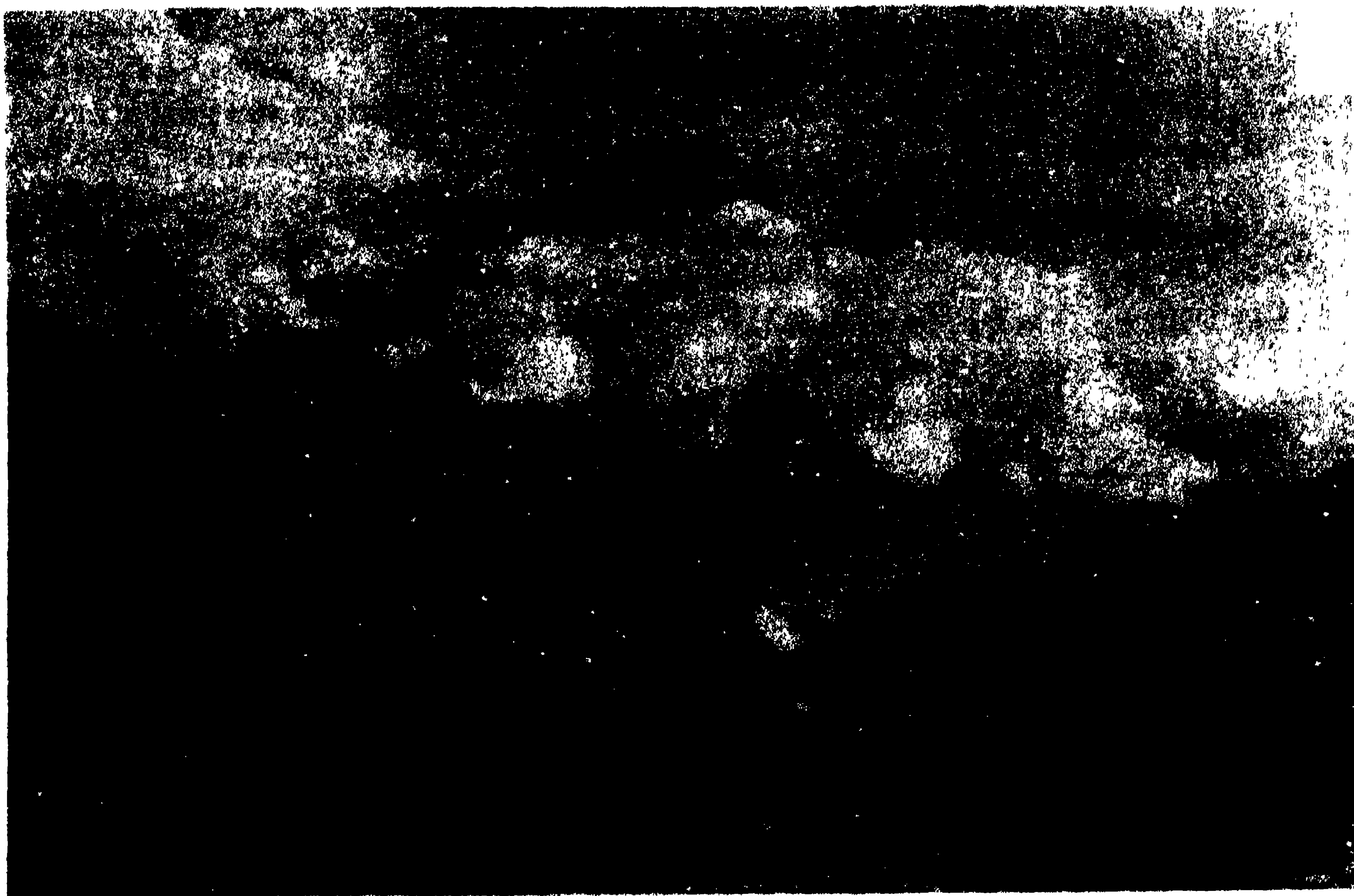
We arrived at the village of Namgya (spelt *sNam-rgya* in an historical document) on the 6th July, after a hot march over very uneven ground.[1] Soon after our arrival, the village chief, called Hira, made his appearance and entered into conversation with me. He said, he was a descendant of a Tibetan family of *blon-po*, ministers, who had formerly been in charge of this district, and indeed, he had quite the bearing of a gentleman. In the course of our conversation he exhibited an extraordinary knowledge of things historical, in particular with regard to the battle of Basgo in 1646-47 A.D[2]. When I expressed my astonishment at such wisdom, he said that he was in possession of a document of ancient times. After much persuasion he produced it, and it turned out to be a copy of the treaty between Rājā Kehari Singh (*Kyeris Sing* in Tibetan) of Bashahr and the Lhasa Government, headed by Galdan Thsang (Thse-dbang). This Galdan Thsang is the very general of the Tibeto-Mongolian army who had conducted the siege of Basgo. Of this most important document, I ordered a copy to be made at once and offered R1 for it. I said that I expected to get the copy on our way back from Shipke in a few days, to which the old gentleman consented. On our way back, I had to find out, however, that Hira was no longer a gentleman, as he would not hand over the copy, until he had extorted R2-8 from me. As our conversation on my return visit to Namgya was more heated than logical, it did not become quite plain from his talk, whether he had copied his paper from an old document in his possession, or from a copper-plate of the Rājā of Bashahr. If the latter be true, this would be the first copper-plate inscription in Tibetan, and the Rājā of Bashahr ought to be urged to open his archives to students of history. The manuscript gives a short account of the war between Ladakh and Lhasa in 1646-47 and contains a few, but important local names. The difficulty is to assign them their proper places on a map. That the document is not forged, is quite plain from its internal evidence.

The road between Namgya and Shipke is bad beyond description. I have had some experience of awkward roads during my thirteen years' residence in Indian Tibet, but I must say, the Namgya-Shipke road beats them all. Here we had not only to march by very unstable pathways along the face of the precipice, but had also from time to time to climb up and down pinnacles with almost no road under our feet. It reminded me of chimney climbing, sometimes inside sometimes outside a chimney. The continual ups and downs alone would have been quite sufficient to exhaust the strength of any traveller on an ordinary road.

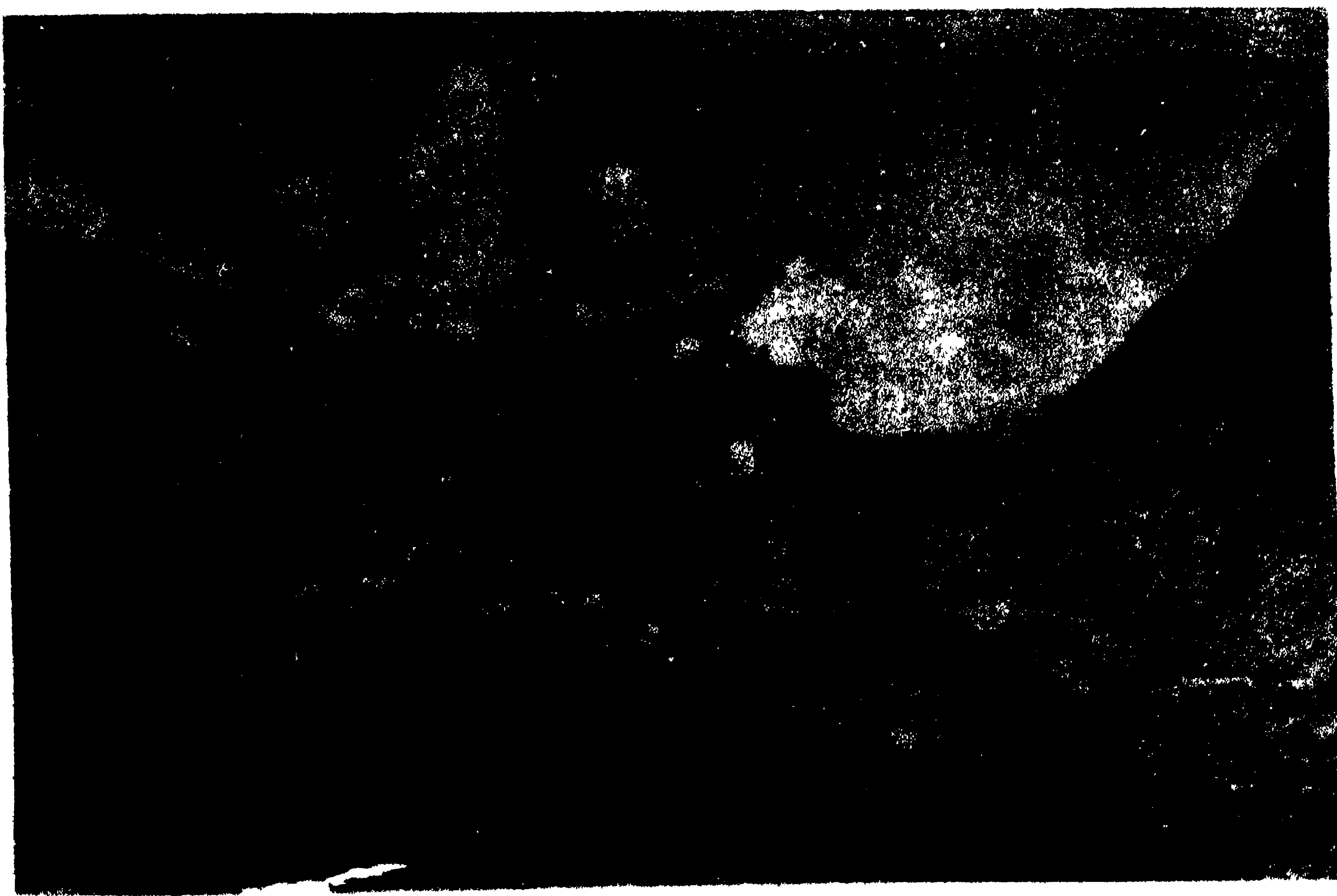
The frontier of Tibet proper is marked by a little brook, where a meal is generally taken by travellers. Having passed the brook, the people of Namgya and Bashahr dismiss caste and, Mr. Schnabel tells me, are ready to eat and drink even with a European. On the Tibetan side of the frontier, people find a blue kind of zeolith embedded in the granite rock, which they call *rDo-khyu*, or *rDo-khyug*. This stone, according to their belief, possesses medical powers. They tie it over the eyes of sheep

[1] The earliest picture of Namgya (Namdja) is found in *Reise des Prinzen Waldemar von Preussen*, 1845, Plate, XIX.

[2] See my *History of Western Tibet*, p. 108.



a. Mount Purgyul from rNamgya.



b. Lamaist gateway near rNamgya.

and goats, when they are hurt, and even rub their own skins with it, when they are sore. Several weeks later, we found more of this stone between Nako and Chang and Pindi Lal bought a large quantity of it for two *paisa*. There we were told that in a pulverised state this stone could be used internally and externally, and would cure all diseases both real and imaginary.

Pindi Lal's treasure stood us in good stead in the course of our tour, for people continually approached us with the desire to be cured of all kinds of diseases. Government had granted us five rupees worth of Quinine and Castor Oil which had to serve as a cure for everything. The fame of my medical skill which was, however, without any foundation, spread far and wide. Once when travelling through the desert between Bashahr and Spiti, and far away from any human habitation, I met with a youth and an old woman, his mother, who said that they had travelled three days to meet me and get medicine to cure the old woman's eyes. As I was a Christian lama, it was my duty to render help, they said. All who have travelled in this country know how unpleasant it is to unload boxes in the middle of a stage, open them, and have them loaded again. In a case like the present there was, however, no escape, and I had to get at one of my boxes to find some ointment which would be, as I hoped, a little more efficacious than Castor Oil. Ordinarily Pindi Lal attended to the sick who were continually hovering about our camp and made them happy by handing over to them one or other of our blue stones with much genial advice

The aspect of the village of Shipke is not different from that of the villages on the other side of the border, but the appearance of the inhabitants undoubtedly is. Not only does their dress show the genuine Tibetan cut, but also the pigtail is much in evidence here. I am sure that the people of Poo also were in the habit of wearing pigtails at an earlier date than 1650 A.D. But after they had become subjects of the Bashahr Raja, they assumed the fashions of that State. The people of Shipke try their best to extract as much money as possible from the few European travellers, they see. But as Mr. Schnabel said, there is some excuse, for tax-collecting is carried on in the most cruel way all over Tibet, and they have to part with all their few rupees, when the tax-collector comes. Only recently news was brought to Poo that an unfortunate wretch whose taxes had not been paid for the last three years was whipped to death at Shipke. No wonder, that most of the Tibetans would prefer to become British subjects.

There are three ruined castles at Shipke.[1] The oldest of them is situated rather high up above the village on the West. It is known by the name of *mKhar-gog* (broken castle), and is built in cyclopean style (Plate XI, a). Only portions of two walls are still in their original position. There are no traditions whatever current about this castle. We bought an ancient stone axe of the type of the Ladakhi *Kalam* which was asserted to have been found on the site of this stronghold. It is interesting that this kind of stone implement was in use here also.

---

[1] The earliest picture of Shipke with the Purgyul mountain is found in *Reise des Prinzen Waldemar von Preussen* 1845, Plate XXI.

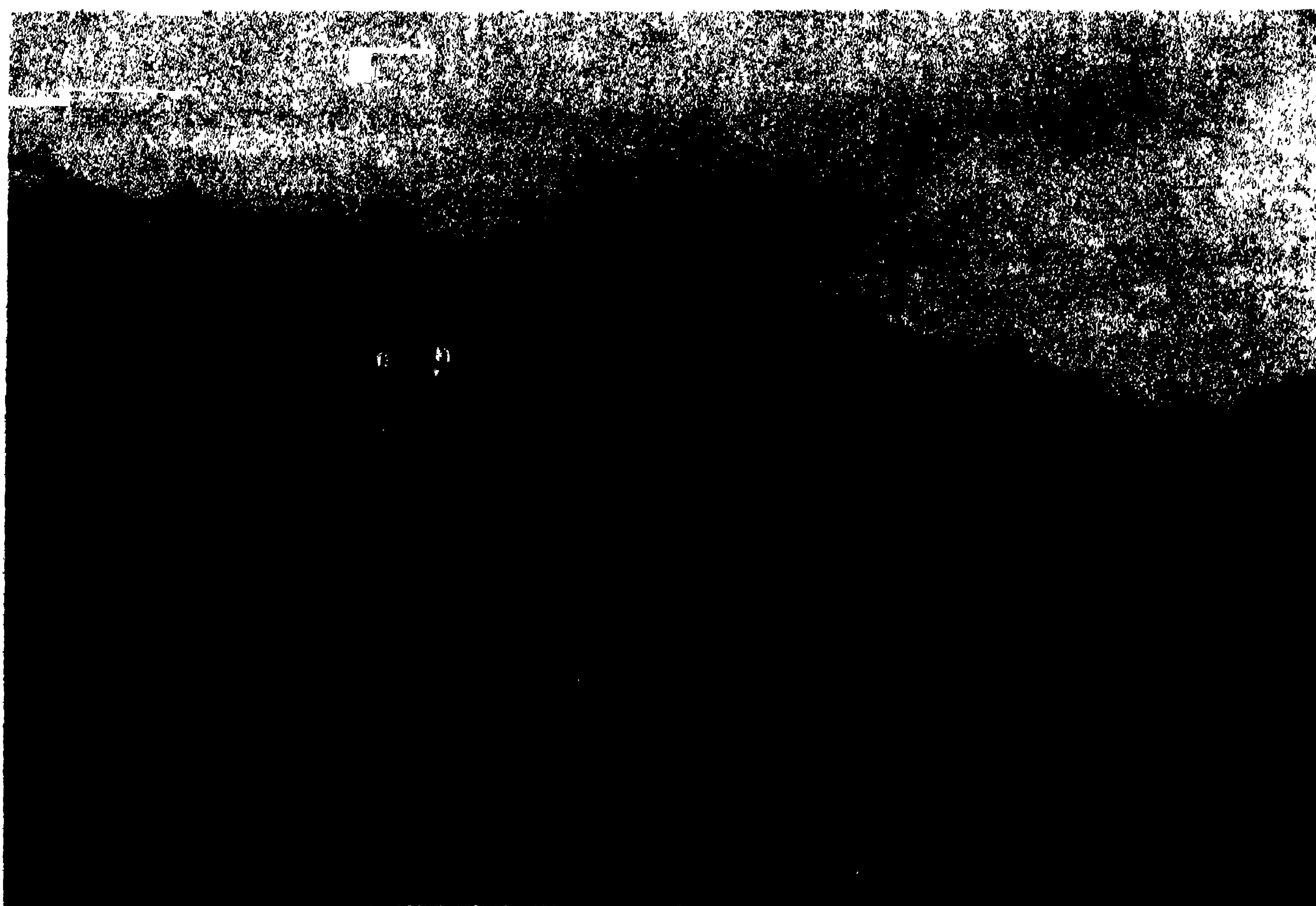
The second of the ruined castles is called *Seng-ge-mKhar* (Plate XI, b). Its ruins are found below the mKhar-gog castle, on the left bank of the Satluj. Its lower part is built of large well fitted stones, and higher up the walls are of clay or sun-dried bricks, as is the case in the later Ladakhi buildings. I suppose that the castle was built by Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh, and called after him. Some of the walls are still standing. The building must have been of huge size. An inscription which I found on a *maṇi* wall just above the village of Shipke speaks of a king and his son who once resided 'at the castle.' No names are given. The kings of Western Tibet, or their vassal kings of Guge, may have resided here occasionally. A legend referring to this castle, was told by the Lambardār of Shipke, and taken down by Lobzang of Poo who accompanied me on this tour. According to it, the castle received its crooked ground plan through a race round its base executed in opposite directions by a poisonous snake and a scorpion.

The third castle of Shipke is situated on the road to the village of Khyug on the brook. It is called *sKyabs-mkhar* 'castle of refuge.' No walls are standing; only heaps of loose stones remain. No information of any kind regarding it was forthcoming, and I have no idea of what age it may be.

There are long rows of *maṇi* walls on the road from Shipke to Khyug. The Lambardār, Lobzang, and myself went there to examine them. The votive tablets on them were quite of the usual style, but in the place where the Ladakhi tablets give the name of the king, these contained the title of the Dalai Lama, and no personal name. For this reason it is impossible to assign a date to them or to the *maṇi* walls. Only this much can be said : they all date apparently from a time, not earlier than the second half of the seventeenth century. If earlier, they would have contained names of the kings of Ladakh, or of Guge. The tablets, however, generally contain versions of the eulogy of the country of Guge, a kind of national anthem, and for this reason I copied one of them, which I found in the village of Shipke. I am rather of opinion that after 1650 A.D., when Guge was made over to Lhasa, all those ancient tablets which contained the names of Ladakhi or Guge kings, were destroyed. It was in the interest of the Lhasa Government to make people forget their former masters.

This is one of their national anthems, as we find them in these inscriptions. It is taken from the only inscription which refers to a king.

Jambudvīpa of the south is a famous country among the ten directions of the world.
There is the mountain Tise (Kailāsa) with its neck of ice, the dwelling place of those who have conquered all enemies (*arhats*).
There is the turquoise lake Ma-spang (Manasarovar) the abode of the Nāga Ma-gros.
On the right bank of the murmuring river which proceeded from an elephant's mouth (Satluj),
There is the great castle sKu-mkhar, the abode of the king.
In it there dwell the rulers of men, father and son. May you be always victorious !



a. Ruined castle, mKhar-gog, Shipke.



b. Ruined castle, Seng-ge-mKhar, Shipke

Under the rule of this religious king, all the ten virtues were prominent, here in the capital of Hrib-skyes (Shipke).

This inscription contains, as we see, the name of the village of Shipke in its original Tibetan spelling. It reads *Hrib-skyes*, and means, 'arisen in a moment,' probably without the agency of man; it was built by fairies, like so many places in Tibet. The Nāga Ma-gros is one of the most famous Nāga kings, and figures in all the lists of Nāgas. His dwelling place is the Holy Lake of Tibet. The Kailāsa mentioned in this song, is the beautiful mountain group in the vicinity of the Holy Lake. As Hira of Namgya told me, the rKyang-drag monastery is situated in front of these mountains, and a glass window is provided just in front of the eyes of the image, so that it may always be enabled to enjoy the view.[1] As regards the Holy Lake, four different sects have their monasteries there, in five principal establishments. The oldest is the Byiu-dgon-pa (Sven Hedin's *Tschiu*) which belongs now-a-days to the Gelugpa sect; the same sect also owns the Dri-ri-dgon-pa (perhaps Sven Hedin's Diripu). The Glang-po-sna-dgon-pa, (Sven Hedin's Langbonan ?) belongs to the 'aBrugpa, and the bKa-rdzong-dgon-pa to the rNyingmapa sect. Besides these professedly Buddhist monasteries there is also a Bon monastery on the shores of the Lake. As stated by Graham Sandberg, the Manasarovar Lake was already known to Pliny and Ctesias who say that the natives collected pitch in a certain corner of it. As Dr. Longstaff informs me, there are certainly hot springs on the isthmus between the two lakes.

When I heard all this about the attractions of the forbidden land of Guge, and when the natives themselves invited me most cordially to proceed, it was certainly hard to turn back. But the promise given to the Indian Government, I had to keep. The Tibetans of Shipke did not understand my position, for they said: "If men like Sven Hedin, Sherring, Calvert, etc., are allowed to travel about in Tibet, why should not you?" All these travellers had won the hearts of the Tibetans by their liberal payment for services rendered to them. The Tibetans were more than ready to serve me in the same way under similar conditions.

Opposite Shipke may be seen the Puri monastery. This, as well as the Ra-nyid monastery, a little north-east of Shipke, is asserted to have been founded by Ratnabhadra in the 11th century.

As I was not allowed to proceed to mTholding and Tsaparang myself, I asked Lobzang, a former pupil of the Poo mission school, to go there and copy any inscriptions he could find. Accordingly he went on alone from Shipke, and after twelve days he returned safely to Poo. He had, however, found no inscriptions of any antiquity at either of the two places. It is quite possible that none remain. Just as there are many inscriptions of the Dalai Lama's time at Shipke, but only one previous to 1650, the old inscriptions of mTholding and surroundings may have disappeared as well. Lobzang, however, did not return quite empty-handed. He brought me short descriptions in Tibetan of both places he had visited, and a copy of a written document which he had found in the

[1] As I see in Sven Hedin's *Transhimalaya*, Vol. II, p. 146, there is a similar window in the Gossul ('Gossul-gompa') monastery. An account of the monasteries on the holy lake and mountain is also found in Sandberg's *Tibet and the Tibetans*.

hands of the *rdzong-dpon* (castleward) of Tsaparang. This document turned out to be another version of the treaty between Bashahr and Tibet in 1650, and is of the greatest value for the study of this important treaty. By a comparison of the two documents (Namgya and Tsaparang), we may obtain a fairly reliable text of the treaty. His description of mTholding is a valuable supplement to Captain Rawling's description of the same place which, up to the present, is still the best account of it we have. According to Captain Rawling, mTholding consists of two settlements, one of which is situated on a practically inaccessible rock, and the other in the plain below. The town on the rock is the old capital, for the customs of Guge were not different from those of Ladakh. The king's castle being built on the top of the rock, the subjects had to build their houses below or around the castle on the same rock. One of Captain Rawling's sepoys climbed up to the old town with the assistance of some Tibetans and saw several of the gigantic old images in the midst of extensive ruins. Captain Rawling himself went to the famous temple of mTholding on the plain below and examined its contents. He is of opinion that it was built when the old town was deserted and that several of the valuable articles of furniture of the castle or temples were removed to this new sanctuary, for instance the wood-carved throne of the ancient kings of Guge. I am, however, of opinion that it is very likely that the famous temple of mTholding was built on the plain by Ratna-bhadra, and not on the rock. My reason is that a long study of temples of this period (1000—1050 A.D.) has shown me that these temples are invariably found on plains, and not on rocky heights. Of great importance is Lobzang's note that this temple is locally known by the name of *rNam-snang*, which is the abbreviated form of *rNam-par-snang-mdzad*(Vairòchana), and I am in a position to state that for the most part the temples erected by Ratna-bhadra are called by that name. Either the temple as a whole is called *rNam-par-snang-mdzad*, or one of the halls is so called. Schlagintweit has a note on this temple, to the effect that it was once burnt down and re-erected. If that be true, it would be difficult, indeed, to find here ancient records, and it is a very fortunate circumstance that other temples of the same age in Western Tibet have escaped destruction. d'Andrada, when speaking of Tsaparang in 1623-24 says that there are many symbols of Christianity in this place. I have not yet been able to make out what he means by this, whether he mistook Buddhist symbols (for instance *svastikas*) for Christian symbols, or whether there were actually crosses of a Christian type among the rock carvings of this place, like the Maltese crosses of Drangtse at the Pangkong lake. I had hoped that Lobzang would find it possible to clear up this question, but I was disappointed. Lobzang said that he had seen many rock sculptures (without inscriptions) at Tsaparang, but nothing to suggest the former presence of Christians in this place.

After we had almost completed our two days' march from Shipke back to Poo, we had once more to cross the rope bridge *mTho-rang*, 'Height itself.' To avoid unnecessary delay, I had told the Lambardār, on leaving Poo, to have everything in readiness for Saturday, for on that day I intended to reach Poo again. In spite of this precaution, however, nothing was in readiness when we arrived at the bridge on Saturday at noon. The

people of Poo seem to be fond of practical joking and try to get as much fun out of their bridge as possible. They cannot think of anything more exhilarating than a person who wants to cross and cannot. I was told that they have kept old women waiting on the other bank for three days. What a grand idea to keep a European Ṣahib waiting and not move a finger to aid him! The banks of the Satluj are a trying place indeed for spending a long afternoon in midsummer. For miles around the bridge neither tree nor shrub is to be seen and nowhere is there a hollow in the rock to afford shelter from the merciless rays of the sun. How glad I was when I found a corner in the rocks to shade my face down to the nose as I lay stretched out on the ground. We did not at once understand that it was the obstinacy of the Poo people which kept us on the opposite bank, and thus we sent a man with a voice like a foghorn on to the top of a rock in the vicinity, to shout towards Poo, where people were seen working in the fields, and probably chuckling with delight. After this man had roared himself hoarse with shouting, we sent up another to continue the process. Whilst this man was thus engaged for the general benefit, we saw a man of Poo climbing about on the rocks of the Poo bank of the river. We asked him to go up to Poo for *bakhshish* and fetch the wooden saddle. "That is the last thing I would think of doing," was all he said, and with him our last ray of hope disappeared. Perhaps we should still be sitting on the other side of 'Height itself,' if Pindi Lal's craving for food had not been so imperative. He had had no food since a very early and hurried morning meal, and realized that he could not survive many more days in that barren spot. He therefore persuaded an athletic youth among our coolies to use one of his leather *chaplis* (sandals) in place of the wooden saddle, and ride across, making onward progress with his arms. So poor are these people that the youth was ready to undertake the daring experiment for two annas. It was a sight worthy of any circus to see the boy, suspended on a *chapli* 100 feet above the roaring torrent, draw himself slowly onward, often pausing to take a rest. At length he reached the opposite bank safely, and an hour later, he came back with the wooden saddle and ropes. The sun was just setting, when I crossed with my legs in the slings below the saddle. I had just reached the middle of the lofty passage, when I felt a knock on my back and was suddenly stopped. The rope behind me which had to be paid out whilst I was proceeding, had got knotted, and impeded further progress. The man who pulled me from the front did not understand the cause of my sudden halt, and believing that my weight had suddenly increased in a miraculous way, took the pulling rope over his shoulder, and marched off with full determination to drag me on by main force. As the knot, however, would not yield, I was pulled from the front as well as the back and all this at an unusual height above a roaring river. I managed, at last, to explain matters to the man who then took the rope off his shoulder, and I had to spend some trying minutes in sublime solitude, before the knot could be loosened, and I could proceed to the Poo bank of the river. I was not in my best humour when I met the Lambardār of Poo. He, however, pretended to have acted according to my instructions in posting a man on the bridge to report our arrival. It was this man's sense of humour which had kept him away. We punished him by making

him pay the two annas *bakhshish* which had been more than earned by the brave *chapli* rider.[1]

On the way between Shipke and Poo, high above the Satluj, a monastery called bKra-shis-sgang may be seen. This is not the famous monastery of that name, erected by Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh. The latter is situated in Western Guge, and is generally called Byang-bKra-shis-sgang (Northern bKra-shis-sgang), to distinguish it from the monastery near Namgya.

CHAPTER II.

From the Satluj to the Indus.

We left Poo on the 21st July to travel through Spiti and Rubshu to Leh. This is a journey of about four weeks through the most uninhabitable country. Our outfit, as regards provisions and warm clothing, might certainly have been better. But the summers being short in these regions, we could not put in three more weeks of waiting at Poo, to let the required goods and means come up. The missionary at Poo kindly advanced me some money as well as tinned provisions, and we left with the determination to move on and be satisfied with the simplest fare.

On the first day we had to cross the steep Hang Pass, 16,000 feet high. It is a place which arouses painful memories in the minds of Mr. and Mrs. Schnabel; for when they had to cross it the last time with a child of only two years of age, the rarified air on the top of the pass proved to be too much for their baby which showed signs of suffocation. Only by taking up the child and hurrying down with it at a pace not at all in harmony with the awful condition of the road, was it possible to save its life. The eastern side of the pass is very bare and uninteresting, but on the western side alpine flowers of great beauty and scent greet the traveller, among them the wild purple aster and Aconitum moschatum. Before the village of Tsuling is reached on the western side, the road passes by the ruins of the old Gadgari monastery. Heaps of loose stones and some terraced ground is all that remains.

I could not discover anything of special interest in the little village of Tsuling. A small hut under a huge pencil-cedar tree is called Lhā-khang, "house of the gods," or "temple." It was quite empty with the exception of some drums which are kept in it. Some stones with the inscription *Oṁ maṇi padmē hūṁ* were placed below the sacred pencil-cedar.

On the 22nd July we arrived at the village of Li which looks very beautiful with its many green fields and apricot trees in the midst of a chaos of bare rocky mountains. Li is very probably a place with a grander past than present. The Tibetan dictionaries and chronicles speak of two ancient places called *Li*, one in the north, the other in the south. The northern one has been correctly identified with Turkestan or a part of Turkestan. Of the Li of the South it is said that it is situated "near Nepal." I believe that the "Li of the South" is the Tibetan part of the present Bashahr State, the principal town of which was very possibly the present village of Li. On a steep rock on the bank of the river

[1] The earliest picture of this bridge is found in *Reise des Prinzen Waldemar von Preussen*, Plate XVIII. (Namtu Bridge.)

are the ruins of an ancient castle, *mkhar*. People told me that they had formerly to live on that rock (probably before 1650, when they came under Bashahr). They left the rock on account of many accidents in consequence of their getting drunk. I visited the site, but saw nothing beyond heaps of loose stones with fragments of rude pottery Some of the rooms can still be traced. The Tibetans of Li as well as of Kanāwar in general are distinguished from those of Spiti, Ladakh and Shipke by the fashion in which they wear their hair. The men of Kanāwar wear their hair like the people of Bashahr. No long pigtails are seen here. The same is the case in Lahul where also the long pigtail has disappeared. The Hindu rulers of Bashahr and Kuḷū were apparently against it.

The bKra-shis-lhun-grub monastery of Li is asserted to be of ancient origin. This may be true, for it belongs to the rNyingmapa sect, the most ancient order of monks in Tibet. This sect has not founded new settlements for a long time. The abbot told me that the Li monastery was founded by Padma-sambhava, which is quite probable, if it be not even older. As Sarat Chandra Das has shown, the rNyingmapa order has much of its literature in common with the Bonpos, the followers of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet.[1] Around Lhasa, the monks of the rNyingmapa order cannot be distinguished from other orders of the "red persuasion," as regards dress, but here in the west they can. Here the rNying-ma-pa monks grow long hair which is never combed, and gives them a savage appearance. The best specimens of this uncivilized order of saints can, however, be seen at Pyin in Spiti. Although I am convinced of the correctness of the assertion that the monastery is of remote origin, this statement cannot be confirmed by documentary evidence. The present building does not appear to be of many years' standing, nor the few idols contained in it. At the monastery, however, they have an ancient and beautiful wood carving of teak wood, representing Buddha surrounded by Bōdhisattvas. All the Bōdhisattvas are of the primitive and simple type. (Fig. 1).

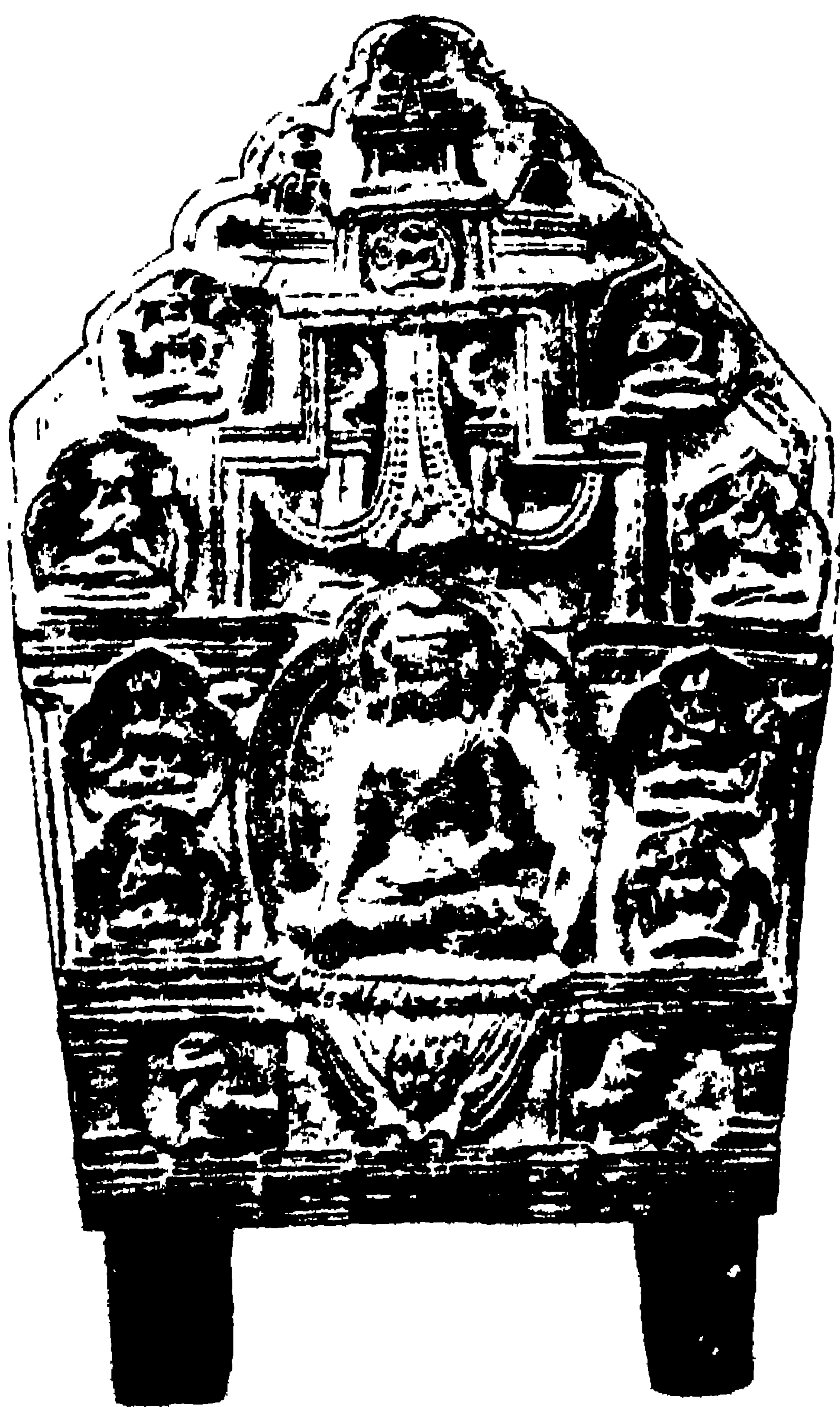


Fig. 1.

Not far from the bKra-shis-lhun-grub monastery, a little above the line of cultivation, are the ruins of an old nunnery, called *Jo-moi dgon-pa*. It consists of three separate ruined houses, a *maṇi* wall covered with white pebbles and two *mchod-rten*. The nunnery was abandoned only a hundred years ago, so people told me.

[1] See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. L, p 202.

The irrigation canals of Li are of some interest. In one case the water is conducted through a rock or mountain by a tunnel of considerable length. People here firmly believe that this tunnel was made by fairies (*mkha-'agro*) or gods (*lha*). In the West people would be proud of their clever ancestors.

In one of the *mchod-rten* at Li, on the road to Nako, I found a clay tablet representing Avalōkitēśvara with eleven heads and eight arms, an interesting stage in this divinity's development into a figure with a thousand arms.

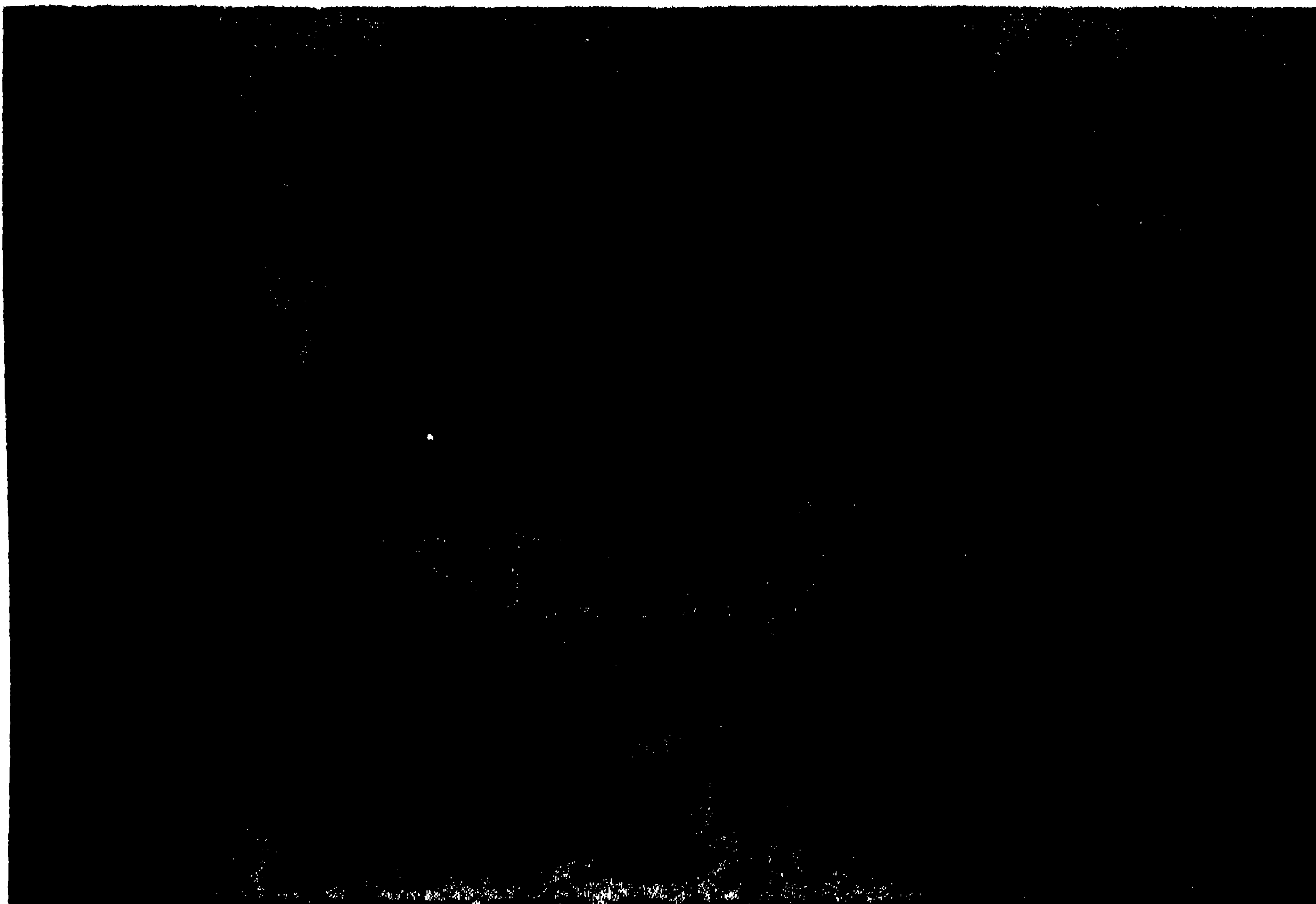
On Friday the 23rd July, we marched to Nako. We had hardly left the village of Li, when our caravan had to cross the swollen Spiti river by a rope bridge. (Plate XII, a). I sincerely sympathised with Pindi Lal when he said "I am tired of these bridges." But we had a right to be tired of them, for it was, after all, the last one we had to cross in the course of our journey. After we had spent about three hours in transporting our luggage and ourselves across the foaming waves, we had to climb up a very steep and high mountain side with no shade and a scorching sun above us. When it seemed as if I had reached the ends of the earth with nothing beyond, the large emerald plateau of the village of Nako suddenly appeared before me. There were waving fields in which girls were working and singing merrily, and a picturesque town reflected in the mirror of a clear little lake.

We noticed at once the site of a great 'aBrugpa monastery, called Lo-tsa-bai Lha-khang (Plate XII, b). Four large temple halls are still standing and form a kind of court. South-east of them, there are many ruins of other buildings, probably the cells of monks. There are also plenty of more or less ruined *mchod-rten*. This great monastery is believed to have been founded by Lo-tsa-ba Rin-chen-bzang-po, in the days of king Ye-shes-'od of Guge, c. 1025 A.D., and I am convinced that this assertion is right. Here we are certainly on ancient ground. Let me now proceed to describe the different temples.

The western hall is called *Lha-khang-ched-po*. The principal figure in this hall is that of rNam-par-snang-mdzad (Vairōchana), the chief of the Dhyāni-buddhas of the five regions (Plate XIII, a). On his right we find Don-yod-grub-pa (Amōgha-siddha) and Rin-chen-byung-ldan (Ratna-sambhava); on his left sNang-ba-mtha-yas (Amitābha) and rDo-rje-sems-dpa (Vajra-sattva). Rin-chen-byung-ldan is represented once more on the same wall with a dragon frame, similar to that of the principal figure.[1] As regards the frescoes on the walls, they were arranged in circles, just as we find them at the Alchi monastery. However, their quantity being enormous and their state of preservation poor, I gave up the attempt either to copy or describe any of them. I must leave that to future students who can afford to spend at least a month in that interesting place. Elsewhere[2] I have given expression to my opinion that stucco images are

[1] In this "dragon frame" as well as in that of the stucco sGrol-gser in the northern temple we notice a curious development of a well-known decorative motive of Indian art. It is very common in the architecture of Java, where archæologists are in the habit of describing it as the *Kāla-makara* ornament. Some, however, prefer the designation *Garuḍa-nāga* ornament. In the present instances the central figure at the top is undoubtedly a Garuḍa, but the two dragons at the sides still bear the character of *makaras* (Ed.).

[2] *History of Western Tibet*, p. 51.



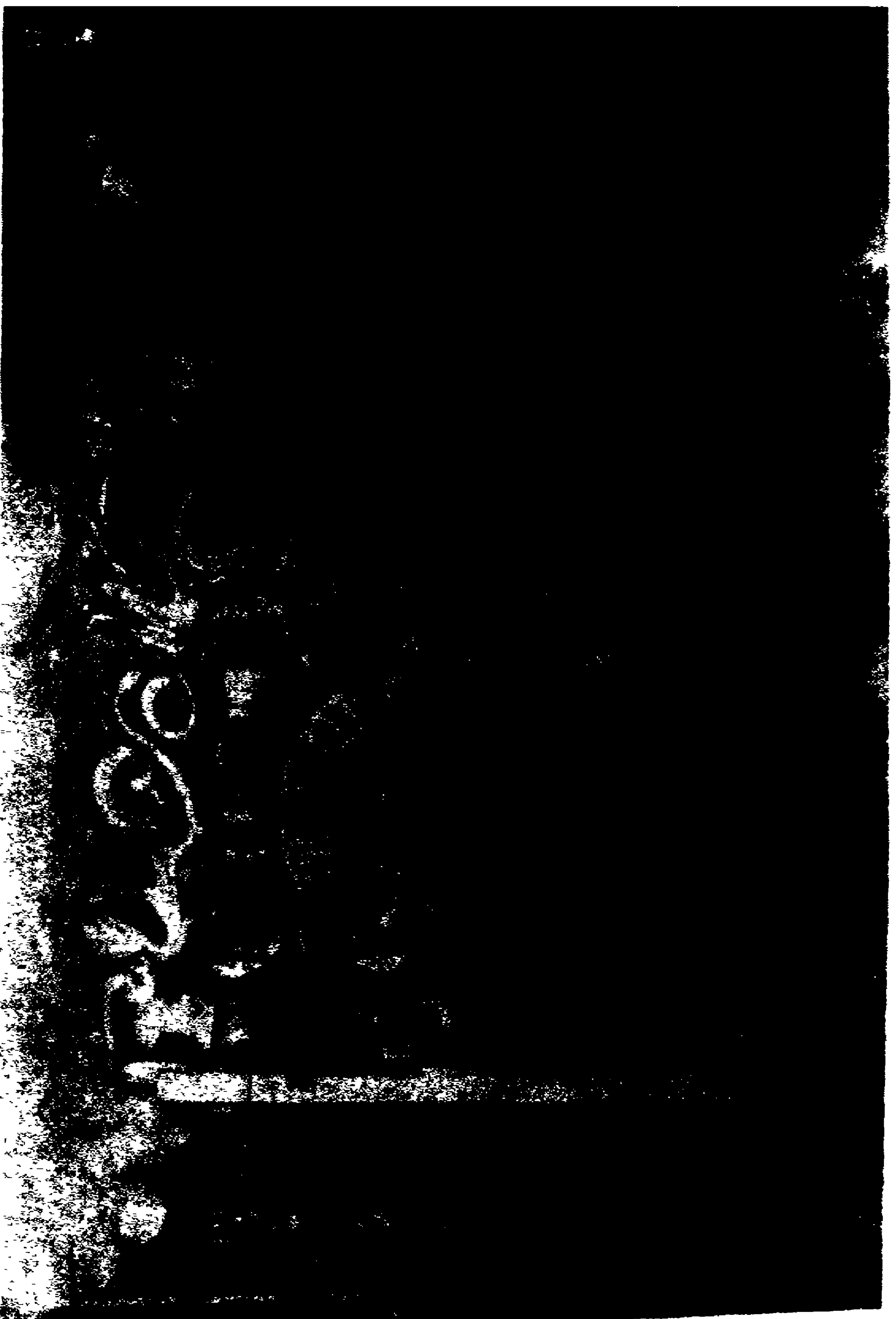
a. Crossing the Spiti River by a rope bridge.



[illegible] Monastery Nako.



a. Figure of rNam-par-snang-mdzad or Vairochana in the Lotsabai Lha-khang Monastery, Nako.



b. Figure of sGrol-gser or the yellow Tara in the Lotsabai Lha-khang Monastery, Nako.

of later date than the times of Rin-chen-bzang-po. Since I wrote this statement, I have had to change my opinion. Stucco images of very artistic design were fashioned in the eleventh century. And as regards Nako, all the monks were unanimous in asserting that the images of this monastery were of the great Lotsaba's time. In a godown here we found an ancient wooden mask such as are used by the lamas in their devil dances. We bought it for one rupee. The present day masks are made of stucco, and differ widely from this ancient specimen. I found only a single inscription in this hall, written on the wall with black ink. It reads *so-rdi*, a word which I cannot explain.

The southern temple is called *dKar-byung-lha-khang*, the 'White Temple.' We were not allowed to enter it, as a lama was occupying it for meditation.

The northern temple is called *Lha-khang-gong-ma*, 'Upper Temple.' It contains the stucco image of sGrol-gser, the yellow Tārā, in an elaborately carved wooden frame (Plate XIII, b). This is one of the rarer forms of this popular deity, the Tibetans being more interested in the white and green Tārās. Of the latter deity, there is a representation in stucco in the same hall. The yellow Tārā is surrounded by frescoes representing the eight medicine Buddhas (*sman-bla*).

The eastern temple is also called *Lha-khang-gong-ma*, 'Upper Temple'. It contains only frescoes. Opposite the door, there is a seated Buddha surrounded by his disciples. To the left of this picture is found a blue rDo-rje-chang (Vajra-dhara). On the wall to the right of the door is the picture of Thse-dpag-med (Amitāyus), probably in his capacity of medicine Buddha (*sman-bla*) surrounded by his eight followers. All these pictures were furnished with Tibetan inscriptions in white colour. Only the following three names were still legible : *Sha-kya-thub-pa* ; *Myang-ngan-med-mchog-dpal* ; *Rin-chen-zla-ba*. Above the door, among other tutelary deities, there is a large fresco of King Kesar riding on a white *r Kyang* (wild ass). At Nako he is called *gLing-sing-chen-rgyal-po*, 'Great Lion King of gLing.' This may point to a connection between the pre-Buddhist religion of the Tibetans and the Buddhism of the eleventh century. I copied six Tibetan inscriptions in this hall, which are merely of iconographical interest. Most of the others were illegible. Besides the Tibetan inscriptions we found here a short inscription in Śāradā characters which we tried to photograph, but did not succeed, as it was written with brown ink on an orange ground. Much was not lost, however, as it is probably not of very ancient date.

Another little temple to the south of the village of Nako is called *sLob-dpon-zhabs-rjes*, 'Footprint of the Teacher.' It is built over a natural rock showing a footprint of more than human size. Above the rock is placed a stucco figure of Padma-sambhava. The temple is furnished with frescoes of as ancient a type as those in the Lha-khang ched-po (*ched-po* is the same as Tibetan *chen-mo*, 'great'). They also have the same glassy polish which is found on the before-mentioned pictures. This little temple was probably erected in the eleventh century, together with the great monastery. Thus, we are led to surmise that already in the days of Rin-chen-bzang-po, this footprint on the rock

was believed to be that of Padma-sambhava who lived two and a half centuries earlier.[1]

Opposite the present town, on the other shore of the little lake of Nako, there are the extensive ruins of the ancient town, with the Jo's (chief's) fort above it. This ancient town is said to have been destroyed by the Ladakhis, probably on one of their punitive expeditions against their vassal kings of Guge. Where the present village stands, there used to be only stables in earlier days, as was also the case in Li. The chiefs of Nako are still in existence, and a votive tablet by one of their ladies was found and copied in the temple of Lo-tsa-bai-lha-khang. All the *maṇi* walls round about Nako are of recent date, like those of Li, the most ancient, name mentioned on them being that of Metar (Mahīndar) Siṅgh of Bashahr.

North-west of Nako, there are a number of deserted villages which show that in former days the cultivated area about Nako was larger than it is at present. I gathered the following names as those of the now deserted settlements: Khartag, Jadong, Gulbug, Bemgrol and Therang thangka. Most of them were deserted a long time back, but one of them only six years ago. Two or three people had lost their lives when the water course was mended, which was considered a sufficient reason for giving up the settlement altogether. Let me add that Nako was one of the places visited by Csoma de Körös.

We reached the village of Chang on the 24th July, after a march through a mountain desert without any special interest. The locally famous monastery of Tra-shi-tong-yang (*bKra-shis-mthong-dbyangs*) is situated on the opposite bank of the brook of Chang, on a rock, in the middle of a deserted village. We were not in a position to visit the temple, as its key had been taken to Tibet by the lama in charge. The monastery is asserted to have been founded by Padma-sambhava, and to contain his image. The lamas belong to the 'aBrugpa order.

Here again, in former days, all the peasants had to live on the rock around the monastery and castle, where there are many ruined houses. In the middle of the present village of Chang, there is a life-size stone statue of Avalōkitēśvara half buried in a *maṇi* wall. It is a very rude and ugly image. The small figure of Amitābha can be plainly seen in his headdress. The statue has only two arms and is painted white The legend which is connected with this image, is of some interest, because it is a version of a tale connected with Langdarma's persecution of Buddhism.[2] The Chang legend runs as follows:—Many centuries ago, the image was carried down from some higher place by a flood. The Chang people found it, and tried to carry it up to the Tra-shi-tong-yang

---

[1] The earliest picture of Nako village and monastery is found on Plate XXII of *Reise des Prinzen Waldemar von Preussen*, 1846. Of particular interest are the slanting roofs of several houses shown in that picture. Dr. Hoffmeister, who was of the Prince's party, gives the following items with regard to the ancient images of the Nako temples. In one of the halls, the travellers were shown the following images: Dordschi Simba (*rDo-rje-sems-dpā*); Nanatheia (*sNang-ba-mthā-yas*); Vinschin-jungne (*Rin-chen-byung-ldan*); Thevadna (?); Nabarnangse (*rNam-par-snang-mdsad*), and a framework with a Tschakium (*Khyung*, Garuḍa). This was evidently the *Lha-khang-ched-po* temple. In another temple, they saw a Dulma (*sGrol-ma*) with a Tschakium (*Khyung*, Garuḍa) above her. This was evidently the *Lha-khang gong-ma* temple.

[2] See *Ladvags rGyal-rabs* under Langdarma.

monastery, believing that this monastery would be the most suitable abode for the statue. However, a hundred men could not move it. Then a clever lama guessed that the image wished to be set up in its present place. And lo, when they tried to take it there, a single man could easily carry it.

On the evening of the 24th, I went to have a look at the castle of Kyahar which is only three miles distant from Chang. This castle is more imposing and of greater dimensions than I have yet seen in these mountains. It is supposed to have been built by the king of Rāmpur (in about 1650 A.D.) who probably wished to fortify the frontiers of his new territory. People told me that the castle was famous for its beautiful frescoes, and I was sorry not to be able to go and examine them. I asked, however, Mr. Cargill, of the Public Works Department, whom I met a few days after in Spiti, to go and inspect the pictures, if his journey should take him that way. He told me afterwards that he had actually been to Kyahar and made inquiries about the frescoes. People told him that there had been pictures, but that they had all disappeared. On the way to Kyahar, I noticed a short inscription in Ṭākarī on one of the boulders on the roadside. It is unintelligible, but interesting, as testifying to the use of that script in these parts.

I was told that there is a small, but ancient monastery at Kyahar, which local tradition also connects with the famous Rin-chen-bzang-po. It is called Lha-brang and belongs to the Gelugpa order. Although I was assured that it contained ancient pictures, I could not manage to visit it. Nor did I see the ancient stone sculpture at Kyahar which is said to be similar to the Avalōkitēśvara of Chang, mentioned above.

On a rock below the present village of Kyahar are extensive ruins of a deserted village. I am told that the people of Kyahar were invited to settle round the present stately castle, and therefore exchanged sites.

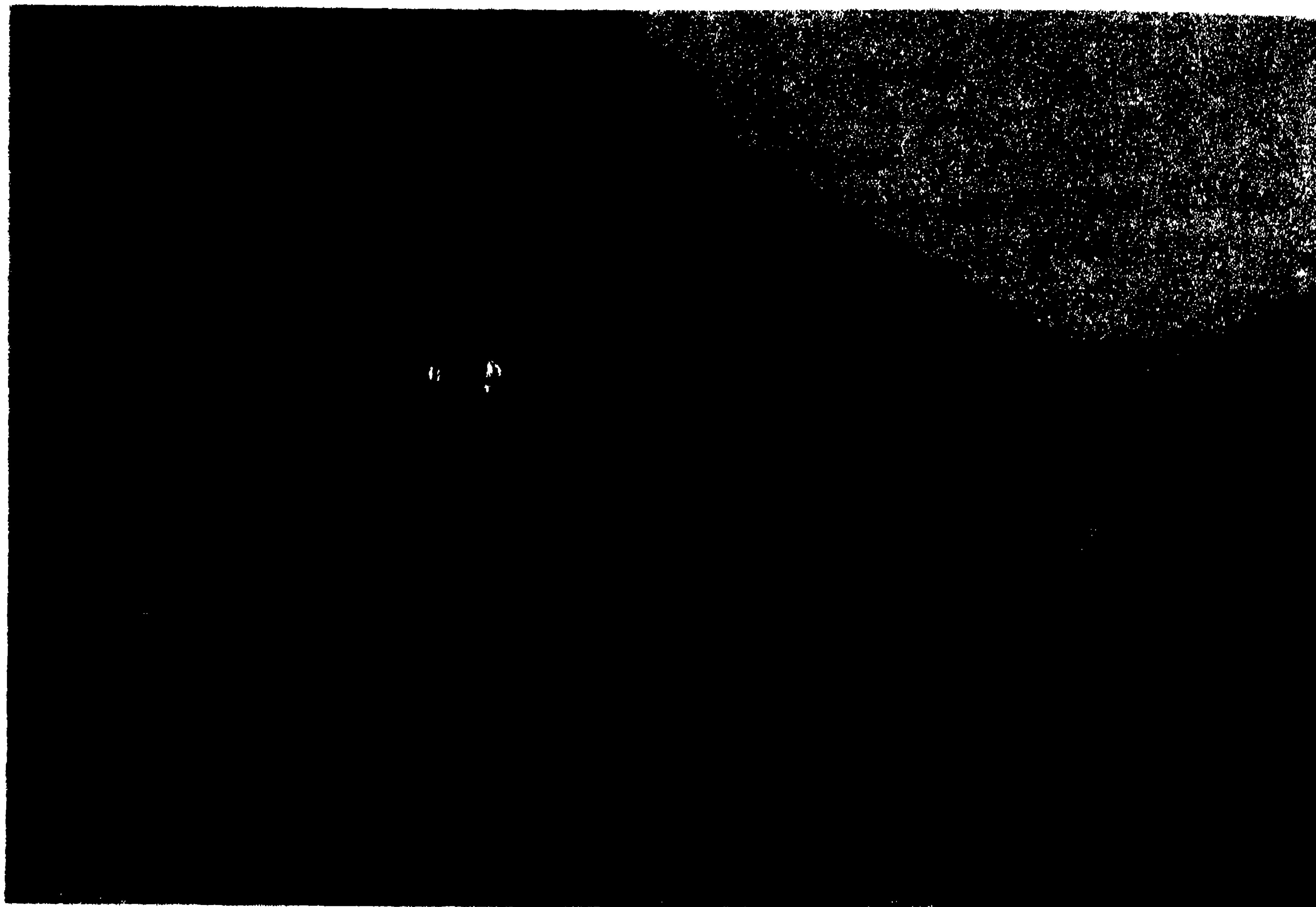
On the 26th we started on our march through a desert which separates Spiti from the Bashahr State. We had to spend three days in absolutely bare and uninhabited country, before the first village of the territory of Spiti was reached. The first march took us to the Zangzam bridge, which spans a tributary of the Spiti river. Here the road leads through Tibetan territory for several miles, and the camp on the bridge as well as our next camp at Horling was on Tibetan ground. There are several sulphur springs in the vicinity of the bridge, which contain rather hot water. The natives have hewn out little basins in which they bathe. Crystallized sulphur and some white salt (probably borax) are found near the wells. I collected some water plants which I found growing in the hot sulphurous water.

The 26th July was spent in the same desert on our march to Horling, a desert camping-place on the Spiti river. I had expected to have an archæological holiday in this uninhabitable region. But that was not so. Strange to say, we passed by *maṇi* walls, from time to time, and several of the stones placed on, or by the side of, the walls, were of unusual interest. I found here four or five stones which must have been carved in the 15th century. They contained the names of the great reformer Tsong-kha-pa and three of his contemporaries, mKhas-grub-pa (1384-1437), Lha-dbang-blo-gros (1388-1462), and

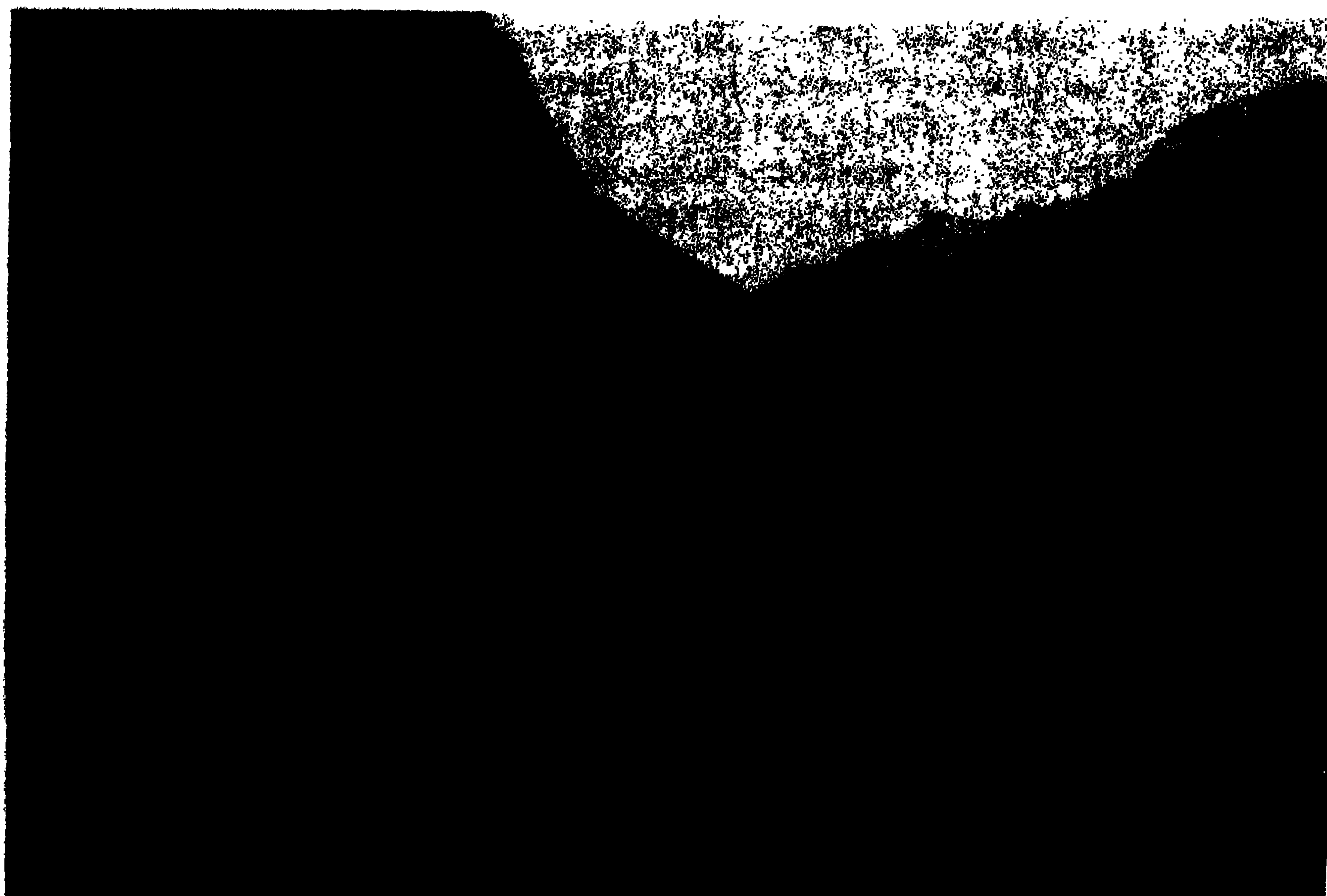
dGe'adun-grub (1389-1473). What points in particular to their ancient origin is the fact, that in these inscriptions the *e*, *o* and *u* vowel signs are all directly joined to their consonant bases. These stones were, in all probability, put up on the roadside during the Lamaist reformation, and later on placed on or near *maṇi* walls. They testify to the enthusiasm with which Tsongkhapa's reformation was welcomed in these tracts.

A still more interesting inscription I found on a *maṇi* wall at the desert camping place of Horling. This *maṇi* wall was erected by a man of the Tibetan village of rGyu-mkhar, the *Shugar* of the map, during the reign of a king who resided at Tsaparang (spelt *rTsabarang*, on the stones). When I read this, I could not help thinking at once of the Jesuit priest, d'Andrada, who states that he had found a Tibetan king at Tsaparang favourably inclined towards Christianity. This statement of the Jesuit has been subjected to serious doubts by modern writers on Tibet. They could not believe that a 'king' should ever have resided at the now unimportant village of Tsaparang. But d'Andrada is vindicated as we know now that Tsaparang was the capital of a sovereign whose power was acknowledged even as far as Spiti. At the same time when the tablet was carved, Tsaparang was the capital of the kingdom of Guge, the largest vassal state of the Western Tibetan empire. As far as my knowledge goes, the kingdom of Guge has had three capitals : the first was mTho-lding (Tholing), the second, Tsaparang, the third Garthog. The genealogical tree of the kings of Guge has been preserved in Tibetan historical works. The original line of these kings came from Zangskar, as stated above. Their dynastical name was *Lde*. The Lde dynasty came to an end in the principal line, and was superseded by a *rMal* dynasty. When the rMal dynasty became extinct, a member of a side branch of the original Lde dynasty was invited from Purang and became king of Guge. Then the historical information ceases. The name of the king who is mentioned on the votive tablet, is Khri-bkra-shis-grags-pa-lde. This name is not found in the genealogical tree, and therefore he must be one of the later members of the second Lde dynasty from Purang. He cannot well have reigned before 1600 A.D., for *maṇi* walls were hardly ever constructed before that time; nor can he have reigned much later than 1630 A.D., for about that time Indra Bodhirnam-rgyal, a younger brother of the king of Leh, was made vassal king of Guge, and in 1650 A.D., Guge was annexed by Lhasa and received a Tibetan governor. It is, therefore, very probable that Khri-bkra-shis-grags-pa-lde is the very king whose acquaintance was made by d'Andrada in 1623 A.D.

This supposition is strengthened by the discovery of a similar votive tablet which I made three days after at Tabo in Spiti. This contained the name of the same king and gave Tsaparang as his residence. But what is still more surprising, is the occurrence of the following short passage on the same tablet : "He who clears away all the apostacy and darkness at the great palace of *Tsabarang rtse*." The man who carved this inscription was evidently displeased with the Tsaparang king's inclination towards Christianity. So was the king of Leh; for it was probably on this account that he placed his younger brother on the throne of Guge. I think, we shall have to accept d'Andrada's account of his mission to Tsaparang without any severe criticism.



a. Monastery of Tabo.



b. Row of one hundred and eight *stupas*, Tabo.

Not far from our camp at Horling, on the plain towards Lhari, I found a large stone containing an inscription of Tsongkhapa's time. It mentions, besides the names of the reformer and one or two of his contemporaries, those of an ancient lama-king of Guge, Byang-chub-'od, of the famous lama Rin-chen-bzang-po of the year 1000 A. D., and also that of the Tabo monastery. This shows that in the 15th century people believed in a connection between the Tabo monastery of Spiti, and the great priest-kings of Guge.

From Horling, the high and beautiful snow mountains near the village of Chang, which belong to the group of the Purgyul peaks and are over 22,000 feet high, can be seen. We had already admired them on our way to Shipke, when we were much closer to them (Plate X, a). At Namgya, I had heard the following ditty about them :—

Tise gangskyi rgyalpo yin
Purgyul rii rgyalpo yin
Maspang mthsoyi rgyalpo yin.
"Kailāsa is the king of glaciers,
Purgyul is the king of mountains,
Manasarowar is the king of lakes."

At Horling the coolies from Chang, pointing towards the Purgyul group of mountains which is here called Gung-ri (perhaps the *Kungrang* of the maps), said that on those mountains was the fabulous 'aBa-yul, the abode of spirits. Its inhabitants are believed to be numerous, but ordinary people can neither see nor hear them. It is only very good men or lamas who are capable of perceiving anything. When such a pious man approaches that region of eternal snow, he hears the voices of its invisible denizens or the barking of their ghostly dogs, but sees nothing. This tale reminds me strongly of a passage which I had repeatedly found in inscriptions with reference to the Kailāsa mountains :—*dgra bcom bzhugs gnas Tise,* 'Kailāsa, the abode of those who have conquered all enemies' (*arhats*). The ice mountains evidently are not only the abode of the gods, but also that of the dead who, according to the belief of the Tibetans, have acquired paradise.

We reached Lhari, the first village of Spiti, on the 28th July. Although this village is possibly connected with the history of gNya-khri-btsam-po, the first king of Tibet, it is nowadays a very poor place. It consists of only a few scattered houses. Above it, on the side next the brook, there are the extensive ruins of an ancient castle, called Serlang, the former abode of the Lhari people. Below the village there are very many ancient rock-carvings, among which we note, in particular, the ibex and the *svastika.* One of the carvings appears to represent the 'willow of the world' with its six branches and six roots, one of the symbols of the pre-Buddhist religion of the people. Another symbol appears to represent the sun and the moon. Dilapidated as Lhari is now-a-days, I cannot escape the impression that it is a very ancient settlement.

On the 29th July, we marched to the famous Gelugpa monastery of Tabo which is only three miles distant from Lhari (Plate XIV, a). When we were approaching it, I

said to Pindi Lal: "You see, popular tradition connects this monastery with Rin-chen-bzang-po who lived 900 years ago, and an inscription at Horling showed us that such traditions were also current in the 15th century. But what is the use of all these traditions? We must have literary proof that a monastery actually goes back to those early days; if possible, we must have a document of those very times, on which it is plainly stated that the erection of the monastery actually took place at that time. I wonder if ever we shall be able to prove any such assumption!" As I said this, I little thought that a few hours after, I should have ample proof in hand.

In the vicinity of the Tabo monastery are many rows of 108 small *mchod-rten*, but one of them numbered at least 216 (Plate XIV, b). They were the forerunners of the *maṇi* walls in Western Tibet. Besides these rows, there are many ruined *mchod-rten* round about, and countless rock carvings. The latter represent mostly the ibex and the *svastika* and are possibly of pre-Buddhist origin. On the hill side, almost like cave dwellings, are the winter houses of the lamas.

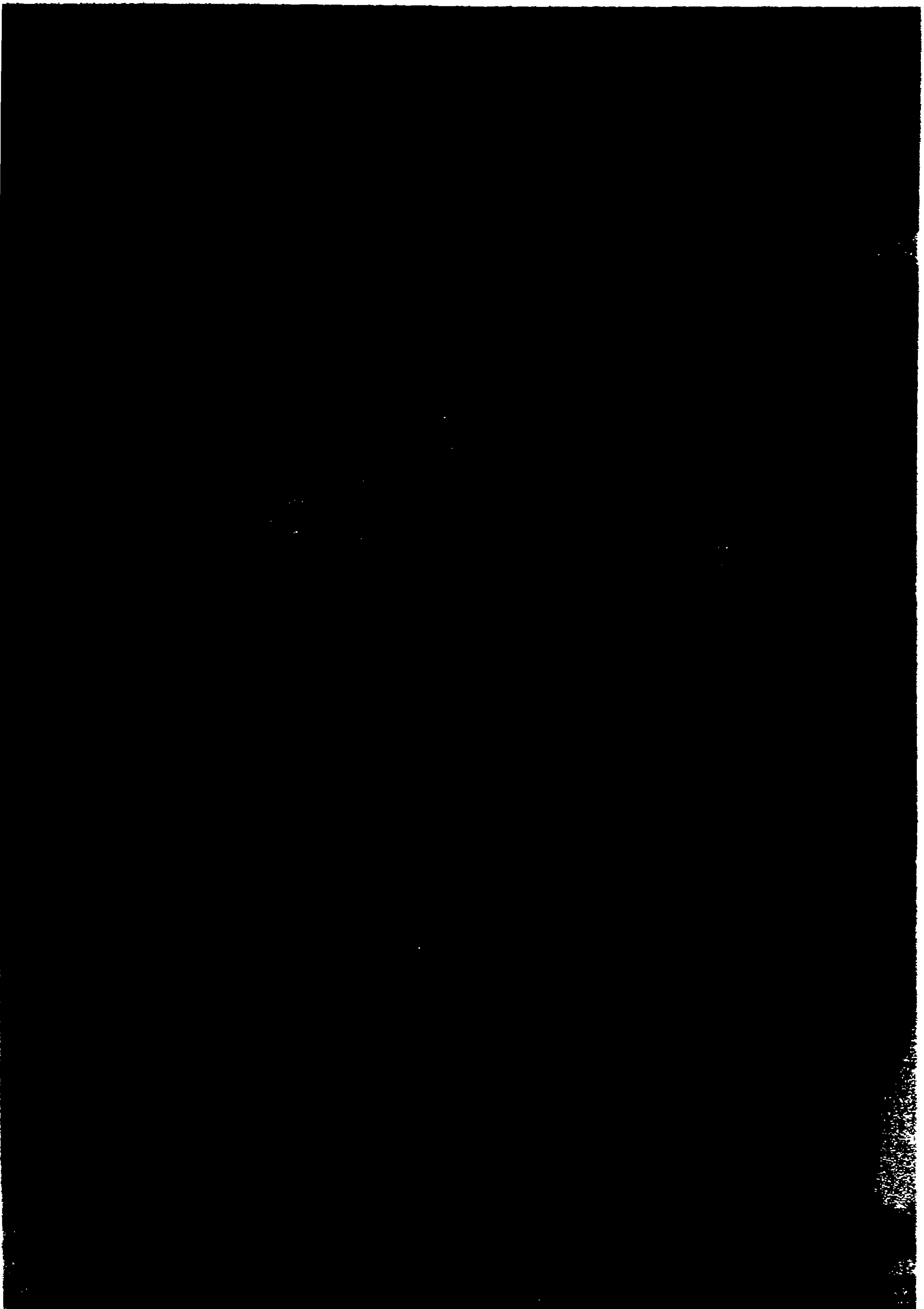
The temple buildings are found on the plain above the river. They are surrounded by a high mud wall. I made a plan of the whole establishment and these are some of the measurements taken. Extreme length: 313 feet, 7 inches; breadth 257 feet 3 inches. Within this enclosure exist seven temple-halls, and a great number of *mchod-rten*. The monks took me from one temple to another without showing me the principal hall. They said that only a Commissioner (the highest personage they have ever heard of) could be permitted to enter there. I tried in vain to convince them that, with regard to their treasures, I was in as high an office as a Commissioner, until I produced two rupees. Then the doors to their holy of holies were thrown open, and I presume that nothing of interest was purposely concealed from us.

The principal hall is called rNam-par-snang-mdzad. The length of this hall with additional apse is 63 feet, 11 inches and its breadth 31 feet, 10 inches. The principal image is a white stucco statuette of rNam-par-snang-mdzad (Vairōchana) consisting of four complete figures seated back to back (Plate XV, a). Along the walls, 6 or 7 feet above the ground, there are thirty-two raised medallions with exceedingly well executed stucco figures of life size (Plates XV, b; XVI and XVII, b). Nobody in the monastery at present knows whom they represent. But I am inclined to believe that they represent the thirty-three Hindu gods.[1] The figure of Gaṇēśa, which would make up the full number, seems to have lost its original position above the door. It is now found on the altar, below rNam-par-snang-mdzad (Plate XVII, a). One of the figures by the side of the door was recently furnished with a new head like a modern Lamaist dancing mask, the old head having been lost (Plate XVII, b).

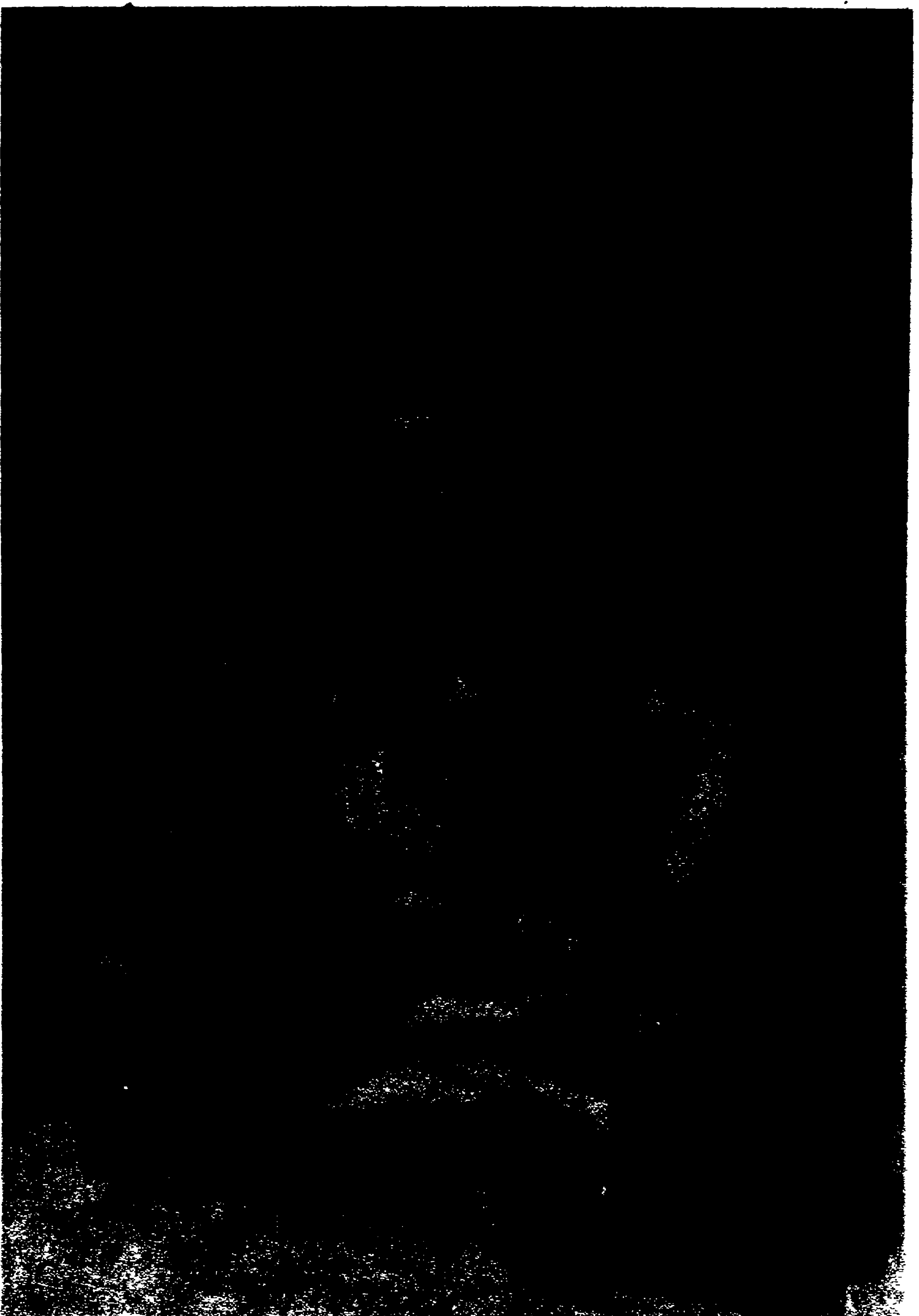
In the apse, behind rNam-par-snang-mdzad, there are four standing stucco figures and a seated figure of Buddha on a lion throne. Above it there are exceedingly well executed figures of flying spirits (Gandharvas?).

[1] This identification seems to me to be open to doubt as, according to the Brahmanical conception at least, "the thirty-three gods" include no goddesses. Neither is Gaṇēśa one of them. Their number is made up by 12 Ādityas, 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, Indra and Prajāpati: *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 11, 6,315. The Rāmāyaṇa (3, 20) substitutes the Aśvins for the two last mentioned deities. [Ed.]

PLATE XV.



a. Image of rNam-par-snang-mdzad or Vairochana in central hall of Monastery, Tab



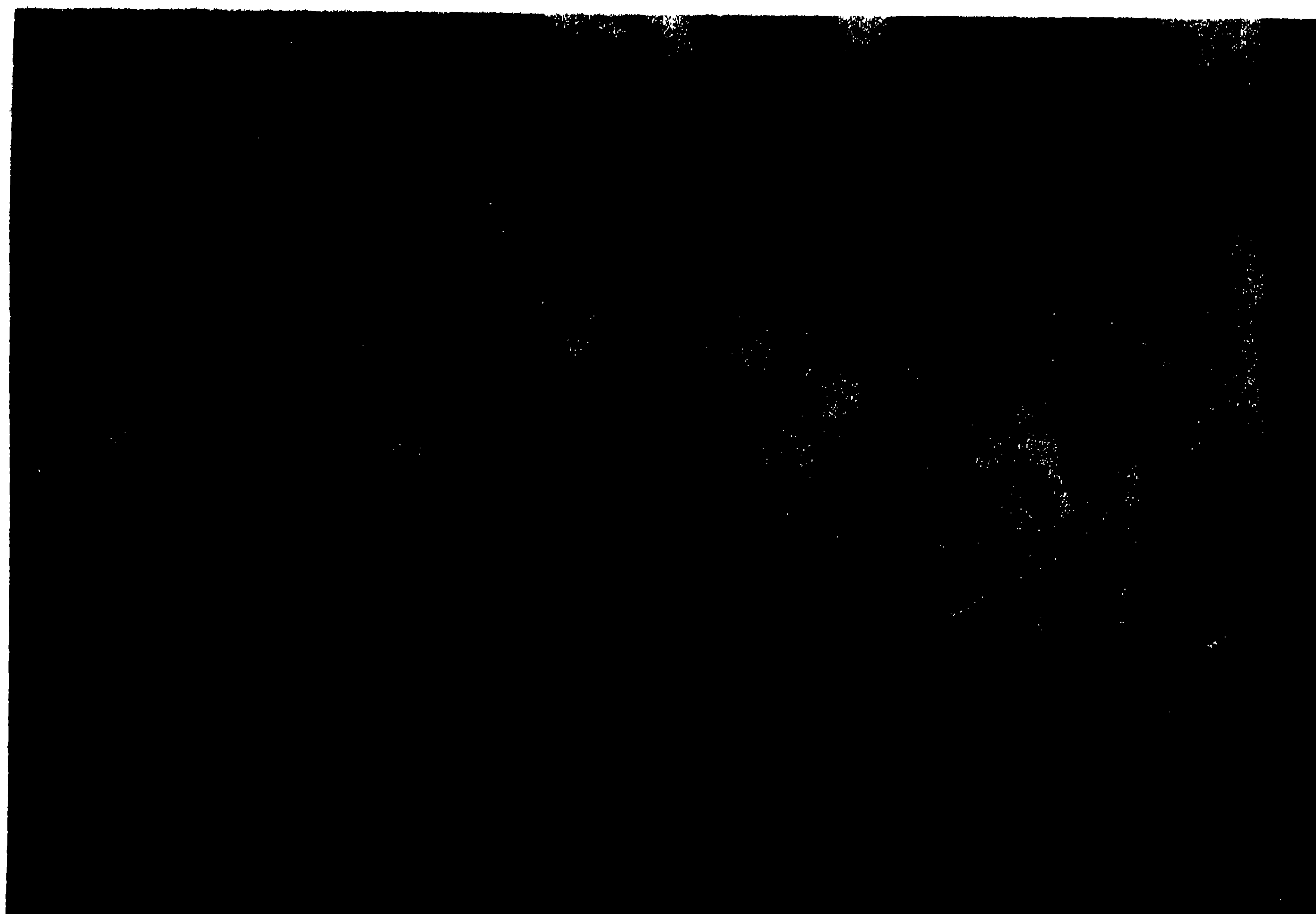
b. Female figure on wall of central hall of Monastery, Tabo.



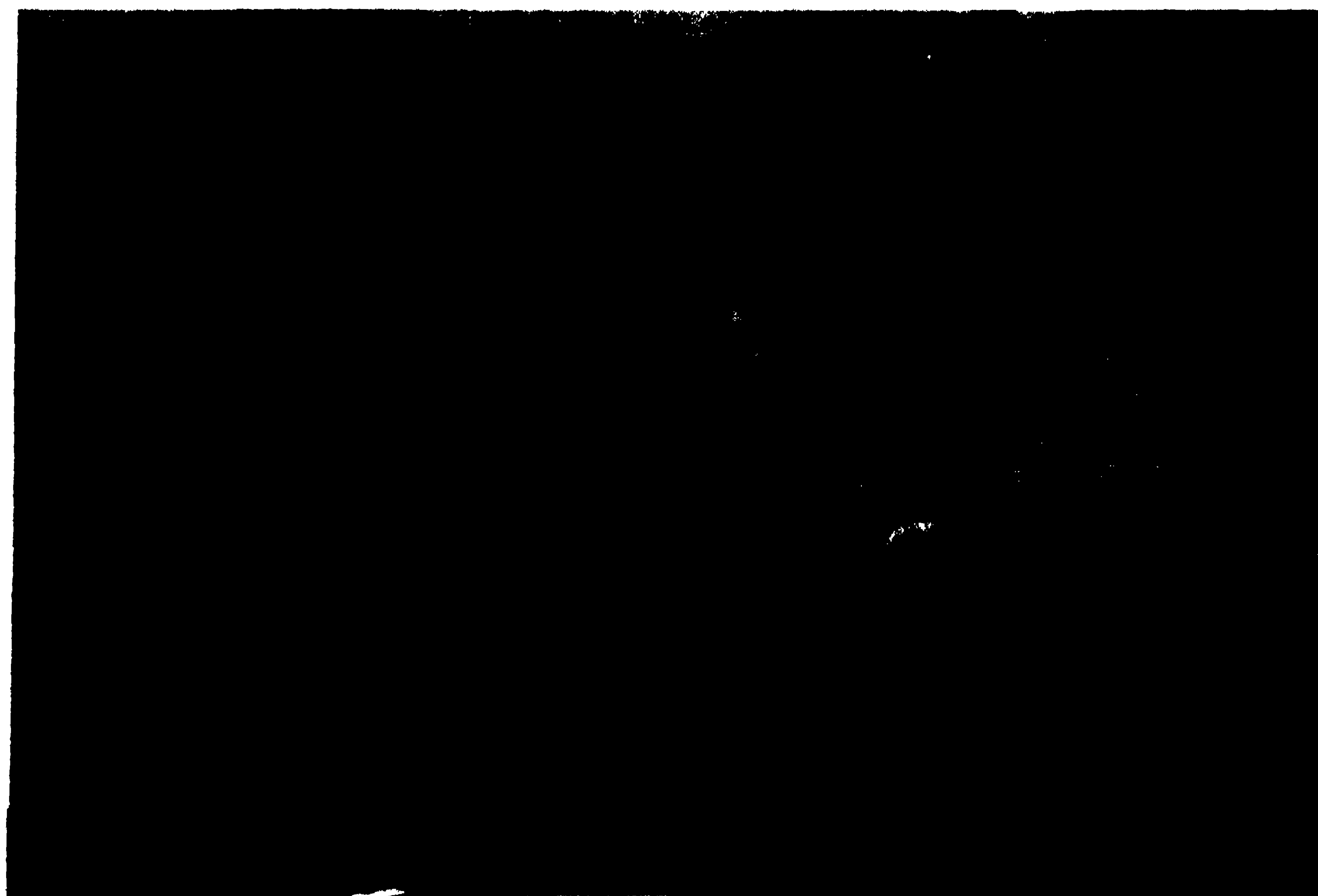
a. Two female figures on wall of central hall of Monastery, Tabo.



b. Two male figures on wall of central hall of Monastery, Tabo.



a. Ganesa and other images in front of main image in Monastery, Tabo.



b. Three figures on wall of central hall of Monastery, Tabo.

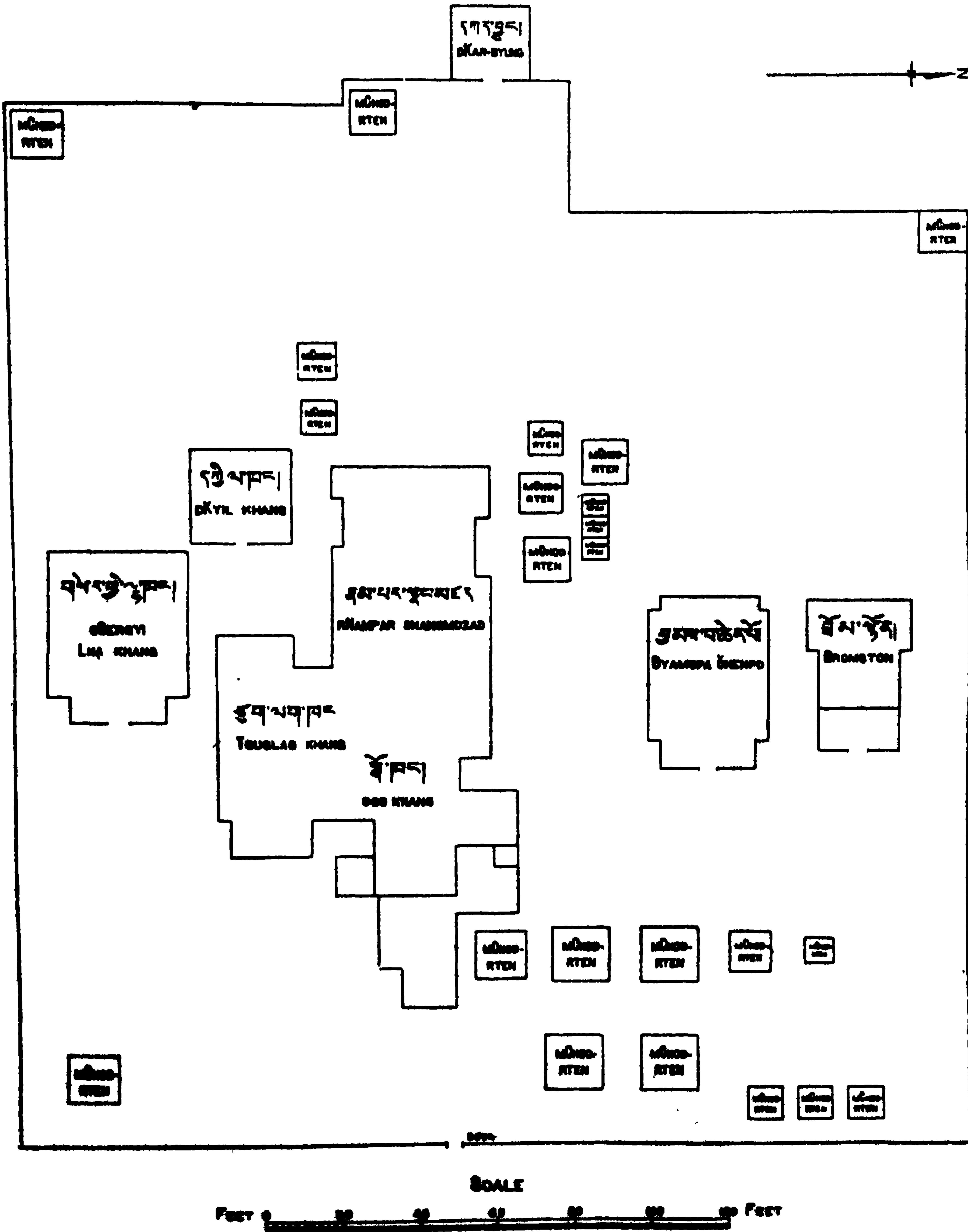

PLAN OF TABO MONASTERY, SPITI
dKYIL KHANG
LHA KHANG
SCALE
FEET
FEET

Fig. 2.

The walls are completely covered with paintings. Some of the pictures are distinctly Indian. They show ancient Indian costumes well: an Indian king with a three-pointed crown like that worn by Bodhisattvas, and Indian men with turbans or felt hats with brims. The hats as well as the turbans have ribbons tied below the chin. There are also pictures of Indian ladies and elephant processions. These frescoes are all of very excellent workmanship, and were probably executed by Indian Buddhist monks who emigrated to Tibet in the 10th and 11th centuries, when Buddhism rapidly declined in India. But there are also picturesof Tibetan origin. One of them had the inscription *Gu-gei-sde*, 'province of Guge.' It seems to represent members of the Guge government. In the case of most of the pictures the meaning has been lost. Others have explanatory inscriptions in ancient Tibetan characters and orthography, a few in modern Tibetan. They are probably later additions.

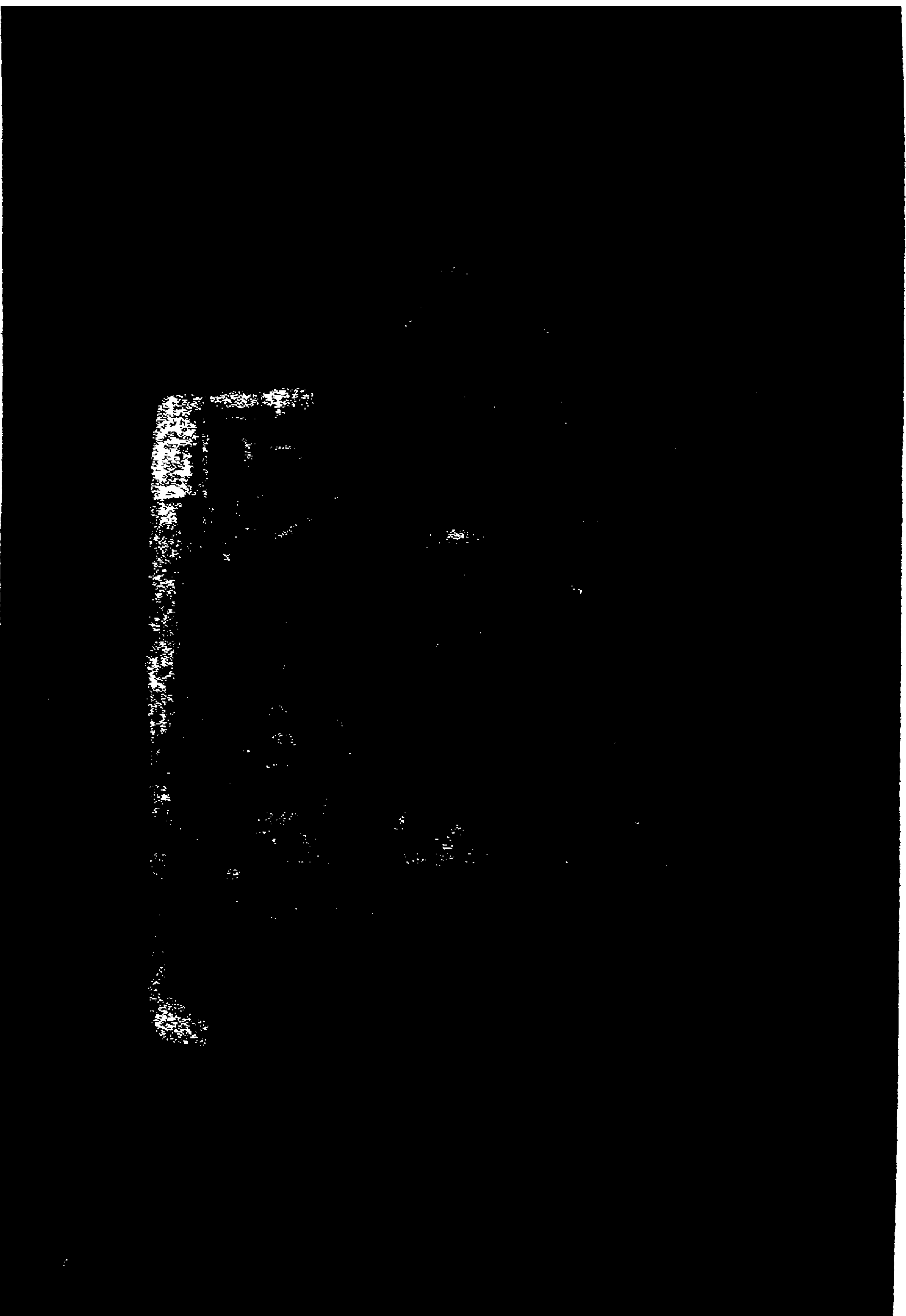

Fig. 3.

Below the image of rNam-par-snang-mdzad, we found a stone sculpture of Mañju-ghōsha which we photographed. (Fig. 3). There were also two very beautiful ancient wood carvings of standing Buddhas with attendants. (Plate XVIII).

On both sides of rNam-par-snang-mdzad, there is a pile of manuscripts about five feet high. Each pile consists of many hundreds of loose and disarranged leaves covered with beautiful writing. The leaves seem to belong to the twelve books of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* in Tibetan translation. This work by Nāgārjuna was translated by the famous lama, Rin-chen-bzang-po, who has been mentioned several times in the course of my account. It seems to have been copied many times in the days of Rin-chen-bzang-po, and copies were distributed among all the monasteries founded by him. So far I have found copies of this work in the orthography of his own times in three different places, but nowhere have I seen so complete a copy as in Tabo. The value of such a manuscript for critical purposes is enormous. Works like the *Prajñā-pāramitā* have up to the present been known only from modern manuscripts or wood-prints. Here, on the other hand, we obtain a text, as it was known in the translator's own days.

Of almost greater importance than the manuscripts, are the inscriptions which are written on the wall with black ink. We found two long inscriptions behind the image





Ancient wood carvings in central hall of Monastery, Tabo.

of rNam-par-snang-mdzad, immediately above the ground. Their low position indicates that they were meant for people accustomed to sit on the floor cross-legged. The inscriptions are of varied character. One of them is historical; it speaks of the foundation of the Tabo monastery about nine hundred years ago, and of people who were connected with that event. The other inscription is admonitory; I feel inclined to call it "blessing and cursing," but there is more of cursing in it than of blessing. It speaks of the many punishments to be inflicted on such lamas as do not live up to the standard of the law. There is no end of chopping off members of their bodies. I wonder if these regulations were ever carried out. To return to the historical inscription: It tells of a renovation of the Tabo monastery by Byang-chub-'od, priest-king of Guge, forty-six years after the monastery had been founded by *Lhayi-bu Byang-chub-sems-dpa* ('*Byang-chub-sems-dpa*, the son of the gods'). The latter name is evidently that of the king of Ladakh, who is mentioned in the Ladakhi chronicles as one of the early rulers of that country. He is spoken of with much respect in this inscription. His advice was repeatedly asked by the king of Guge, and thus the inscription confirms the statement of history, that the kings of Ladakh were the recognised suzerains of the Guge princes. Besides these two royal names, the inscription contains also those of the two most important lamas of the period, *viz.*, Rin-chen-bzang-po, and Atīśa, the latter being called Phul-byung, which is his Tibetan name, as already stated by Jäschke. The inscription says that Rin-chen-bzang-po was made a 'light of wisdom' by the agency of Atīśa. This is apparently a reference to the controversy between the two lamas, which ended with Rin-chen-bzang-po's acknowledgment of Atīśa's superiority. Of this event we read in the historical book dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang. As this inscription was evidently written in the times of king Byang-chub-'od, c. 1050 A.D., it is of the utmost importance for Tibetan palæography. The type of its writing is different from that of earlier datable documents, as well as from later ones, say, of Tsong-kha-pa's time. It, therefore, enables us to distinguish manuscripts or inscriptions of the 11th century. Of this important question, I will treat later on, when we shall have examined several more records of the same times. Besides these two important inscriptions, there are many more of the same period on the walls around, and as there are also numerous objects of art and paintings in this large hall, it would require at least a full month to do it justice from an archæological point of view.

The gTsug-lag-khang is a smaller hall with frescoes, to the left of the principal hall. Most of the pictures refer to the story of Buddha's life, beginning with the descent of the white elephant from heaven. On both sides of the door were painted the four Lōkapālas, as we find them so often. On the right and left wall there was the medicine Buddha with his followers, Śakya thub-pa, Rin-chen-zla-ba; Myang-ngan-med-mchog-dpal; Chos-grags-rgya-mthsoi-dpal; gSer-bzang-dri-med; mNgon-mkhyen-rgyal-po and mThsan-legs. Most of the pictures in this hall were furnished with explanatory inscriptions in modern Tibetan. Like all the remaining halls, it had apparently been renovated in a sweeping way. All the ancient frescoes and inscriptions had been scratched off, and new pictures painted on the old walls.

When we were at Tabo, we met a native painter, who was prepared to renovate everything. The monks of the monastery had been told that Government would undertake to pay for necessary repairs in their temples and had asked the Assistant Commissioner to let them have the services of an artist. Accordingly, Mr. Howell, I.C.S., had ordered a painter to go to Tabo and apply his art to its ancient walls. Fortunately, he had not yet started work in the principal hall, but in all the other halls, there remained little which had not been destroyed either by him or by previous artists. I told the man that he was on no account to touch the walls of the central hall, and when I met Mr. Howell about a week later in Spiti, he promised to give strict orders that no further attempt should be made to "improve" this precious relic of the past.

The gSer-gyi-lha-khang is another picture hall to the left of the preceding one All the pictures in it are modern, and it has an inscription *Oṁ maṇi padmē hūṁ* in *Lañthsa* characters running round the four walls.

The dKyil-khang is a picture hall behind the preceding. As the roof is not water-tight, the pictures have suffered much through leakage. The principal picture shows rNam-par-snang-mdzad, but I could discover no inscriptions in it.

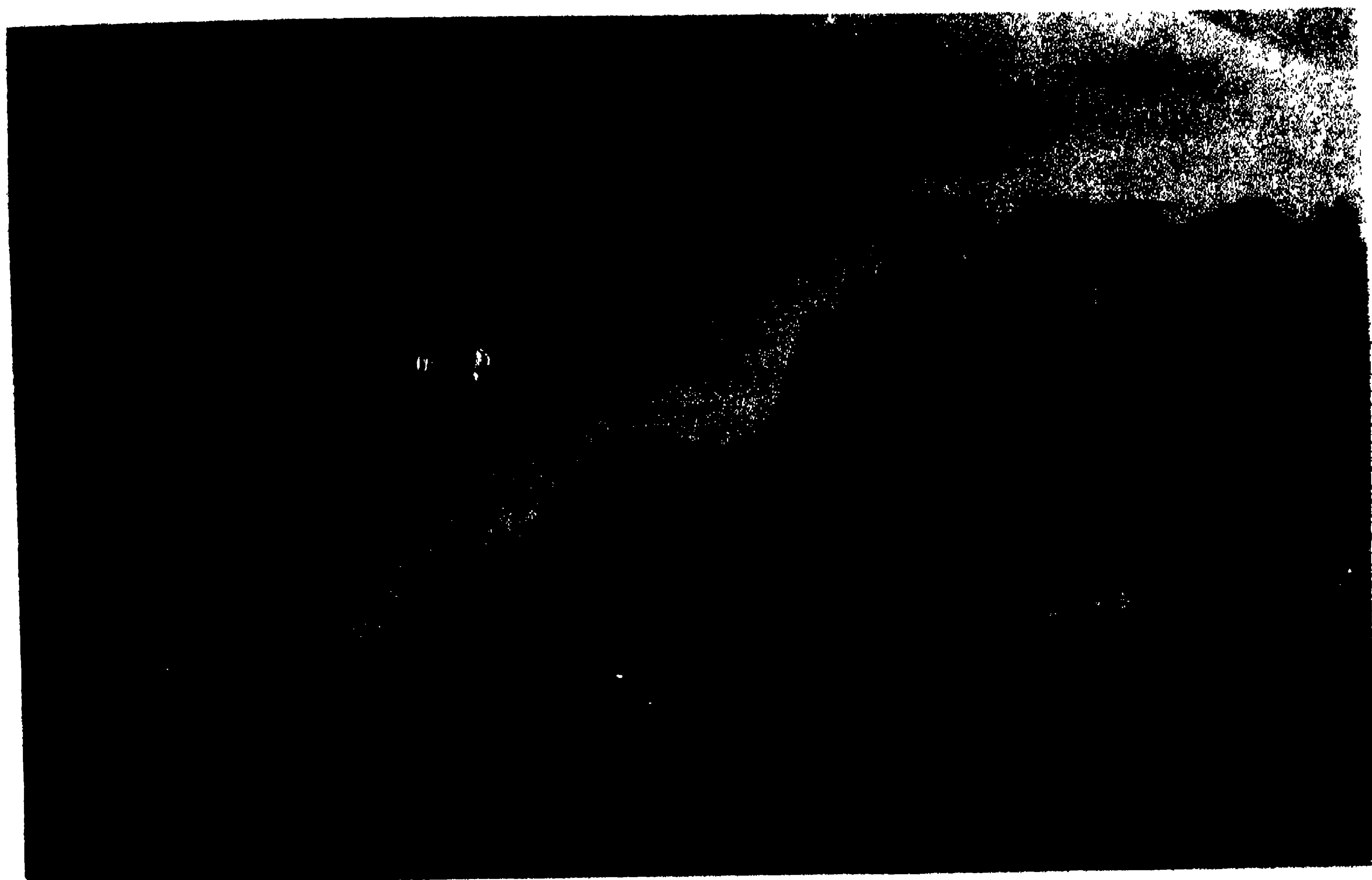
In Lha-khang-dkar-byung, a picture hall behind the preceding, the central picture shows Buddha with two disciples ; to the left of this group we see Tsong-kha-pa. The other pictures in this hall can no more be explained. There were no inscriptions.

The picture hall Brom-ston was evidently named after the famous pupil of Atiśa, called by that name, the founder of the bKā-gdams-pa sect. It is situated on the right hand side of the Central Hall. It was probably erected in Brom-ston's time, but nothing remains of ancient relics, besides the interesting door of *thang-shing* (Deodar wood) which is decorated with well executed carvings of Buddhist saints. The style of carving is very different from the present Tibetan style, and is a distinguishing characteristic of the half Indian Buddhism of the 11th century. This hall is without inscriptions and the principal picture in it represents Buddha with his two disciples.

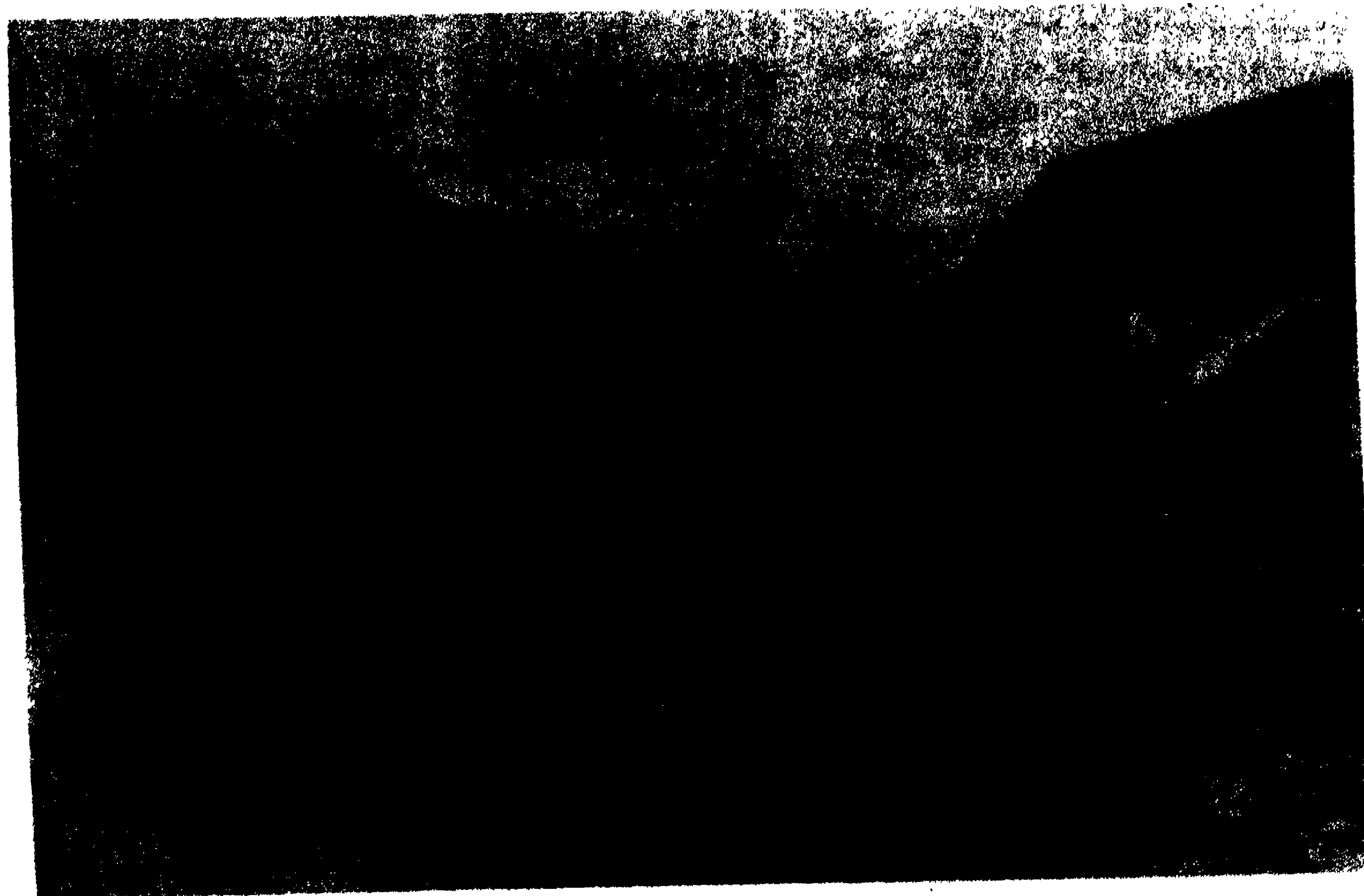
The seventh hall called Byams-pa-chen-moi-lha-khang contains a huge stucco statue of Maitrēya seated on a chair. The top of his head may be 18 to 20 feet above the ground. This hall contains pictures of Tibetan architecture, perhaps four to five centuries ago, such as the monastery of Tashilumpo (bKra-shis-lhun-po) and the Potala palace of Lhasa. But most of the other pictures in this hall are modern restorations or inventions. Here I noticed a Wartu inscription, probably an *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* formula. This hall has also a door carved with Buddhist figures in Indian, not Tibetan style. The central figure on the lintel, however, is Gaṇēśa.

Besides these seven principal halls, I must also mention the entrance hall to the principal temple, Lha-khang-chen-moi-sgo-khang. It is furnished with paintings, for instance Tsong-kha-pa with two disciples, one of whom was called mKhas-grub.

The thick darkness of most of the Tibetan temples is a great hindrance to archæological research. My work had to be done in a different way from that done at Pompei or in the Turkestan deserts. At Pompei and in Turkestan every article which comes to light, is valuable and has to be taken up, labelled, and put aside. In an inhabited place



a. Drangkhar, the capital of Spiti.



b. Rope bridge near Lithang.

like Tabo, I had, however, to select among hundreds of inscriptions and objects of art, those which were of real value for the study of Tibetan history and art, which meant a close examination of many objects and records in a badly lighted place. When, finally, the most interesting had been decided upon, the second part of our work, photography, and copying in writing as well as in colours, began. Considering the very great difficulties he had to encounter, I must say that Pindi Lal achieved wonders with his camera. But the little light that entered this hall through a minute hole in the ceiling was not sufficient for the lamas, whom I set to work on the paintings and wall inscriptions. Then we thought of our small supply of candles and by giving three of them to our helpmates, we made three Tibetan hearts happier than they had ever been. None of them had apparently ever possessed a candle, and now think of the grand sport they had, working in a dark corner of the temple with a real European candle by their side. No Maharaja could have taken greater pride in the electric light newly introduced into his capital.

Within the walled enclosure about the temples, there are many *mchod-rten*, and several of them have frescoes inside. There is also a botanical curiosity in this court; for here we find the only apricot trees existing in the barren and cold country of Spiti which is separated by a girdle of deserts from all the neighbouring territories of Tibet, Ladakh, Lahul, and Bashahr.

The next morning, when we had left Tabo, I found on our march to the village of Phog (map Pok), the beforementioned votive inscription of the times of the Tsaparang king on a *maṇi* wall outside the village. On the other bank of the Spiti river, we saw the large monastery of Nathang with many terraced fields round about it, some under cultivation, but most of them bare. The monastery is built in three stories, the one above always a little narrower than the one below it, like a pyramid of three steps, thus reminding me of the Alchi (and also of the mTho-lding) monastery. Nathang also is said to have been founded in the days, when the Tabo monastery was built. During summer, there is not a single lama residing in it.

In the village of Phog, I met with Mr. Cargill of the Public Works Department, who was on tour through these outlying districts examining the bridges. He invited me to dinner, and I spent a very pleasant evening with him.

On the 31st July, we arrived at Drangkhar called *Brang-mkhar* or *Grang-mkhar* in inscriptions (Plate XIX, a). The monastery of this town, the capital of Spiti, is called *Lha-'od-pai-dgon-pa*. *Lha-'od* seems to be the local pronunciation of *Zla-'od*, the name of a famous lama who was born in 1121, according to the Reu-mig. Zla-'od-pa would then mean "a follower of Zla-'od." He is apparently the founder or renovator of the monastery which now belongs to the Gelugpa order. The monks assert that it was not only of earlier origin than the Tabo monastery, but also earlier than the times of Srong-btsan-sgam-po. They have, however, nothing to show of really ancient relics. They explain this fact by stating that the monastery was plundered many times, lastly during the Ḍogrā war, which is in agreement with my History of Western Tibet. Traces of the ravages of that war may be plainly seen in all the monasteries of Spiti which we

visited on our journey, with the exception of Tabo. Why did Tabo alone escape destruction? I am inclined to believe that Tabo was under Bashahr in those times, and that the Ḍōgrās did not wish to interfere with the government of that state. We found three, probably modern, stucco statues in the central hall. They represent Byams-pa (Maitrēya), seated crosslegged, with a kind of tea-pot in his hand; Buddha; and the lama Chos-drag, a contemporary of Srong-btsan-sgam-po. The statue of Chos-drag looks like the illustration of the same personage in Grünwedel's *Mythology*.

There are frescoes on the walls of this temple, but now only very little of them can be made out. The following figures could be distinguished: 'Od-dpag-med (Amitābha); Padma-sambhava; and dGe-bai-bshes-gnyen (Kalyāṇa-mitra).

Above one of the doors there is an inscription in modern characters and orthography which, I was told, contained the name of dGe-bai-bshes-gnyen. I found it impossible to read it in the dark.

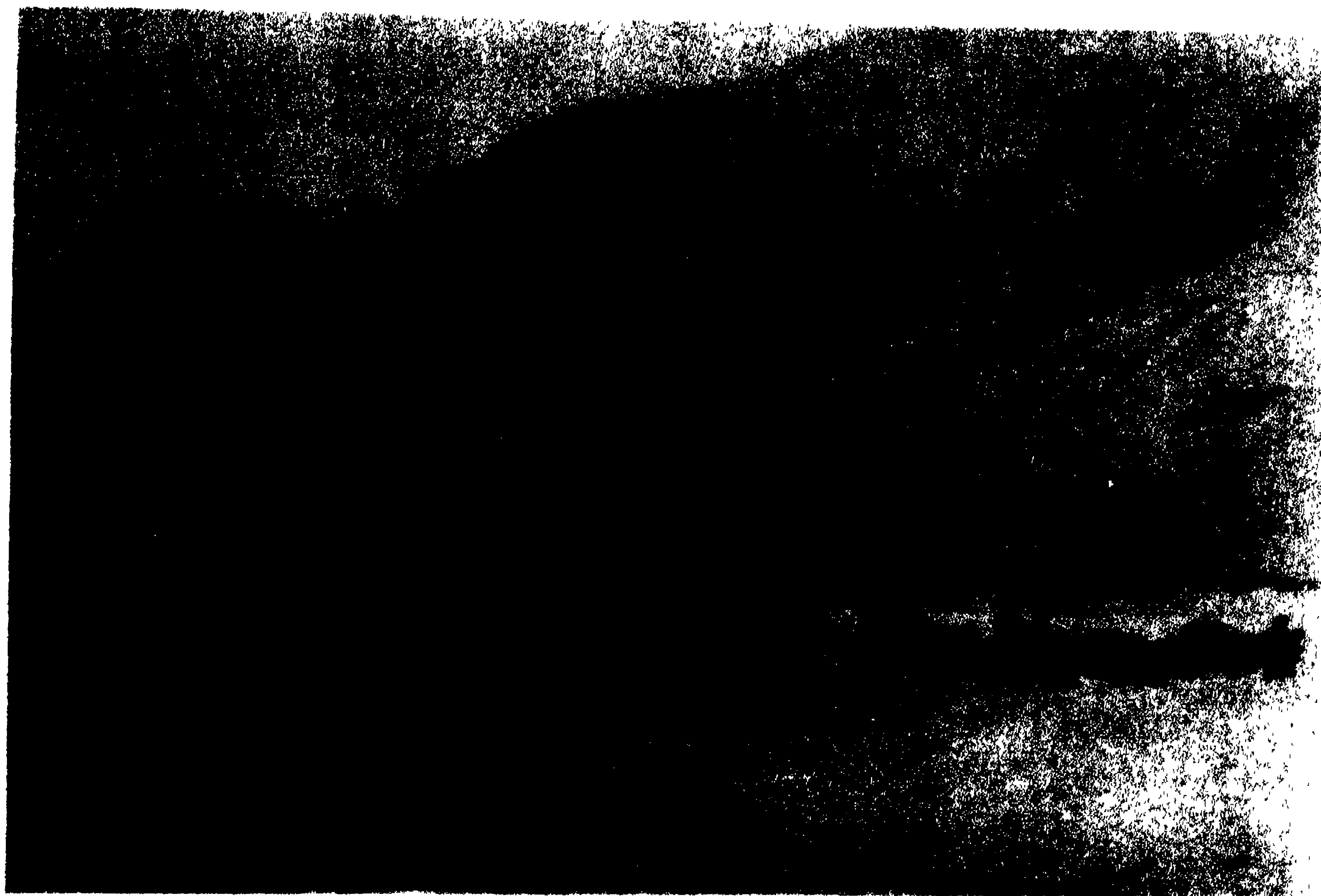
Above the entrance to the monastery, there is suspended the stuffed skin of a goat. I was informed that this goat during her lifetime occasionally became possessed with a spirit which made her jump about in an extraordinary way. Therefore she was treated kindly and fed well by the monks, and after death she was stuffed, to serve as a lasting memorial of herself.

Drangkhar is one of the few towns of Western Tibet which still stand on their original site, *i.e.* on the top of a rocky spur, and thus it is in its entirety an interesting relic of the past. The most ancient picture of this fortress is a lithograph after a drawing by Trebeck who was here in 1820. From this we learn that since then the town has not altered much in general aspect. The uppermost place on the rock is occupied by the castle which is now in possession of the Nono (chief) of Spiti. It was built by the Ladakhis who used to have a garrison here. There are tales current about the last days of Ladakhi rule, when the place was captured by the Spiti people, and its inmates were thrown down from the rock.[1] Judging from the ruins in the vicinity, the castle was much larger in Ladakhi times, than it is now. The present building, therefore, gives no idea of what it was like formerly.

We spent Sunday, the 1st August, in this interesting place, and on Monday, the 2nd August, we marched to Kaze (map Kaja). On the road, near Lithang, we saw a rope bridge of the old style, plaited of willow branches, as they still are in Lahul and Zangskar. (Plate XIX, b). When we were approaching Kaze, we saw the stately palace of Kyu-ling (*Skyid-gling*), the Nono's residence, on the opposite bank of the stream.

In a side valley of Kaze, high up on the rocks, there is the bTang-rgyud or Sa-skya-gong-mig monastery which belongs to the Sa-skya-pa order of lamas. Although it has a certain fame on account of its antiquity, it is believed to be inferior to the Ki monastery. The Kaze monastery has always been favoured by the Nonos of Spiti, one of whose members takes orders as a Sa-skya-pa lama, just as the kings of Ladakh have bestowed special favour on the 'aBrug-pa order of Lamas. Gong-mig means 'the upper eye,' and at the place, where this monastery can be seen peeping out of a world of rocks, a *mchod-rten*

[1] See my publication *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*. Tale No. 17.



a. Fording the Brom-ston-chu.



b. View of the Brom-ston-gyi-sna.

was built. I should have visited it, had we not been far too tired for such a climb in the evening after our arrival, as well as next morning.

On one of the *maṇi* walls of Kaze, I saw a fairly old votive tablet dating from the time of the Ladakhi *régime* in Spiti. It was written in bad orthography and was in a poor state of preservation. The "national anthem" was similar to that of the Guge stones, but in the place where the Guge version has the Satluj (*gLang-chen-kha-bab*), here we find the Indus (*Seng-ge*[1] *-kha-bab*). What interested me particularly, was the spelling of the name Leh, the Ladakhi capital. We find it often spelled *sLel* in native documents, but the spelling *sLe* is also not infrequent. According to the ideas of the natives of Ladakh, the correct spelling of the name is *sLes*. The word *sLes* (or *sLas* in Lower Ladakh) signifies a walled enclosure, such as is set up by nomads. Leh is supposed to have developed out of a Tibetan nomads' camp. The Kaze inscription confirms this derivation, for here we find the name of the capital spelt *sLes*. I may add, that this spelling is corroborated by the Tibetan geographical work 'aDzam-gling-ye-shes where the same spelling is found.[2] The name of the capital of Spiti is spelt here *Drag-mkhar-rtse* (against *Brang-mkhar* on other stones). A nobleman, Ga-ga Sod-nams, is mentioned as having held the office of Resident at the castle, but the name of the king of Leh is missing.

We reached the Ki (*dKyil*) monastery at noon on August the third. Here I met with a messenger from Mr. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kuḷū; he handed me a letter from that gentleman, asking me to make the monks of the Ki monastery acquainted with the discovery of Buddha's bones at Peshāwar, and to suggest to them that they should make an application to the Indian Government to let them have the relics. I gladly agreed to Mr. Howell's proposal, in particular, because it gave me an opportunity to point out to them the difference between Buddha and Christ, of whom no bones have ever been found. But also for another reason I was anxious to visit the Ki monastery. In 1863 Mr. P. Egerton, of the Civil Service, made a tour through Spiti, together with our missionary, Mr. A. W. Heyde. A beautiful book illustrated with capital photographs, was the outcome of this journey. In this book we find the statement that the Ki monastery of Spiti was probably founded by Brom-ston, the pupil of the famous teacher Atīśa, in the 11th century. The travellers apparently heard a rumour of a connection between this monastery and Brom-ston, and if they had simply stated this, they would not have been wrong. But they went further. They found a note in Körös' Tibetan Grammar, to the effect that Brom-ston had founded a monastery called Rareng (*Rva-sgrengs*); and as a village in the vicinity of Ki is called Rangrig, Mr. Egerton jumped to the conclusion that the Ki monastery of Spiti was identical with the famous Rareng monastery of the 11th century. But we know from the geographical work 'aDzam-gling-ye-shes, that the Rareng monastery is situated in the Rong district near Lhasa. It is not to be wondered at, however, that no clear traditions about the origin of the Spiti monastery exist. We read in Moorcroft and Trebeck's travels, 1820, that the Ki monastery was thoroughly ransacked

[1] *Seng-ge* from Sanskrit *Siṁha.* "a lion."
[2] See S. Ch. Das' translation in *J. A. S. B.*, 1887. *sLes* would correspond to classical *lHas.*

in the petty wars between Kuḷū and Ladakh which preceded the Ḍōgrā war. And during the Ḍōgrā war itself it suffered even more severely. It is evident that Brom-ston must have some connection with Spiti and this monastery, from the fact that his name is found in certain localities in the vicinity. Thus, as we have seen, one of the temples of the Tabo monastery is called after him. Moreover, on our way from Kaze to Ki, we had to ford a brook called *Brom-ston-chu*; then, a little farther on, we passed by a rock called *Brom-ston-gyi-sna*, "Brom-ston's nose" or "the shrubbery of Broms-ton" (Plate XX). From the historical work dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang we learn that Brom-ston erected four monasteries, one of them at Ke in Mangyul (*Mang-yul-gyi-Ke-ru*). Mangyul is a name often used to signify the Western Tibetan Empire. Ke is a misprint for *Ki*. Whoever knows how carelessly Western Tibetan names are treated by Lhasa writers, does not wonder at their spelling *Ke* instead of *Ki*.

But the Ki monastery has been restored since the turbulent times of the Ḍōgrā war. (Plate XXI). It is a typical example of ancient monasteries of a certain period. In this type we find the principal temple on the top of a little conical hill, and the cells of the monks round about and below it. The aspect of the whole establishment is unusually pleasing, especially as it is situated in a wilderness of bare and barren rocks. Monasteries of the same type are found in Khrig-rtse, Me-ru, Chem-re, Ling-shed, dKar-rgya of Zangs-dkar, and probably in several other places.

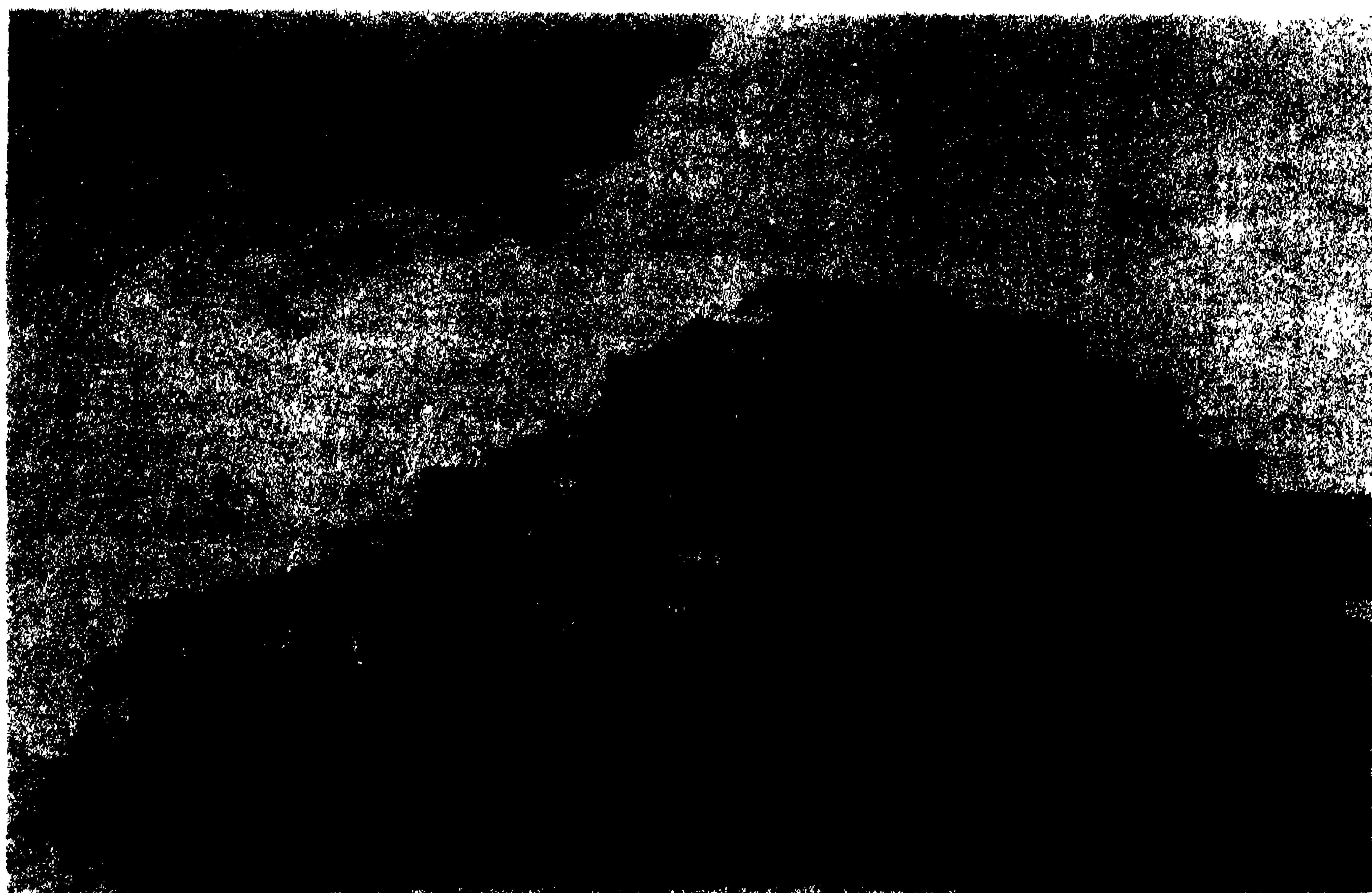
As all the old books and idols had been destroyed by Ghulām Khān,[1] the outfit of the Ki monastery is rather modern. The door is carved in present day Tibetan style, and the library contains modern blockprints. In the central hall, I noticed two stucco idols; one was called Yum-chen-mo, "great mother," probably a form of Tārā, the other sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalōkitēśvara). There are several more stucco statues in the library opposite the temple, the most remarkable being Thse-dpag-med (Amitāyus), Shākya thub-pa, bLo-bzang ye-shes, the Paṇ-chen, who resided at Trashilhumpo from 1663 to 1737; Padma-sambhava with two of his fairies, one being called Lha-sha-man-da-re-ba (Mandārava) the other mKha-'agro-ye-shes-gtso-rgyal.

On the 4th August, we made preparations for our journey through the desert across the Pharang Pass, and on the 5th, we moved our camp four miles in the direction of the pass, especially as I wished to be near to Mr. Howell, the Assistant Commissioner, who was encamped at Lhanartsa, Spiti, at an elevation of about 14,000 feet.

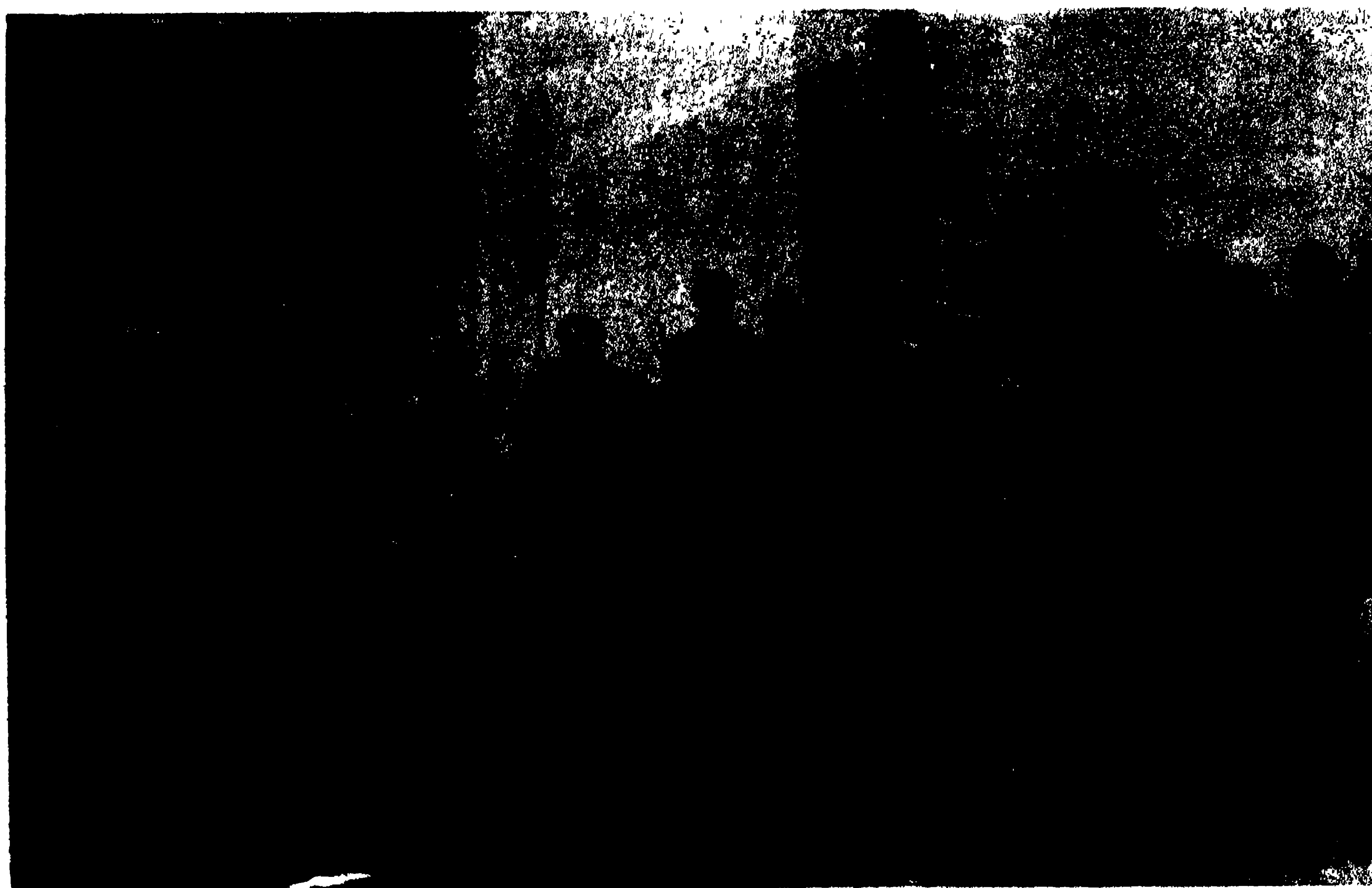
On the way, not far from Kyibar (map Kibber), I noticed an ancient ruin of a temple built of sun-dried bricks, its walls sloping inward, as is always the case in Rin-chen-bzang-po's temples. It is called Lha-bla-mai-dgon-pa, and thus by its name it directly points to the great priest-king of Guge, Lha-bla-ma-ye-shes-'od, whose name we had found in an inscription at Poo. Local tradition says that King Lha-bla-ma or, as another man understood it, the gods (*lha*) and the lamas (*blama*) built it in one night.

At Lhanartsa I spent two enjoyable and instructive days with the Assistant Commissioner. Here I had an attack of malarial fever, and Mr. Howell did everything in

[1] *History of Western Tibet*, p. 168.



a. View of Ki Monastery.



b. Congregation of Ki Monastery.

his power to cure me and make me fit for the road. Mr. Howell was just engaged in revising the Spiti portion of the Kangra Gazetteer, and as he had the Nono of Spiti as well as lamas of various denominations encamped in the vicinity, our time was spent in a very profitable way. Let me briefly review the principal points of our enquiries about Spiti.

There are now-a-days five principal monasteries in Spiti, which represent three sects of Lamaism. The Tabo, Drangkhar, and Ki monasteries belong now to the Ge-lug-pa sect. The Kaze monastery belongs to the Sa-skya-pa sect, and the Pyin monastery belongs to the rNying-ma-pa. Whilst the four first mentioned monasteries do not differ essentially from Central Tibetan establishments, with which they keep up intercourse, the Pyin monastery has no connection with Lhasa, and maintains those traditions which have been handed down from the times of the most primitive Lamaism. I have already mentioned the wild appearance of its monks, and as Mr. Lyall tells us in the Gazetteer these monks were blamed for their uncivilised condition by a Lhasa emissary who travelled through Spiti. Mr. Lyall who saw these people perform a play, the substance of which was similar to that represented in the tale of Ēka-śṛiṅa, describes also the head-dress of the Bu-rzhan, when performing. He says that they then appear with a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright coloured silk. This observation is of great interest for this kind of head-dress seems to have been handed down in Spiti from the earliest time of Tibetan Buddhism. We read in the Yarlung part of the rGyal-rabs that king Ral-pacan had silken streamers tied to his locks, and that he was connected by such streamers with the lamas who surrounded him The close connection of the rNying-ma-pa form of Lamaism with the pre-Buddhist Bon religion has already been noticed, and the Pyin monastery of Spiti seems to be a particularly favourable place to study it. I still regret that our limited time did not allow us to visit it. One of those Bu-rzhan lamas was in Mr. Howell's camp, and gave us much information. Unfortunately, his dialect was so unusual, that I could not make out all he said. The Bu-rzhan lamas of Pyin travel also to Leh where they give grand conjuring performances, one of their most famous feats being the breaking of a huge boulder on the belly of a boy.

We also made enquiries into the Tibetan system of clans, as it is represented in Spiti. In my article, " Notes on a language map of Western Tibet,"[1] I drew attention to the importance of the study of the Tibetan " father-brotherships " (*pha-spun*) from a historical point of view. As the Indian officials who hold office among the natives of Indian Tibet apply Indian methods, instead of Tibetan ones, in their administration of the country, this important institution has not yet been discovered. I hope that in the next census, Tibetan methods will be used for Tibetans. When Indian officials try to fix the individuality of a certain Tibetan, they generally ask him to state his own name and that of his father. The first question is answered readily, but the second question puzzles a Tibetan to such an extent, that it takes him sometimes several days to clear up the mystery as to who is his sire. How could he tell at once, as he has at least two, and often three fathers, whilst many others are ignorant of their own parentage. The individuality of a Tibetan is fixed by three names: (1) by his personal name, (2) by his house

---

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII, pp. 362. ff.

name, (3) by his clan name. The latter name is the name of the *pha-spun*-ship ("father brothership") to which he belongs. As stated by Lyall in the Gazetteer, and as was also asserted in our presence, the *pha-spun*-ship is an exogamic institution, *i.e.* a boy of a certain *pha-spun*-ship is not allowed to marry a girl of the same *pha-spun*-ship. This interesting custom was already noticed by the most ancient Chinese authors who describe the Tibetans. Every *pha-spun*-ship has to look after the cremation of their dead, and monuments in commemoration of the dead, *mchod-rten* or *maṇi* walls, are generally erected by the whole *pha-spun*-ship of a certain village, and the name of the particular *pha-spun*-ship is found on the votive tablets of such monuments. The historical interest of these clan names lies in the fact that they are often local names, *viz.*, they indicate the locality from which a certain clan has immigrated into Western Tibet. Thus, from the names of the *pha-spun*-ships of Khalatse it can be proved that the greater part of the population of this village emigrated from Gilgit, a fact which is supported also by other evidence, in particular by the preservation of a prayer in Dardi to certain house deities. As our inquiries in Spiti showed us, Mr. Lyall had almost discovered the whole institution. He uses the word clan for them and calls them *ruspa* or bones, a name which is actually used for *pha-spun*-ship in Spiti. He had collected the names of six *ruspa* from Drangkhar, but he is wrong when he believes that the same *ruspa* are to be found in all the villages of Spiti. Some of the names may be found also in the other villages of Spiti, but quite new names also will turn up. From the six names he gives, we see at once that they testify to the presence of Tibetans in Spiti in early times, while they also suggest the presence of settlers from Kuḷū. The following four names are decidedly Tibetan: (1) *rGya-zhing-pa*, large field owners, (2) *Khyung-po*, 'Garuḍa-men,' a name which was very common during the pre-Buddhist times of Tibet, (3) *bLon-chen-pa*, 'great ministers,' the men of this clan are doubtless the descendants of some early Tibetan official of Spiti, (4) *sNyegs-pa*, this is a word which is found in the names of the earliest Tibetan records. Two of the names, given in the Gazetteer, do not appear to be Tibetan: *Henir* and *Nandu*. *Henir* signifies probably the Hensi caste of Kuḷū; *Nandu* I cannot explain. I hope that on the occasion of the next census, every Buddhist Tibetan will be asked to give his three names, his personal name, his house name, and his clan name.

On the 6th August I had sufficiently recovered to be able to start on our journey to the Lake Thsomo Riri of Rubshu. As we were very badly equipped for so trying a journey, Mr. Howell kindly helped us with as many of his provisions as he could spare. On the same day we travelled to Jugda, a small level spot on a brook in the midst of a horribly uneven country. On the 7th, we crossed the Pharang Pass, 18,300 feet high. The climb was very steep and trying, and as I felt that I could not do it walking, I mounted one of the spare yaks of our caravan. Another of the spare animals was used by Pindi Lal, but as there were no more available, the Khansaman as well as the Khalasi, who were hill-men from Koṭgur and Rāmpur, had to walk. It was, however, too much for them, and the Khalasi was unwell for a number of days after it. These simple folks who had never seen anything but the Satluj valley and surroundings, had

become more and more alarmed at the increasing bareness and cold of the country we were travelling through, and were now on the point of giving up all hope of ever seeing human habitations again. Pindi Lal had from time to time raised their spirits by prophesying that, in about ten days, we should reach a great town, Leh, where there would be abundance of delicacies, such as sugar, *dal*, rice, and butter, the existence of which we had almost forgotten. In one of the last villages of Spiti, we unfortunately met a traveller from Ladakh who knew Urdū. They asked him how many days it would take us to reach Leh, and when this man said that it could not be done under twenty days, they gave up all hope of ever reaching it. The only topic of conversation among them, now, was the malign conjunction of planets (as they thought), under which their birth had taken place. However, we reached the top of the pass after all, and had a grand view over a large glacier directly below us, over many more glaciers hanging down from black rugged peaks, and a labyrinth of icy mountain ranges. And the thought came to them that they had to travel over these wild mountains with nothing but a little coarse flour in their provision bags. When then the yaks absolutely refused to jump across cracks in the glacier, and we had to cross deep fissures in the ice by sliding down one side and climbing up the other, when the mountain sickness in its most acute form assailed the poor Khalasi, he lay down on a boulder on the edge of the glacier and gave himself up to die. I had not kept my eye on him, and thus we had descended a good way, before Pindi Lal drew my attantion to him, saying: "One man is missing." It was very unpleasant in this pathless country to return over the same boulders, but I had to send Pindi Lal back again to fetch the Khalasi. He brought him to our camp at the only level spot in the vicinity, called Drathang, 17,000 feet high. His face had become sallow, and his eyes had lost their lustre. The night was sure to be cold and his insufficient clothing as well as the small tent could not afford him sufficient warmth and shelter. I, therefore, cut one of my blankets in two, and gave him one half, and Pindi Lal gave him some of his clothing. Soon after, he came to my tent with the blanket in his hand. He could not believe that a blanket of scarlet colour should be his property. But when he was assured of the fact, there was a ray of light in his eye again. I am convinced that the expectation of one time or other showing this treasure to his relations, was one of the most powerful factors in raising his spirits, and ultimately restoring him to health.

On the next morning, he was mounted on a yak and expected to ride the whole way. That was, however, easier said than done. For the most part, no road of any kind could be distinguished, and we had to make our passage along the steep bank of a deep and broad river. Whenever the progress on dry ground was absolutely impossible, the yaks jumped into the water to wade or swim in it, which latter performance made me feel rather uneasy with regard to the photographic plates in the boxes on their backs. Pindi Lal, who was riding on one of the two horses of our caravan, had a narrow escape, when the ground under his horse suddenly gave way, and the horse, performing a somersault, fell into the river, the rider holding on to the bank. Whilst we were thus ploughing on slowly, I noticed that the Khansaman

was staying behind, and when I found him, I saw that his face had become black. He appeared hardly able to support himself any longer. I found it easy to guess at his thoughts which seemed to be as follows: "Well" thought he, "have I not a right to be ill too? Did I not walk up the high pass yesterday? I cooked some food and got no reward; the Khalasi did nothing and got a red blanket." But part with the other half of my blanket? No, that I could not. Fortunately, I found two rupees in my pocket which I handed over to him, and lo, within no time he recovered so much that he was seen among the foremost yaks of our caravan.

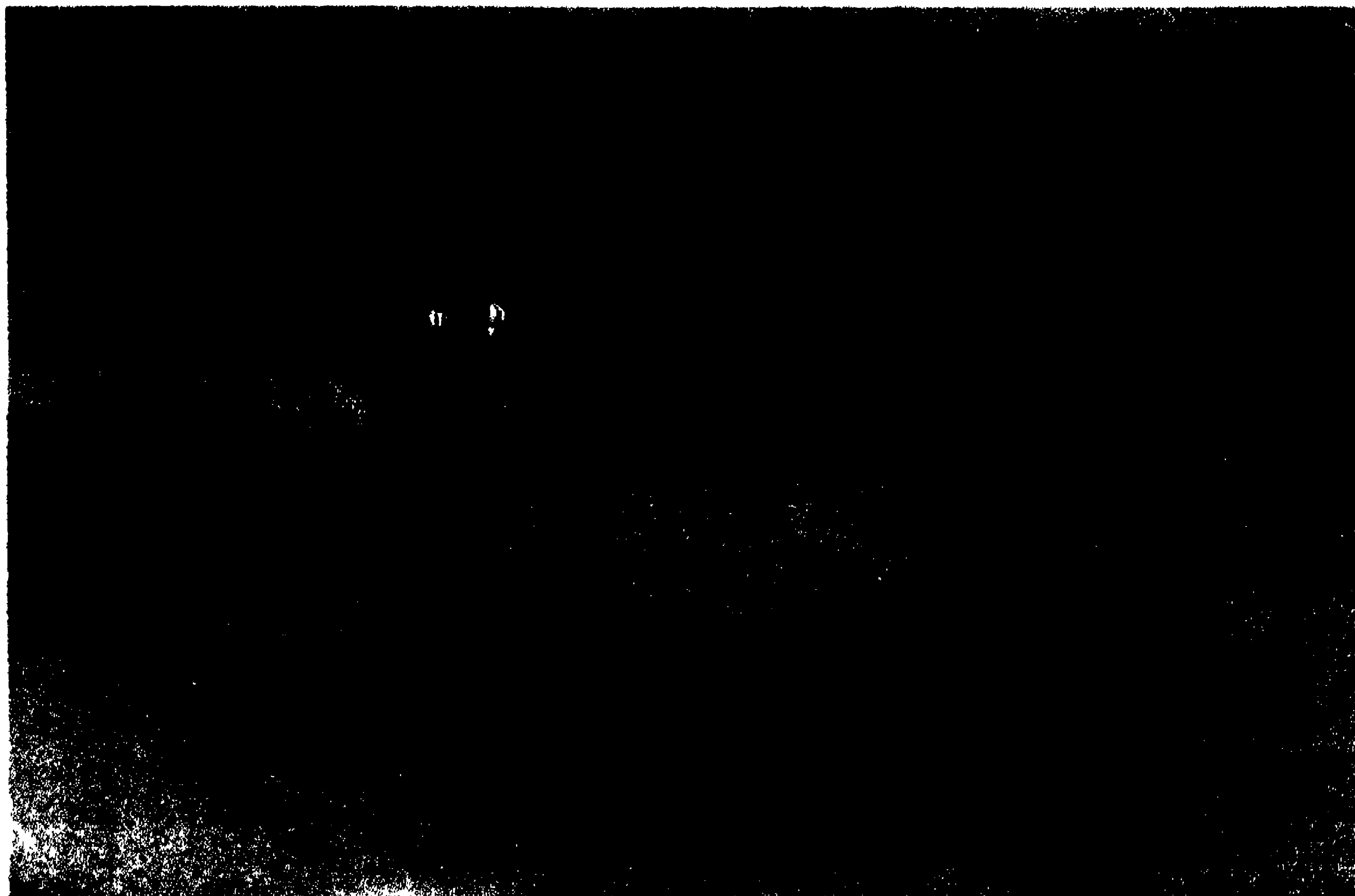
We reached the desert place Umna on that day, and on the 9th August we marched to Nemaringmo camp which was distinguished by the proximity of a very extensive swamp, overgrown with a luxurious vegetation of alpine flowers, edelweiss, and red and yellow pedicularis. Leaves of wild rhubarb were conspicuous on the margin of the swamp. At noon of that day we stopped at a place called Raco lhamo, the 'Horn goddess,' where we noticed again signs of the occasional presence of man in these wilds in the shape of an altar of rude white stones covered with horns of sheep and goats. When entering the large swampy plain to the south of Lake Thsomo Riri, we saw a tower-like building in ruins which was explained to us as marking the frontier between Spiti and Kashmir. As the road from this camp to the lake was easier than what we had experienced during the previous days, it gave me time to review in my mind the times of Atīśa, which it was the good fortune of our journey to throw light upon. It is due in particular to the labours of Sarat Chandra Das, that we now know something of this interesting period of Tibetan Buddhism, when Western Tibet, and in particular the vassal kings of Guge, held up the torch of guidance for the whole of Tibet.[1]

King Lha-bla-ma-Ye-shes-'od of Guge (1025 A.D.), who resided at mTho-lding (his inscription at Poo will be remembered), was not satisfied with the Tibetan form of Buddhism, as it prevailed in his dominions, and resolved to purify it by bringing it into contact with Indian Buddhism. He gave a careful education to twenty-one Tibetan boys, the name of one of whom was Rin-chen-bzang-po, and sent them to Kashmir and other parts of India to receive instruction in Sanskrit and philosophy. Although through their agency the king secured the services of thirteen Indian pandits, most of the boys died from the unhealthy climate, and only two, one of whom was Rin-chen-bzang-po (Ratna-bhadra), returned to Guge.

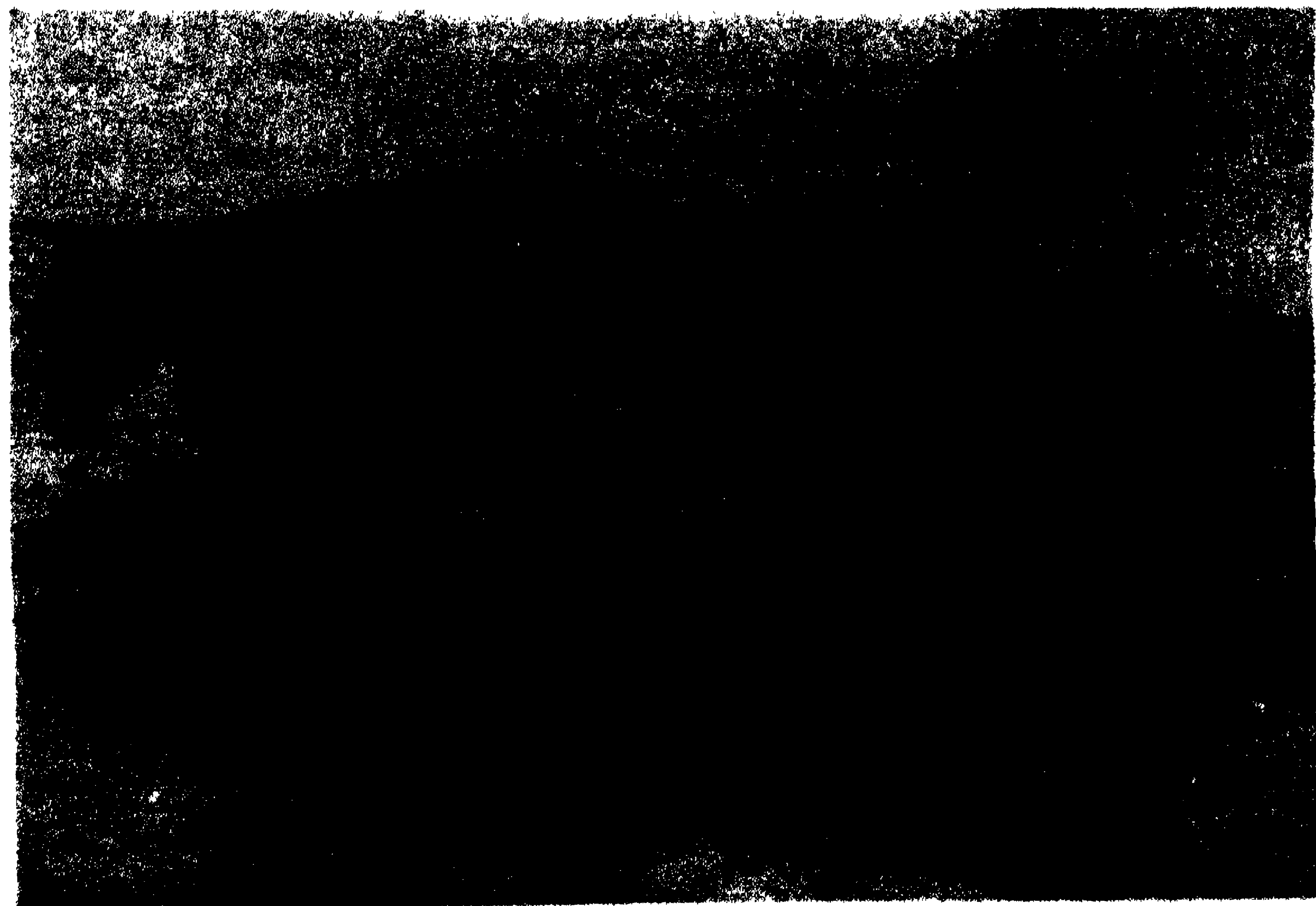
Then the king heard of the famous teacher Atīśa at the monastery of Vikramaśila in Magadha and sent an embassy to him with a large quantity of gold to invite him to come to Guge. Atīśa gave the following answer to the king's messengers: "Then it would appear that my going to Tibet were due to two causes: first, the desire of amassing gold, and second, the wish of attaining sainthood!" and so he remained in Vikramaśila.

King Ye-shes-'od interpreted Atīśa's words in a different way from what a European would have done. He understood that the great teacher had not yet been offered

[1] A detailed account of this period is found in Sarat Chandra Das' '*Indian Pandits in the land of snow*,' and the Tibetan text underlying this tale was published by the same author in the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang*.



a. dKor-dzod Monastery, Rubshu.



b. Residence of Nomad Chieftain, Rubshu.

gold enough, and began to work a gold mine which had just then been discovered by his minister. There, however, he came into conflict with a Muhammadan king of Garlog (Turkestan), who claimed the mine for himself. In the ensuing war, Ye-shes-'od became a prisoner of the king of Garlog, who said he would release him only on condition that a ransom, consisting of solid gold of the size and shape of the captive king's person, was paid. Gold was now collected all over Tibet, but when melted and cast to form a statue, the gold fell short of the quantity that would be required to make the king's head. The king of Garlog, who was not satisfied with the amount of gold offered, threw Yse-hes 'od into a gloomy dungeon to make him more miserable.

There he had an interview with the new king, Byang-chub-'od (the king of the Tabo inscription) who had continued collecting gold for his uncle's release. Ye-shes-'od advised his nephew not to use the gold for his own release, but for bringing an Indian pandit to Tibet. He said : " I am now grown old, and am on the verge of the grave. In none of my former births, I believe, did I die for the sake of Buddhism. This time let me, therefore, be a martyr in the cause of my religion." Thus they parted, and Lha-bla-ma-Ye-shes-'od died in prison.

Then we hear of another embassy of Tibetans to Vikramaśila, who were almost robbed of their gold on the journey, and a religious assembly at this Indian monastery is described with its brilliant stars of wisdom and holiness who were all eclipsed by Atiśa. As the Indian monks would not have allowed their master to leave the country, Atiśa disguised his intention of going to Tibet by saying that he was going on a pilgrimage to the eight places of Buddhist sanctity,[1] which pilgrimage took him to Nepal. He was much honoured by the king of that country, called Ananta-kirti, and performed various miracles and acts of piety on the journey. Thus he made all the robbers who wished to assassinate him, dumb and motionless like statues, until he had passed by, and at times, he lifted himself into the air a cubit above the saddle with a view to be distinguished from the others. A smile was ever on his face and Sanskrit *mantras* were ever on his lips. At a deserted camping ground, he saw three puppies left uncared for. He took them in the folds of his robes, saying " Ah, poor little ones, I pity you," and resumed his journey. The breed of these puppies, says the historian, is still to be seen at Rva-sgrengs in Tibet.

When the party entered Guge, they found one hundred horsemen all decorated with white ornamental equipments, sent by King Byang-chub-'od. The escort carried small flags and twenty white satin umbrellas. The band consisted of musical reeds, bagpipes, guitars, and other instruments. With sonorous and grave music, and uttering the sacred mantra, *Oṁ maṇi padmē hūṁ*, they approached the holy sage to offer him a respectful welcome in the name of the king of Guge.[2]

[1] The eight great places of pilgrimage (Sanskrit *mahāsthāna*) are 1st the Lumbinī Garden (modern Rummindei in the Nepal Tarai) where Buddha was born ; 2nd Bōdh Gayā where he attained enlightenment ; 3rd the Deerpark (modern Sārnāth) near Benares where he preached his first sermon ; 4th Kusinārā (modern Kasia ?) where he reached Nirvāṇa ; 5th th Jētavana near Śrāvastī (modern Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh), where the great miracle took place, 6th Vaiśāli (modern Basārh) where he was fed by a monkey ; 7th Saṁkāśya (modern Sankisa) where he descended from heaven, and 8th Rājagriha (modern Rājgir) where he subdued the wild elephant. [Ed.]

[2] This reception seems to be represented among frescoes in monasteries of those times.

Atīśa had never yet tasted tea, and the first cup on Tibetan soil was offered him with the following solemn words: " Venerable sage, permit me to make an offering of this celestial drink which contains the essence of the wishing tree!" Atīśa said: " This curious cup of precious material contains an elixir of the wishing tree. What is the name of this drink which you prize so much ? " The Tibetans answered : " Venerable sir, it is called tea. We do not know that the tea plant is eaten, but the leaves are churned in warm water, and the soup is drunk. It has many properties ! " Thereupon Atīśa, who could pay compliments like any French abbé, remarked : " So excellent a beverage as tea must have originated from the moral merits of the monks of Tibet!"

The Manasarowar Lake pleased Atīśa so much that he stayed there for seven days. Then he proceeded to mTho-lding, the capital of Guge, where he was received by the king with due honours. Although all the lamas and noblemen rose respectfully when Atīśa approached them, the old lama, Rin-chen-bzang-po, would not rise, partly from envy, partly from weakness. But then Atīśa displayed his intellectual armour in such a brilliant way before the old monk that even he was conquered and ready to sit at the feet of the newcomer.[1] After a residence in Guge of two years, Atīśa proceeded to Central Tibet. He died at Nyethang near Lhasa at the age of seventy-three in the year 1053 A.D. The founding of the so-called half-reformed sects of Lamaism was due to his exertions. The most important of them is the bKa-gdams-pa sect. It was in monasteries of this sect that Tsong-kha-pa studied, before he started the great reform movement which ended in the creation of the Ge-lug-pa sect. The object of all these reformations was not, as is often supposed, to go back to the early Buddhism as it was preached by Gautama, but to build up a church which represented the doctrines of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism in a pure form. The doctrines of Nāgārjuna were propounded by all the great teachers of Tibet. But the Kāla-chakra philosophy with its monotheistic tendencies was also favoured by them.

On the 10th August, we travelled to the southern end of the lake, and then along its western shore, and at sunset we arrived at bKor-rdzod (map Karzok. Plate XXIII). The sudden appearance of the monastery in that barren desert was such a surprise that it was at first difficult to believe in its reality. On this march, the Tibetan fauna was much in evidence. There were large herds of *rkyang* (wild asses which look like mules), and one of the *rkyang* came quite close to us and watched our caravan passing by. There were very many hares and marmots which did not show any signs of fear, and also the beautiful tail-less rats of Tibet looked at us curiously from behind many a stone. Whilst animal life was thus well represented on dry land, I could not discover any living being in the water of the lake. But as aquatic plants were plentiful it attracted wild geese and ducks, of which we saw a good number. As Drew says, gulls have their breeding ground on an island in the lake. In spite of the desolation round about, the scenery is very fine. Snowclad peaks, bare hills of brownish colour, dark

---

[1] This incident is referred to in one of the Tabo inscriptions, as stated above. Cf. *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzang*, Part II, p. XVII.



a. *Mani* walls and *mchod-rten* at dKor-dzod.



b. Milking goats at dKor-dzod.

blue-green water, and dunes of yellow sand combine to make a picture like those sublime quiet landscapes, which have become familiar through Sven Hedin's Tibetan sketches.

The first European who visited the lake was Trebeck in 1820. Cunningham gives the legend of the lake which explains its unusual name. We heard the same legend at bKor-rdzod. Although the tale is quite without a point, Cunningham says that it is as good as many a Greek tale. The word *Thsomo* means 'lake,' and *Riri* is an exclamation used by people when driving yaks. According to the tale, an old woman came riding on a yak and made the animal wade into the water. She was shouting *Riri* all the time, and was finally drowned together with her yak. It is strange that Trebeck does not make any mention of a monastery on the lake, although he travelled along its western shore. All the same, the convent must have been in existence in his time, for in an inscription which I found on one of the many *maṇi* walls which line the lake shore, the expression *dGon-snying*, ancient monastery, was used with reference to it. These *maṇi* walls extend to about two miles in both directions from the monastery (Plate XXIV, a). The votive tablets on these walls contained the names of several chiefs of the Rubshu nomads who have their residence close to the monastery. Of royal Ladakhi names, I found only two mentioned, those of the two last independent rulers of Ladakh. But another tablet near the monastery contained a very beautiful hymn on Tibet, especially its western parts. This hymn was more of a geographical than historical character. We took an impression of this inscription, and I had to make an eye-copy in addition.

I visited the monastery next morning and was disappointed to hear that it was a modern structure, between fifty and sixty years old.[1] The old monastery stood on the brook, below the present site; but not a trace of it now remains. The few ancient images and other articles of worship were taken up to the present building. Among the antiquities pointed out to us, were several miniature *mchod-rten* of the usual type. Of all the stucco figures, and of a fine wood-carving in sandal wood, which represented Padma-sambhava with two of his fairy friends, it was asserted that fifty or sixty years ago they had been brought up here from gSham, Lower Ladakh. I suspect that these Rubshu people bought up the entire contents of a ruined monastery in Lower Ladakh. The principal stucco figure represents Buddha with two disciples, and another Padma-sambhava. The names of the other images, I did not try to ascertain, because the history of their date and origin will always remain obscure. I may mention here, that outside, near the site of the ancient monastery, I found a relievo representing Padma-sambhava, carved on a beautiful slab of snow-white quartz. I was greatly tempted to carry it off, but it would have been too heavy. One of the clay pots in the bKor-rdzod monastery reminded me of the stone age of Europe. It had evidently been made by plastering the inside of a basket with clay and then burning the basket. All the books at this monastery were modern Tibetan prints.

The neck ornament of a man at bKor-rdzod who acted as Lambardār, attracted my attention, because it was of cruciform shape, and could at first sight be taken for a Christian ornament. He said, he had excavated it from a high hill in the neighbourhood.

[1] A picture of the old monastery is found in Schlagintweits' *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien* Jena 1872-18.

I bought it from him for two rupees. It was made of a mixture of metals, similar to the Indian *khānsi*. It was a plain cross with beams of equal length, and at the end of each beam was found a double spiral as an ornament. As I was told by another man from Rubshu, there are ruins of ancient settlements and watercourses all over the country. They are found on high hills in Rubshu, and are ascribed to a tribe of Mon, the pre-Tibetan inhabitants of the country. These Mon must have been marvels of endurance. How they could have cultivated fields at those altitudes, is a mystery. The barley fields of the bKor-rdzod monastery are in Mr. Drew's opinion the highest in the world (Plate XXII, b). But those of the Mon settlers must have been higher still. According to Survey maps,[1] the altitude of bKor-rdzod is 15,600 feet, but according to Drew it is only 15,000 feet high. Drew gives the following numbers with regard to this lake: length 15 miles, breadth 3 to 5 miles; depth 248 feet. It may sound incredible that there should have been fields still higher than the present fields of bKor-rdzod whose harvest sometimes fails. But I remember that also on one of my former journeys, in Zangskar, I came across the ruins of a Dard settlement at an altitude where it was icy cold even in summer.

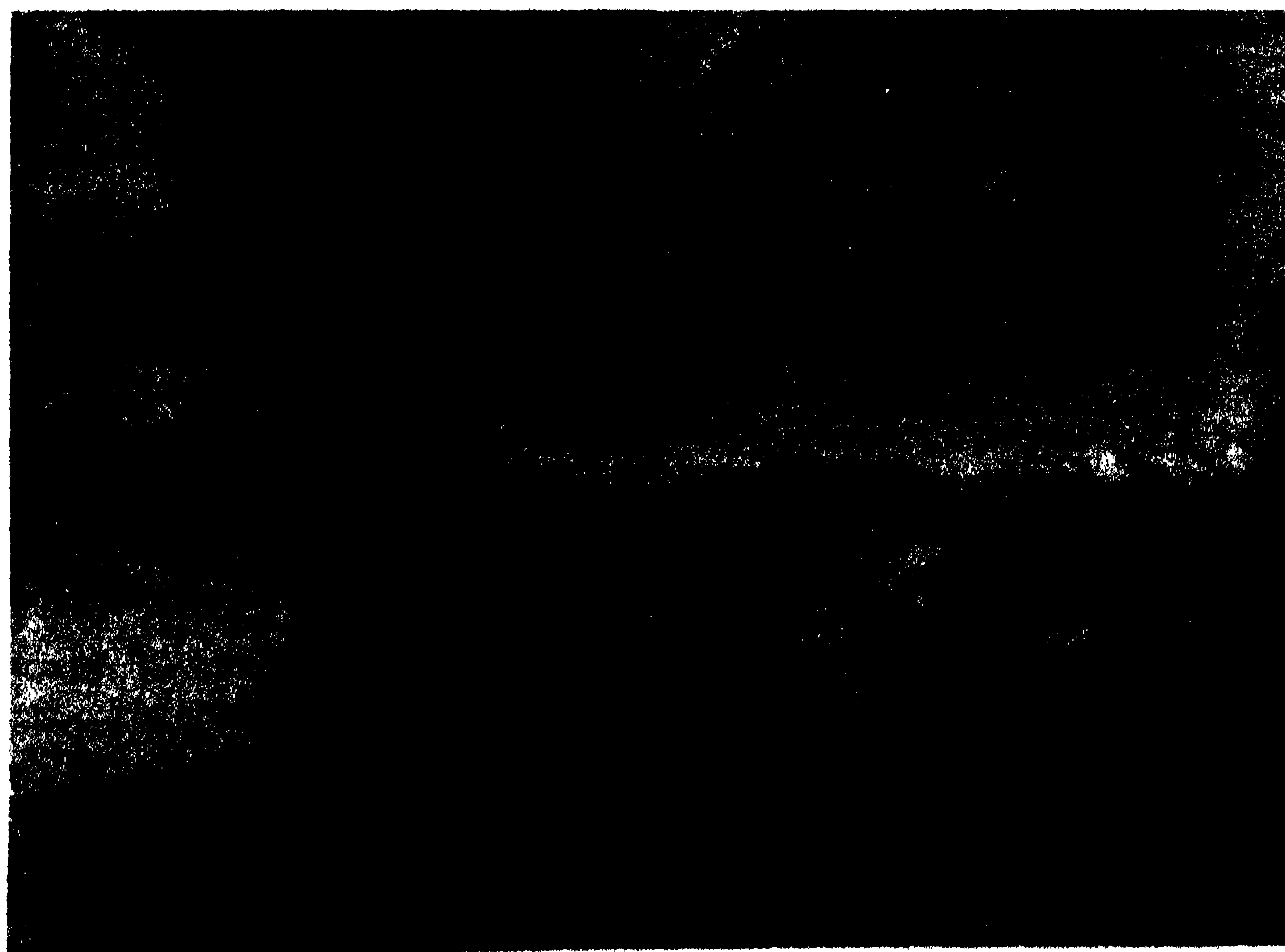
Whilst we were encamped at bKor-rdzod, the chief of the Rubshu nomads visited me, and to entertain him, I showed him the pictures of my "History of Western Tibet." He enjoyed them thoroughly, but he was struck with emotion on seeing the portrait of the ex-king of Ladakh with his son and retinue. As the ex-king was married to his own sister, this picture represented some of his nearest relations, and he implored me not to go away without making him a present of it. There remained no alternative for me but to tear the picture out of the book, and hand it over to him. It was however, fortunate for us, to have placed under obligation such an important personage through this little present. For, if we had not been in his favour, it would probably have taken a long time before the nomads found yaks for us. As matters stood, the yaks turned up in good condition next morning. In the same way, it was also our good fortune to have met with the Assistant Commissioner in Spiti. Otherwise we should certainly have had difficulty in getting transport animals from Spiti to the lake. It must be remembered that animals as well as men are scarce in these frontier regions, that the roads are difficult, if not dangerous, and that these frontier people can hardly be reached by any authority. Last year, as Mr. Howell told me, transport was absolutely refused to a traveller in Spiti, who obtained it only by using desperate means.

As we have been travelling on yaks for some time, and as we have before us many more miles of yak riding, it seems the proper place to say a few words about these interesting Tibetan animals. The first yak ride we had on our way back from Shipke, and the second on the journey from Spiti to the lake. All those yaks had rings through their noses, and could in a way be controlled by them, for it requires great anger on the part of the yak to make him indifferent to the pain which would be caused by his tearing himself free and running away. But the yaks which we received for our journey

[1] Survey Map of 1874. Sheet 46 gives Karsok as 14,960 ft. [Ed.]



a. Nomads' camp on Lake Thsomo Riri.



b. Yaks on the shore of Lake Thsomo Riri.

from bKor-rdzod to Nyoma on the Indus, and from Nyoma to rGya in Ladakh, were without this last touch of culture, a nose-ring. They had neither saddles, nor bridles, nor even nose-rings, they were absolutely undefiled products of nature When I asked the nomads why even this last remnant of civilisation was not found on them, they said that this particular breed of yaks did not possess any noses. I was pitying the poor creatures for whom the roses had no scent, when I noticed that two little holes could be distinguished above the mouth. That in these circumstances it was no easy matter to use the yaks for riding, can well be imagined. In fact, their management was so difficult, that I would have gladly renounced this doubtful pleasure altogether, if the rarified air of those altitudes had not compelled me to use these uninviting beasts. When I was tired, I would tell one of the nomads to get me a yak for riding. Then all the men would run in front of the herd of yaks they were driving, shouting at them and waving their arms in the air, to make them understand that they were wanted to stop. A single one could never be made either to stop or to start. Their *esprit de corps* was so strong that they insisted on doing everything together. Now, when the herd was stopped, one of the unladen yaks was singled out for my use and seized by the horns. Naturally he disliked this treatment, and whilst he was dancing round the man, I was supposed to fly through the air and drop on the yak's back. As soon as I had reached my seat and seized its mane, the nomad would let go the horns, and off went the yak galloping up and down the hillside, until he had found his natural equilibrium, when he joined the herd again. The nomads had the kindness to select for me the least savage of their yaks, but the Khalasi and Khansaman had to take what remained, and that led often to exciting performances. I still see the Khalasi seated on the tail and hindquarters (for he had failed to drop down in the middle part of the animal) of a furious yak, which charged up and down with him on very uneven ground on the Thaglang Pass. Then, when the yak had found his place in the caravan of snorting beasts, he would look out for another yak, his adversary, and poke him with his horns. The opponent, naturally offended by this act of special attention, would pay it back in the same coin. In these continual fights, the yaks knocked a lock off one of our boxes, made holes in several others, and smashed the tripod of our camera. That they did not smash our own legs, was due to the continual care with which we watched these fights. Whenever one's own yak was charged by his adversary, one had to lift high the threatened leg, and join in the struggle by using one's stick and umbrella. There was, however, one weapon which was respected by all the yaks. That was the stone whip of Rubshu. We were now in the centre of a large treeless country, and thus it is not to be wondered at, that even the whip should be a stone implement. It was an oblong stone, three to four pounds in weight, with which the yaks were hammered on their hind quarters, whenever they showed signs of laziness. Curiously, the animals seemed to fear the sight of this stone implement more than its weight. The one I was riding on was often energetically hammered by a nomad behind me, a treatment which he endured with the utmost indifference. But the moment he saw another nomad using his stone against a yak in front of him, he shuddered with terror. When the hammering failed to make an impression, the stones were thrown at the yaks.

Once, the Khalasi had such a stone flung at his leg, which caused him to complain bitterly, as he was an official personage, but the nomads explained that it was intended for the yak.

On the 12th August, we had our camp by another mountain lake, called mThso-kyag (Kyaghar). This lake is only 2½ miles long and one mile broad. Its depth is 67 feet according to Drew. Its water is brackish, like that of the Thsomo Riri. There is no permanent habitation on its shore, but many stone walls have been erected by the nomads who often have their encampment on this lake The scenery round about is very grand and of the same character as on the Thsomo Riri.

On the 13th August, we had our camp near Raldrong, where the Phuga brook enters the Indus. Opposite the confluence are the ruins of a Mon village. This is probably the deserted village mentioned by the late Dr. Shawe in his letter of the 19th July 1906, in which he advised me to visit Nyoma and surroundings. Dr. Shawe wrote as follows: "Some miles west of Nyoma are said to be the remains of an old Mon village, where I was told boxes, household utensils, and coins have been found (apparently in graves). Unfortunately I did not hear of this till I had left and was across the Indus, or I would have made enquiries. Coins should prove interesting and instructive." From the left bank of the Indus we could see deserted fields in terraces, a group of houses, and walls. As, however, the distance from Nyoma was fully ten miles, and we were perfectly exhausted from our long desert journey, I could not manage to visit the site. In Nyoma I tried to obtain some of the articles found by the people at this deserted village, but they pretended not to possess any such things.

On the 14th August, we marched to Nyoma, where we had our camp on the left bank of the Indus. Pindi Lal and myself crossed the Indus on a little raft of inflated skins. The river journey on this raft, where four men had to sit motionless on a single square yard, occupied fully half an hour. Pindi Lal got a slight touch of the sun, and a severe headache prevented him from enjoying the shade of the first willows after Kaze in Spiti, to which he had been looking forward. He was, however, brave enough to take some photos of objects of interest.

The elevation of Nyoma (Nimu, Nima, etc., on maps) is given as about 14,000 feet by Drew. This is certainly exaggerated. It could hardly be more than 13,000. Drew mentions the few large willow trees of great age at the village. They would not be found, we may be sure, at an elevation of 14,000. Besides, we saw very many young and thriving ones. Before speaking of our own experiences, let me quote Dr. Shawe's observations according to his letter of the 19th July 1906. He says: "Here (at Nyoma) are very fine remains of a castle and old town on the top of a rock (Plate XXVI, a). The buildings all more or less destroyed except the temple which is said to be of the same date as the rest, and contains a fine lot of small brass idols and other temple utensils. The town is said to have been built by bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal (c. 1730 A.D.) whose name I also found on a *mani* wall. The only other king's name was Don-grub-rnam-rgyal (1790—1841), but there are many old *mani* walls, both of the ordinary and of the shelf type. On the plain behind the rock are extensive remains of a village which

the people said was of the same date as the castle, but which appeared to me much older from the style of building, also two or three "step *mchod-rten*," but no ladder in the middle of sides (like those of the *Alchi-mkhar-gog* carvings). One old *mchod-rten* of the ordinary type, now fast falling to pieces, had a small door at either end, some three feet high, and the interior was very finely decorated with paintings of Buddha's temptation, his subduing demons, etc. The decorations of the ceiling were in relievo. It is by far the finest piece of *mchod-rten* decoration I have seen yet. The only rock carving I could find was a *migmang* (kind of chessboard) on a boulder, but no inscriptions on rocks at all."

As we see, Dr. Shawe himself did not feel satisfied with the people's statement that the town of Nyoma was built by bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal. He found distinct signs of an earlier origin. The old types of *mchod-rten* especially, and the fact that one of them was beautifully decorated inside, point to an age of at least 900 to 1,000 years. I went to examine the temple which occupies the highest position in the now deserted town on the rock and belongs to the 'aBrug-pa order of monks. Since Dr. Shawe had been told that the temple was built in the 18th century, the monks had altered their opinion, and I was told that it dated from the days of King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal (c. 1600). I was, however, not satisfied with an assertion which possibly had no real foundation and asked the monks to show me proof of this assertion. Then they brought me a book which had been dedicated to the monastery by Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal and actually contained a dedication sheet on which the names of the king and his illustrious queen bSkal-bzang could be distinctly read. Of course, a document like that goes to prove only that Senga ge-rnam-rgyal took a certain interest in the settlement, and possibly renovated the temple. It is difficult to believe that there was nothing before Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal's days in a pleasant valley like Nyoma, and ancient *mchod-rten* distinctly point to a time, earlier than this king. One of the many painted flags (*thang-ka*) in this temple, particularly interested me, for it not only contained an idealised portrait of Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal's friend, the great lama sTag-thsang-ras-pa, but also scenes of the royal household 300 years ago. I wanted by all means to have it photographed, and as Pindi Lal was not well enough to climb up to this temple above the present town, I asked permission to take the picture down to the bungalow. This request was not granted, until I had interviewed a high lama of Hemis who was touring in the district.

On this picture we see a number of whitewashed houses, one or two stories high. They look exactly like the present Ladakhi houses and also have a red or black band round the roof, just as the present monasteries have. Then we see the inside of the royal kitchen with five or six people busy at work, and the male and female members of the royal family in separate rooms. Below the houses are painted two processions which approach the buildings from right and left. The men on the right hand side are riding on mules or *rkyangs*, and those on the left are walking, carrying presents, perhaps tribute. The chief value of the picture lies in the fact that the costumes of those times are painted so well. Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal is the king who is credited by popular tradition with the introduction of the Ladakhi type of dress, as it remained unchanged down to the time

of the Ḍōgrā war. In a collection of Tibetan proverbs which I acquired from a man from rGya some years ago, and which is among the manuscripts brought to Simla, there is a proverb which refers to the change of dress under this king. There it is stated that the king, whose name *Seng-ge* means "lion," said that he was willing to honour his subjects by giving them one of his ears; thus the men received the high black cap, called *seng-ge rna-mchog*, "lion's ear" which I find pictured by Drew.[1] The same proverb informs us that the great tiger lama (*sTag* means a tiger) favoured the women by giving them his spotted skin. Thus the dark blue dress of the Ladakhi women with its red and yellow spots was introduced. The picture in the Nyoma monastery does not, however, show the new fashion, having possibly been painted before its introduction. All the male persons wear turbans, as was the fashion in Western Tibet from c. 1000 A.D. downwards. The royal ladies are distinguished by their rich *berags*, fillets of leather which are covered with precious stones. Although I have not yet been able to trace them on pictures earlier than c. 1530 A.D., I am convinced that this fashion goes back to examples of old Indian art, where the Nāgas and Nāgīs were represented by a human figure with a snake growing out of the back and over-topping their heads. The *berag* of the Ladakhi women which begins in the middle of the back and becomes broader over the head, looks like the representation of a snake. Perhaps the Ladakhi women wished to look like Nāgīs, because these water fairies were famous for their beauty.

We spent Sunday, the 15th August, on the left bank of the Indus river, opposite Nyoma, and resumed our journey on Monday the 16th. Our next aim was Leh, and as the road along the Indus river was impracticable at that time of the year, I had to decide which of the two other roads we were to take, the road by Drangtse (map Tankse), or that by Phuga. As regards the Drangtse road, it attracted me much on account of a description Dr. Shawe had given me of it. The Phuga road, on the other hand, would take us to rGya, the antiquities of which I had previously examined. I decided for the latter route, but I will quote Dr. Shawe's letter on the Drangtse road to show the reader what we missed. He says in his letter of the 19th July 1906 : –

"I was told yesterday by one of the men that at Sakti you only visited the newest of the three old castles—the oldest being a mile or two up the valley. I am sorry I did not know when there. I saw few, if any, rock carvings in Sakti, except a *migmang* (see p. 57) on a boulder. At Drangtse is an old castle and village on top of a rock, destroyed by the Dogras. It is in very fair preservation, some of the streets being quite recognisable. Around Drangtse are numbers—thousands—of rock carvings of the usual ibex and yak type, but no Indian bulls, as far as I saw. At first I thought there were no inscriptions. and nobody could or would tell of any; but later, on top of a large rock or boulder, I found a number of carvings of some of which I enclose original copies. One, a *chorten*, had a long inscription beneath in letters which appear to be mostly, but not entirely, Tibetan, and on another boulder a line in Persian characters. Two or three carvings of crosses

---

[1] *Jummo and Kashmir*, p. 240.

were rather interesting; I give copies. Another carving about a mile out, on the road to Pangkong (lake) of a stag hunt, thus [drawing]. A large, and rough outline of Buddha on a rock seems to be fairly new—newer than some *chortens* on the same rock. I found no kings' names or votive inscriptions on *maṇis* at Drangtse, and the clay tablets were all of the *chorten* type, without letters, as far as I could see. Chushol yielded nothing of antiquarian interest, and I found nothing more till I got to Nyoma on the Indus."

Let me now add a few notes on Dr. Shawe's most valuable observations. I may remark that he was the first traveller who ever passed through this district with his eyes open to objects of archæological value. In 1906, I had travelled with Dr. Shawe as far as Chemre (*lCe-bde*) where we had investigated the monastery built by Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal. We became thoroughly convinced that there had existed a monastery previously on the same site. I went up the valley from Chemre to Sakti on a hurried visit, and as Dr. Shawe points out, in his letter, visited only the latest of three ancient castles. The first European traveller who visited the Chemre-Sakti valley, was Moorcroft in 1820. He also noticed the "fort" of Sakti which was already in ruins in his time. What he saw was also "the newest of the three old castles." Thus, the two older ones still remain to be investigated. Moorcroft[1] says: "On the face of the mountain, forming part of the eastern limit of the valley, stood the fort of Sakti, a pile of buildings surrounded by a wall and towers, the whole built of granite blocks cemented with clay; the houses were unroofed, but the walls were mostly standing. This fortress was evidently intended to command the northern entrance of the valley, but it was taken and dismantled by the Kalmaks nearly two centuries ago and has never been repaired."

The Kalmaks who dismantled this fortress, were evidently the Mongols and Lhasa Tibetans under Thse-dbang of Galdan, who after having beaten the Ladakhis in the battle of Zhamarting, besieged them in the fortress of Basgo. On their way to Basgo, 1646, they probably destroyed all the fortresses of eastern Ladakh. As we learn from Moorcroft, the Chemre-Sakti valley was under the command of the famous Ladakhi minister Bang-kha who ruled over seventy villages. The family of these Bang-khas evidently had the hereditary office of 'defender of the eastern gates of Ladakh. Their principal castle was the gSer-khri-mkhar of Igu, in the neighbouring valley, where there are many ancient ruins, among them walls with frescoes in front of huge carvings of Bōdhisattvas. One of the great generals of bDe-ldanr nam-rgyal (c.1630 A.D.) was a Bang-kha-pa from Igu. We also find a Bang-kha-pa in a high position of command during the first part of the Ḍōgrā war, when he did not quite justify the confidence placed in him.

As regards the other places of archæological interest mentioned by Dr. Shawe. they were not noticed by Trebeck on his way to the Pangkong lake. But Trebeck gives an interesting description of a festival he witnessed at Drangtse. As regards the inscription "mostly, but not entirely Tibetan," Dr. Shawe's copy of it was sent to Dr. Vogel, who said that it probably dated from c. 700—900 A.D., judging by the form of the characters used. It contained the Buddhist formula *Yē dharmā*, etc., which,

[1] *Travels*, Vol. I, p 426.

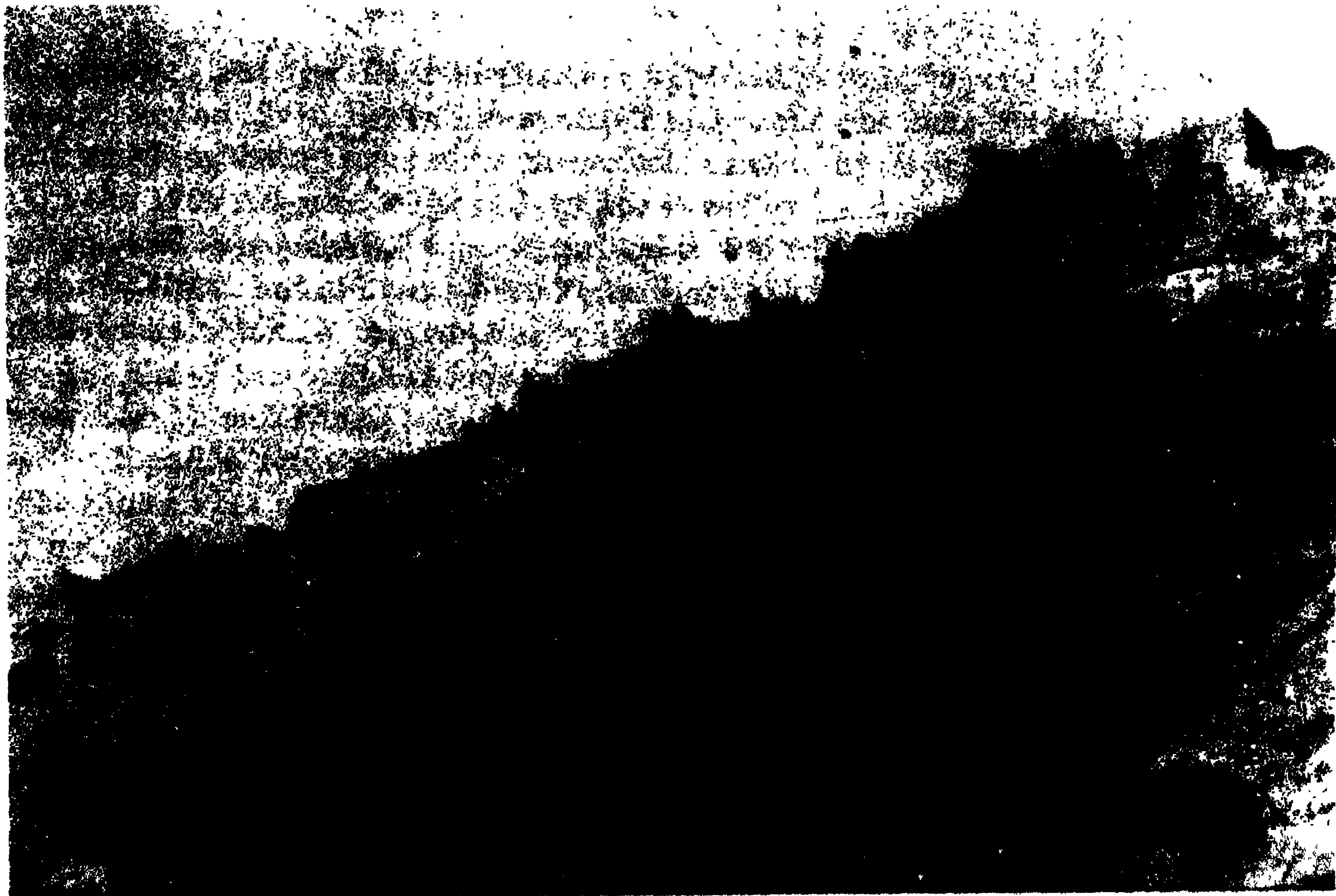
according to my observations, played the part of the *Oṁ maṇi padmē hūṁ* among the Ladakhi Buddhists of those times. The Indian characters, used by them, bear a remarkable resemblance to the Tibetan characters, for which reason I have come to the conclusion that the Tibetan script was developed in the western parts of Tibet, probably under the influence of Kashmir and Turkestan Buddhism.[1] This inscription may possibly give a clue to the date of the Maltese crosses found by Dr. Shawe in the vicinity.[2] Christianity in its Nestorian form was somewhat powerful in Turkestan about 900 A.D. and, although I do not venture to assert that there was a Christian community at Drangtse in those days, I think it not improbable that the ancient inhabitants of Drangtse had become acquainted with Christian forms of crosses. It is very probable that trade connections between Ladakh and Turkestan existed as early as 700 - 900 A.D. The Ladakhis were probably ready to try the efficacy of the Christian crosses for the sake of experiment, just as they swallow pages of Christian books nowadays, if swallowed pages of Buddhist writings have not the desired effect.

I was told that there was another deserted Mon settlement above Nyoma on the left bank of the Indus. When our caravan started for Phuga on Monday the 16th August, I made a special trip to this old site which is called Staglung. On my way thither I passed by the village of Ngod (*Mud*, or *Mad* of the maps) on the right bank of the Indus, which is known for its monastery. I was told that the Ngod monastery was of more recent date than the Nyoma one, and that it was erected by Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, the step-brother of Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal who had been obliged to take religious orders. Staglung is about seven miles distant from Nyoma (or better Nidar) and is situated in a very dry side valley near the Indus. There I found a rocky hill covered with ruins of houses, the single rooms of which were very small. As there are no traces of ancient fields round about, it is probable that Staglung was not a village, but a monastery. Below the rock is a number of ancient *mchod-rten* (about 15 to 20) and several rows of 108 small *mchod-rten*, all of which are built of sun-dried bricks. In two of the larger *mchod-rten* we found cremation tablets of clay, painted red. Two of them contained an inscription of the *Yē dharmā* formula in an ancient type of Tibetan character. This would point to Tibetan influence before the abandonment of the establishment.

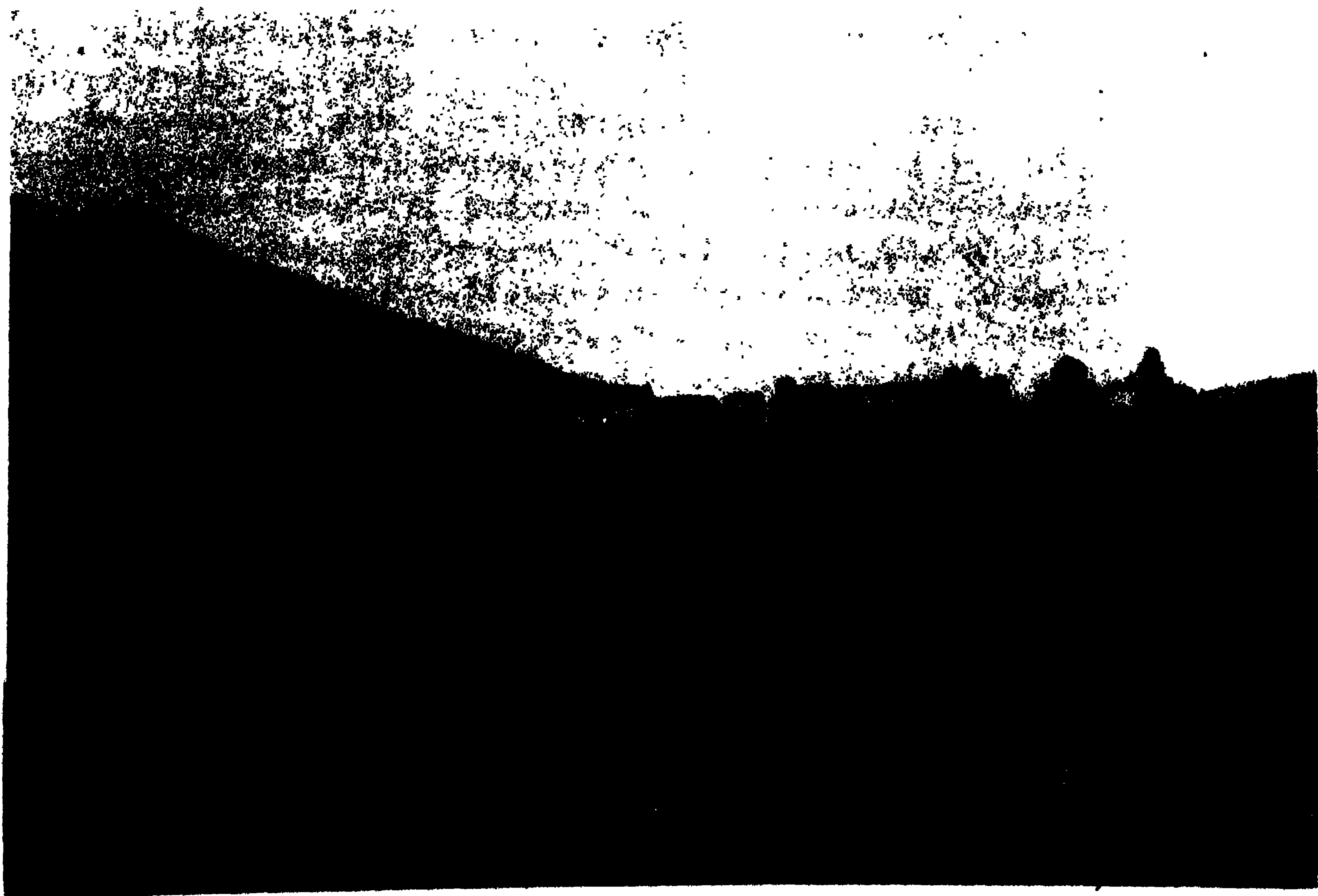
As the word *'aBrog-pa* (Dard) is never used here at Nyoma, nor in Rubshu, to signify the pre-Tibetan inhabitants of the country, I believe that the word *Mon*, which is here always used for them, refers to the Dard settlers of Rubshu and Nyoma district. At any rate, the Dards of Da state expressly in one of their songs that they once colonised Rong-chu-rgyud, which is the site of the present village of Nyoma and

[1] See my article: *The Kingdom of gNya khri btsanpo*, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI. p. 93.

[2] These crosses were again examined by Rev. S. Schmitt of Leh in 1911. Mr. Schmitt found inscriptions in an unknown script, running from top to bottom, in the vicinity of the crosses. Professor A. Grünwedel of Berlin points to the similarity between the Drangtse inscriptions and the Nestorian tomb-inscriptions treated by Chvolson of St. Petersburg. Dr. A. von. Le Coq pronounces the language of the inscriptions to be Soghdian. The word *S[a]mark[a]nda* may be read without difficulty. According to Professor F. W. K. Müller, the Drangtse inscriptions were carved by pilgrims and dated.



a. Ruins of Nyoma.



b. Mon *mchod-rten* at Rumrtse.

surroundings[1]. But the Dard civilisation apparently went beyond the present Tibetan boundary, for on Sven Hedin's new map I find a district near Ruthog called Monyul, a name which evidently refers to a former colonization by Mons or Dards.

On the 17th August, we passed by the borax and sulphur mines of Phuga, 14,800 feet high, and saw some of the hot springs in the valley. The houses near the mines were uninhabited, but did not appear to be very old. It was apparently here that the Ladakhi kings obtained the sulphur which they sent to Kuḷū between 1650 and 1836 A.D. In Kuḷū, this sulphur was exchanged for iron according to the trade contract between Ladakh and Kuḷū.[2] In one of the old *mchod-rten* at the upper end of the Phuga valley, we found a terra-cotta inscribed with Indian characters. This makes it probable that the mines were worked already by the ancient Mons (or Dards). As there are so many hot sulphurous springs in the valley, some even in the middle of the river bed, the air is in many places full of sulphurous gases.

We crossed the Phologongkha Pass (16,500 feet) on the same day, and had our camp on the shore of another large lake called mThso-d kar (White Lake) by the Tibetans, and "Salt Lake" by the cartographers. The elevation of this lake is 14,900 feet according to Drew. The first European to visit this lake was Trebeck, who passed by it in 1820, on his journey to Spiti. He calls it Thog ji chenmo, which is evidently the name of the monastery Thugs-rje-chen-po on the shore of the lake. This justifies our conclusion that this little monastery was already in existence in 1820. I was told that the present buildings were erected only a few years ago, instead of an older establishment which consisted mainly of cave dwellings. The present monastery contains only a few modern Tibetan books and a stucco statue of Avalōkitēśvara, after whom it is called, *Thugs-rje-chen-po.*

In the vicinity I noticed a cave, the entrance to which was closed by a stone wall, and this stone wall again had several clay seals impressed on it. Both kinds of seals showed complicated designs of the *svastika.* It is probable that some evil spirit was believed thus to be shut up in the cave. From one of the little houses near the monastery was suspended a piece of wood shaped like the male organ, painted red. As we read in the chronicles of Ladakh, "King Lha-chen-rgyal-po (c. 1050—1080 A.D.), provided with untiring zeal the recluses that lived in the neighbourhood of the Kailāsa and the three lakes with the necessaries of life." This passage undoubtedly refers to the Manasarowar lake in the first place, but it may also refer to the lakes of Rubshu, for I am fully convinced that, although no ancient remains have been discovered in them, yet the monasteries on the Thsomo Riri as well as on the Salt Lake are of great age. On the Pangkong Lake no monastery exists.

As the Salt Lake is surrounded by marshes, it does not make such a pretty picture as the Thsomo Riri, and the Khyagar Lake. The best view is probably obtained from the site of the little monastery. The following notes are taken from Drew who gives a very interesting geological account of this lake. The former level of the lake, as shown

[1] See my translation of the eighteen songs of the Bonona festival, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 93.
[2] See the account of the trade in my pamphlet '*Die religiösen und historischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler.*'

by distinct marks on the hillside, was 320 feet above the present level, and at that time the lake covered between 60 and 70 square miles as against its present eight square miles, the small fresh-water sheet included. This change of level is explained by him as being due not only to the erosion of dams, but also to the diminution of the humidity of the air. The salt lake produces various kinds of salt. On the northern shore of the lake, common salt is deposited. This is collected by the nomads who trade with it. It is consumed all over Ladakh, and even in Kashmir. Over part of the plain round about the lake, a carbonate of soda, called *patsa* (Bathsa) by the Tibetans, is found. This is the salt of the poor, and of animals. Another mineral found in the vicinity is called *gurm*. It is a mixture of sulphate of magnesia with a compound of soda. The depth of the lake is only 30 feet at the eastern end, its deepest part.

We had our next camp at Debring, on the southern side of the Thag-lang Pass, and exchanged our yaks from Nyoma for others from Rubshu. Debring is a nomads' camping ground which is furnished with several *maṇi* walls and *mchod-rten*, although there are no houses.

CHAPTER III.

The Indus Valley.

a. LADAKH.

We crossed the Thag-lang Pass (17,500 feet high) on the 19th August, and marched to the village of rGya (13,500 feet high), the first village of Ladakh, on the road from Rubshu. Before entering rGya, we passed by the ancient remains of the village of Rum-rtse (map Ramcha) which is asserted to have been a Mon settlement. When Moorcroft halted here in 1820, the whole population of this little village, who had never seen a European before, fled in terror, leaving their houses empty.

What may be called the necropolis of the ancient Mons of Rum-rtse, is situated on a plain above the trade road, about two miles above rGya. It consists of a number of large single *mchod-rten*, and many well-preserved rows of 108 little *stūpas*. The present inhabitants of Rum-rtse said that all those *mchod-rten*, having been the work of Mons, were not reverenced by them. The Mons and the Tibetans had nothing in common, they said. Although we examined some of the ruined *mchod-rten* at the site, we did not find any inscribed tablets in them. We took a photo of a rather well-preserved specimen of these *mchod-rten* which was of the so-called ladder type, as we find it represented among the ancient rock carvings near the Alchi bridge. The lower part showed remains of stucco frames which, I suppose, originally enclosed stucco figures of Buddha. This kind of ornamentation is not found on Tibetan *mchod-rten*. If a Tibetan *mchod-rten* has stucco relievos, they represent lions, Garuḍas and other animals. These are not found round the base, but round the middle portion of the *mchod-rten*. Another of our photos shows some of the well-preserved rows of little *stūpas* (Plate XXVI, b).

Opposite, and a little below the necropolis, on the other bank of the rGya brook are the ruins of the ancient castle and town of the Mons, called Rum-rtse-mkhar, with cave dwellings close by. The most conspicuous building in the old town was a round tower of great dimensions. Unfortunately, our limited time did not allow us to visit the site. The rGya district altogether is so full of ancient remains that an archaeologist could profitably spend a couple of weeks here.

There is another ruined castle (called *mKhar-gog*), on a spur in a side valley to the left, between Rum-rtse and rGya. Although I could not trace any traditions regarding it, it is apparently of Mon, *i.e.*, pre-Tibetan, origin. Besides, there are many ancient Mon *stūpas* in various places between Rum-rtse and rGya. The two large *mchod-rten* seen by Moorcroft on the road before entering rGya, are apparently still in existence. They are of Tibetan origin, and probably not more than two centuries old.

The site of the old settlement of the Tibetans at rGya is called *rGya-mkhar*. It is situated on a spur of the right bank of the rGya brook. From Moorcroft's account it appears that in 1820 A.D., the site was no longer inhabited and that Moorcroft's town of rGya was identical with the present, which is situated on the left bank of the brook. He says[1] : " Opposite to the town, on a lofty ridge of rocks, was a large pile of houses, formerly inhabited by the raja; and lower down, one belonging to the lama." The ruins of this ancient Tibetan town are still very picturesque. Higher up on the same hill are several ancient watch-towers. When Moorcroft was in rGya, he found one of the ancient chiefs of the district still in authority. He had friendly intercourse with this man whom he calls a raja. He says : " The raja whose name was Tsimma Panchik, was a short stout man about fifty." Of course, there were no kings of rGya, not even a vassal king. The title of raja (*rgyal-po*) may have been given to the chiefs, because they were related to the Ladakhi kings. Now the line is extinct, and all records being lost, I found it impossible to establish the identity of Moorcroft's Tsimma Panchik. It is even difficult to make out what Tibetan name may underlie Moorcroft's spelling of it. I suppose that the man was called Thse-dbang Phun-thsogs, pronounced Tsewang Puntsog. I asked several people at rGya if they could remember the names of the last members of their line of chiefs, and they gave me the following three names ; (1) bKā-blon-Thse-bstan ; (2) Nono bSod-nams jo-rgyas ; (3) bKra-shis (or Thse-ring) bZang-grub. More they could not remember. It is, however, possible that on a votive tablet on one of the *maṇi* walls at rGya the name of Moorcroft's friend may yet be discovered. Thus an inscription on a *maṇi* wall below rGya, of the time of bDe-ldan rnam-rgyal (c. 1630 A.D.) contains the name of one (or two ?) probable ancestors of Moorcroft's Tsimma Panchik, *viz.*, Nono bSod-nams-lhun-grub, ' father and son.' In this inscription the castle of rGya is called rGya-mkhar-rmug-po, ' the dark red castle of rGya.' On another *maṇi* wall in the vicinity of the preceding I found a tablet which is of interest on account of its reference to the state of Ladakh during the times following the battle of Basgo, 1647 A.D.

---

[1] *Travels*, Vol. I., p. 284.

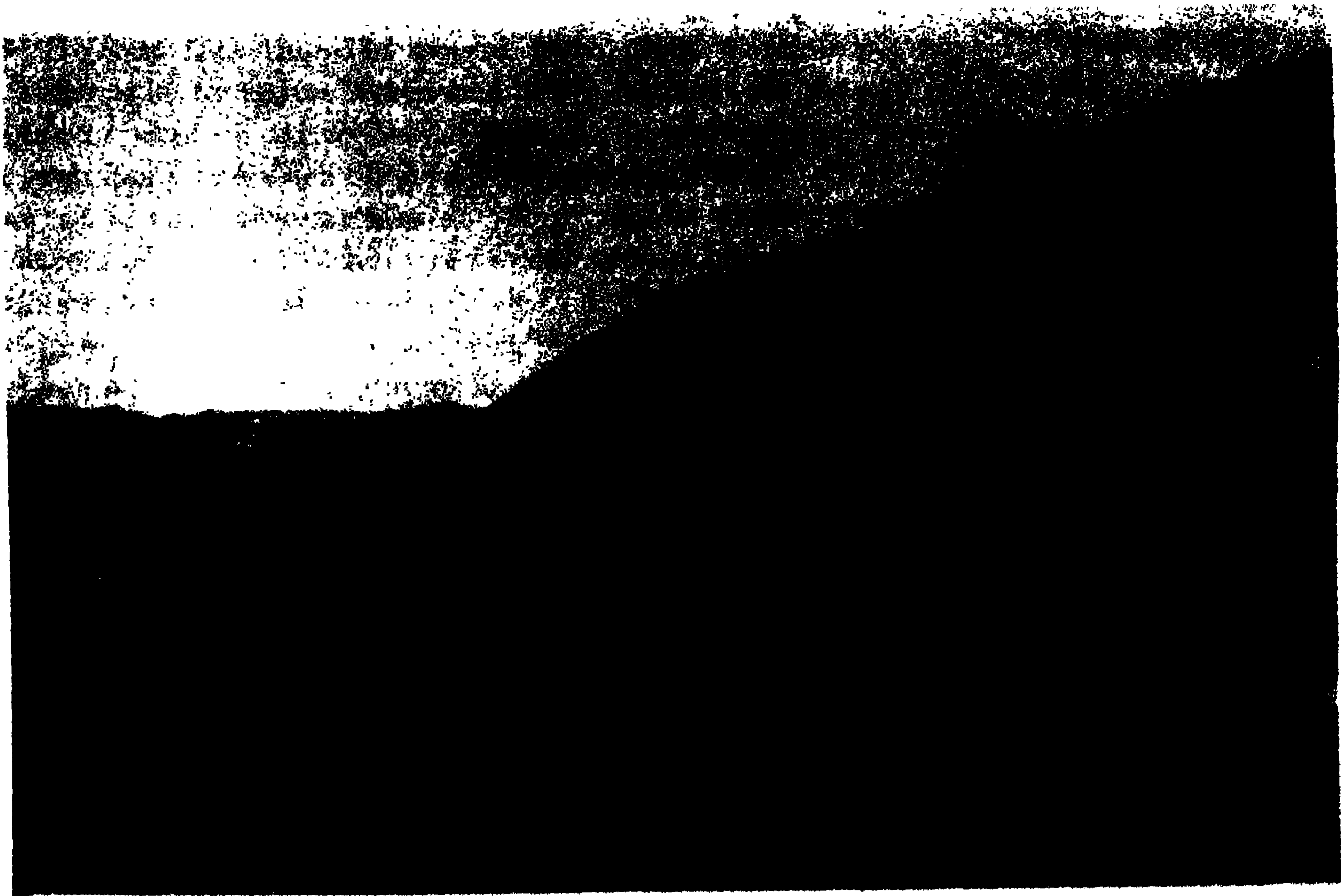
It gives the name of the Lhasa commissioner who for a time was regent of Ladakh and who, as the chronicles prove, intended to make himself the independent ruler of the country. His name is given here as rGyal-bai rgyal-thsab rJe-btsun Mi-pham-mgon. But unfortunately, there was no time for copying these inscriptions in full, nor for making impressions of them.

Behind the present village of rGya, on the left bank of the brook, there is a plateau studded with a number of ancient, mostly ruined *mchod-rten*. They are still held in veneration by the present inhabitants of rGya (Plate XXXI, a). This is remarkable, because many of these *mchod-rten* which are called *Lha-bab-mchod-rten*, undoubtedly go back to Mon times. And had not the people of the neighbouring village told us plainly that they were indifferent to everything connected with the Mons? The difference may be this, that whilst the Mons of Rum-rtse did not succumb to Tibetan influences, the Mons of rGya did. We found several types of cremation tablets with Indian inscriptions, containing the *Yē dharmā* formula. The characters employed are of c. 700—900 A.D. according to Dr. Vogel's estimate. But there were also several tablets which showed the same formula in Tibetan characters. The difference between the Tibetan and Indian characters rests mainly in this, that in the Tibetan version the aspirated mediæ are indicated by an ordinary media furnished with a subjoined *h*, whilst in the Indian version *gh*, *dh*, and *bh* are expressed in simple characters. Besides, the Tibetan version has the tripartite *y*, whilst the Indian version has a later form of the *y*. In two cases, there were two tablets showing almost exactly the same design, but the characters used for the inscription were Tibetan on one of them, and Indian on the other. Among the *Lhā-bab-mchod-rten*, there were also the ruins of an ancient monastery of unknown origin, built of sun-dried bricks. I am almost convinced that the town of rGya is mentioned in the time of King Sadna legs, c. 850, in the chronicles of Ladakh. There it is stated that King Sadna legs built the temple of sKar-chung-rdo-dbyings in the province of rGya (*rGya-sde*). This could, of course, also be translated by "Indian Province" or "Chinese Province." But it is very unlikely that a Tibetan king should have built a monastery in a district, the hold on which was always uncertain. It is a pity that the name of the ruined temple in the middle of the *Lha-bab-mchod-rten* has become entirely lost.

On the 20th August, we left rGya for Mar-rtse-lang (map Marsahing), the Marsilla of Moorcroft. Below rGya, we passed by a high *lhatho*, an altar of the pre-Buddhist religion, with a few houses and fields in the vicinity. It is the *Latu* of Moorcroft, and soon we reached the houses and fields of a small settlement, called Rong.[1]

We made a short halt at this place, because I wished to examine the site of some ancient graves, called *Mon-gyi-rom-khang*, "graves of the Mons." The first who told me of the existence of these graves, was our evangelist dGā-Phun-thsogs of Kyelang, who is a native of rGya. He had told me that he had been inside them when a shepherd

[1] On the map this village is indicated by the name of *Latho*.



a. Site of Mon castle at Rumrtse.



b. Ruined monastery at Miru.

boy. He said that then the graves were quite accessible ; that he went down a staircase and came to rooms furnished with boards of pinewood, on which were placed numbers of skulls. A native of Rong whom we met, also asserted that the graves were very deep and furnished with masonry walls. As regards pinewood, I must say that it is a very rare article at rGya, which place is nowadays 150 miles away from the nearest pine tree. When we looked at the graves, we saw only pits in the ground for the superstitious people of Rong had closed them up with earth. As my observations later on in Leh showed me, it is very probable that these ancient graves of Rong belong to the same period as those of Leh, which I have much reason to attribute to the period of the " Empire of the Eastern Women." This State bordered on Ladakh, if it did not include parts of Eastern Ladakh. The Leh graves as well as those of Rong are furnished with masonry walls. Both contained numbers of skulls, a circumstance which points to the custom prevalent in that empire of burying all the higher officials along with the chief. The fact that the skulls were placed on boards in Rong, seems to show that the corpses were cut to pieces. Also at Leh the skulls as well as the vases containing the bones were originally placed on boards which became rotten when irrigation water entered the graves. Most of the larger pots at Leh had holes in the bottom, which shows that they probably had fallen down from a higher position. As excavations in Rong would have been possible only at a considerable sacrifice of time and money, I abandoned the idea for the present.

The next village on the road along the narrow valley from rGya to the Indus is Meru, pronounced Miru. It has a monastery in ruins which was famous in olden days (Plate XXVII, b). It is situated on a hill above the trade road. Its temple occupies the uppermost position on the top of a little conical hill, and the now ruined cells of the monks surround it below. It used to be one of the important monasteries of Ladakh, but its founder is not known. It lost much of its glory, when King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal made it the " mother " of the Hemis monastery which he built in the Shang valley. On that occasion, not only the " spirit " of the Meru monastery was carried off in a bundle of twigs, but also most of the images were transferred to Hemis. But Meru had to suffer a still greater injury during the Ḍōgrā wars, when it was plundered, and the monks expelled. At present, there is not much remaining in the temple hall ; one of the frescoes is, however, of unusual interest as it represents Gog-bzang-lha-mo, the mother of Kesar and one of the great pre-Buddhist deities of the Ladakhis. This picture is probably of ancient origin, although it had apparently been renovated from time to time. It was painted at a time when Bon-po art was largely influenced by Buddhist art. The complexion of the goddess is a beautiful white, whilst her hair is black. The hair is raised over the forehead and furnished with a ribbon and a diadem of pearls. Her ear ornaments (probably shells) are white and spiral-shaped, and her dress is white with blue and red seams. In her hand she carries a white cup.

Opposite the monastery, there is a hill with cave dwellings, probably the most ancient inhabited locality at Meru. It is called *Baho* (' Caves').

The place where the inhabitants of Meru had to live before they built their present houses in the bottom of the valley, is a hill spur on the right bank of the rGya river where there are extensive ruins of houses. As has been stated above, during the ascendency of the Ladakhi kings people were not allowed to live among the fields, probably to prevent their trespassing too much on valuable ground. But, as we learnt from Moorcroft's account of rGya, the lofty sites on the top of rocks were already partly abandoned during the times of the last king, Thse-dpal-don-grub-rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal (1820 A.D). From his account it appears that at Meru also people lived in their present houses in 1820.

Several miles below Meru, the rGya brook discharges into the Indus, and at this place is situated the village of Ubshi (Moorcroft's *Ukshi*). In this village we noticed several *mchod-rten* of great age which were known to the inhabitants as *mchod-rten* of the Mons. We examined the interior of one of them and found the walls inside covered with ancient frescoes which were apparently painted with two colours only, indigo blue and brownish red. There were any number of rows of figures of blue complexion seated cross-legged. Their garments were white with red seams. The larger pictures in the centre of the four walls were too far gone to allow of any identification. The headdress of these blue figures was somewhat unusual; it looked as if the ends of a long hair-pin projected on each side. Later on, when I had examined several more similar frescoes at other ancient sites, I came to the conclusion that the Ubshi pictures represent Nāgas (*Klu*), and that these ancient *mchod-rten* may be Bon-po, and not Buddhist, structures.

We spent the night of the 20th and the 21st August at Martselang. Here I had a pleasant surprise in meeting one of the Leh mission ladies, Miss Schurter, who had travelled through the desert wilds of Rubshu from Kyelang to Leh, accompanied only by two Christian Tibetans from the former place. I might have caught her up much earlier, if she had not been alarmed by rumours of the approach of a very untrustworthy sportsman (myself!) which caused her to make double marches to escape him.

Martselang is situated at the lower end of the Shang valley (the *Changa* of Moorcroft), which contains the Hemis monastery. This monastery which was built by king Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal only about 300 years ago, has acquired quite unusual fame among European visitors to Ladakh on account of its devil-dances. These are performed here in June (originally probably on the occasion of the summer solstice), a convenient time for Europeans to attend them, whilst most of the other monasteries have the same performance in winter. The monastery was also frequently referred to fifteen or eighteen years ago, when the Russian traveller Notovitch surprised the world by stating that he had found in it a copy of a new Christian gospel written in Pāli. A great deal of learned correspondence then took place which proved that Notovitch's extraordinary find was a forgery. The interesting Tibetan account of the foundation of this monastery was brought to Europe by the Schlagintweits, and the Tibetan text with an attempt at a partial translation was published by Emil von

Schlagintweit.[1] I hope to find time to prepare a reliable version of this interesting document. Although the Hemis monastery is not very ancient, yet it contains images of a type which is found only in monasteries of the 10th or 11th century. When the monks are asked to state the place of origin of such statues, they say that they were brought here from Lhasa. I wonder if that can be true. It seems to me that a more likely explanation is that these images were brought here from Meru, which is, as already stated, the "mother" monastery of Hemis.

At Martselang we saw again many ancient *mchod-rten* of the Mon type, and all along the road, from this place to Chushod, these *mchod-rten* were much in evidence. I may add that it is very much the same on the other bank of the Indus, *e.g.*, at Khrigtse, Raṇbīrpur, and Sheh, where they are numerous. At Raṇbīrpur, I remember having seen even several specimens of the ladder type in fair preservation. The conviction that we are travelling here on ancient Buddhist ground, grew very strong on me. It is not impossible that the present village and monastery of Khrigtse are identical with the castle of Khri-btsegs-'abum-gdugs mentioned before Srong-btsan-sgam-po, who was the first Buddhist king of Tibet, and with the monastery of Khri-rtse mentioned under King Mes-ag thsoms (705—755 A.D). Local names in Sanskrit which are found here and there in Ladakh, date from the times of this more Indian than Tibetan form of Buddhism. The names of Meru, and Sakti (Skr. *Śakti*) have already been mentioned. I may add the names of Muni and Kanika (= Kanishka ?) in Zaṅgskar, and Tar (Skr. *Tārā*, on account of the Svayambhu Tārās at that place), Hari rtse (Summit of Hari). The greater part of the Ladakhi local names are certainly Tibetan, but not a few are of Dard origin. In connection with the latter statement let me point to the many names which have the Dard word *hem* (Skr. *hima*) or *hen* "snow," as one of their component parts, *viz.*, Hembabs (Dras), Henasku, Hema la, Hemis. Of other plainly Dard names like Hanu, Hunupatta, Garkunu, Chanegund, Hibti, Esu, etc., I cannot yet explain the etymology. The name *Raṇbīrpur* is a modern Ḍōgrā name.[2] A few ancient Indian personal names also have been preserved in folklore and inscriptions. Thus, the ruined castle opposite Stag-sna is called the castle of king Surgamati (Skr. *Sūry-amati*, "Sun-mind") and among the old royal names on inscriptions at Khalatse we find Shirima (Skr. *Śrīmān*) and (probably) Satyamati ("Truth-mind"), besides several others.

When riding along the left bank of the Indus river, we could see the villages, castles and monasteries on the right bank, a visit to many of which would amply reward archæological research. The conical hill of the Khrigtse monastery always looks picturesque, and so it is with the Stag-sna monastery which is built on a rock between two arms of the Indus. The buildings of this monastery look almost like a royal castle. It was built with the greater care, because it was the residence of several members of the royal family who had taken orders in the 'aBrug-pa sect. The erection of this monastery in its present shape is attributed to Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, the step-

[1] "*Buddhism of Tibet.*"

[2] The place is named after Raṇbīr Singh, the son and successor of Gulāb Singh and the second Ḍōgrā ruler of Kaśmīr.

brother of Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal. The village of Sheh (*Shel*) on the right bank has also many attractions. It was apparently the capital of Ladakh, before the old kings of Leh, the professed descendants of the mythological king Kesar, were expelled. Here are the most ancient royal rock inscriptions, but the best preserved of them will probably remain inaccessible for some time for the natives of Sheh, being afraid of a devil who has his abode exactly in front of the best of them, have erected a wall which conceals the entire inscription.

We crossed the Indus at Choglamsa. The water was so high, that it flowed over part of the bridge, and we had to ride through deep water for several hundreds of yards on the bridge as well as on the left bank. At Choglamsa we met two ladies of the Mission who had come to the bridge to welcome Miss Schurter, and on the road through the sandy desert below Leh we were welcomed by several more members of the Moravian Mission. We rode along the long royal *maṇi* walls south of Leh which had astonished Moorcroft ninety years ago, and entered Leh with thankful hearts, for we were all much in need of a good rest. Here in Leh we again received letters, the first since leaving Poo four weeks before, and also a remittance. But a more powerful inducement to continue our work was the approval of our past doings, which found expression in Dr. Marshall's letters.

b. LEH.

The name of *La-dvags* is not mentioned in the Tibetan chronicles before the reign of king Nyi-ma-mgon, c. 900 A.D., when it is stated that it was in the hands of Gesar's descendants. The kings Lha-chen-she-srab and Khri-btsug-lde (c. 1350 – 1400 A.D.) seem to have resided chiefly at Sabu; and only the kings from 'aBum-lde onward, (after 1400 A.D.) resided permanently at Leh. As has already been mentioned, the original name of the town is not *sLel*, as it is now-a-days spelt, but *sLes*, which signifies an encampment of nomads. These nomads were probably in the habit of visiting the Leh valley at a time when it had begun to be irrigated by Dard colonizers. Thus, the most ancient part of the ruins on the top of the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh are called 'aBrog-pai-mkhar (Dard castle), and of the supposed Dard graves at Leh, we shall have occasion to speak again.

The first European to visit Leh was apparently the Jesuit Desideri who visited Ladakh in 1715 during the reign of King Nyi-ma-rnam-rgyal whom he calls Nima namgial. The Jesuit was kindly received by the king, but as the Muhammadan traders plotted against him and undermined the king's confidence, he soon left the town and travelled to Lhasa. I regret to say that I have not yet seen a satisfactory account of this interesting and important journey.[1] A relic of Desideri's mission was discovered by the next European visitor to Ladakh, Moorcroft. He found at Pashkyum an old Bible on which he makes the following remarks:[2] "A Sayid, who seemed to act as his [the Pushkyum Raja *i.e.* vassal chief's] ghostly adviser, produced a book which had descended

[1] The best seems to be: Carlo Puini, *Il Tibet, secondo la relazione del viaggio del P. Ippolito Desideri.*

[2] *Travels*, Vol. II, pp. 22 ff.

from his grandfather to the Raja, and which proved to be an edition of the Old and New Testament from the Papal press, dated in the year 1598. It was bound in Morocco, with the initials I. H. S. surmounted by a cross, stamped on each side of the cover. How it had come there no person could inform me, but it might possibly have been given to the former Raja by Desideri, who visited Ladakh, although it is very doubtful if he reached Lé. The Khalun and Khaga Tan zin made, at my request, very particular inquiry regarding any evidence of a European having been at Lé before us, and no proof nor tradition of such an occurrence could be traced." I feel confident that a critical edition of Desideri's diary will establish beyond doubt the fact that Desideri actually visited Leh.

But although Moorcroft was the second instead of the first visitor to Leh, his description of his visit is of the greatest importance in historical as well as geographical respects. Moorcroft visited Ladakh fourteen years before the kingdom lost its independence. He spent two years at Leh, and as he was a very keen and intelligent observer, his description of the kingdom is of unique interest. Trebeck, Moorcroft's travelling companion, who was a clever draftsman, made a pencil sketch of Leh, which was reproduced in the account of their travels, and this picture of Leh, the oldest known to exist, no archæologist would willingly lose. The reason why Moorcroft spent such a long time at Leh was his attempt to arrange for the king of Ladakh's tendering his allegiance to the East India Company. It took him a long time to win the confidence of the Ladakhi king, Tuntuk namgial (*Dong-rub-rnam-rgyal*) and his Prime Minister, Tsiva Tandu (*Tsee-dbang-dong-rub*). But when they were ready to tender their allegiance, their offer was declined by the East India Company. How different the fate of Ladakh would have been, had it been accepted. Moorcroft had no doubts then, that Ladakh would soon be swallowed up by Russia, for the Prime Minister showed him a letter from the Emperor of Russia to the king of Ladakh which had been brought there by a Jew, six years before. Moorcroft and Trebeck became eye-witnesses of some little warfare between the Ladakhis and Baltis, and between the Ladakhis and the Kuḷū State; they also saw the seditious placard at Leh, in which the unsatisfactory rule of the king was contrasted with the excellent rule of his predecessor, his brother, who had died young. There is simply no end of most interesting information in Moorcroft's account, and I hope to be spared to edit the Ladakhi portion of his journal with notes from the Tibetan point of view.

Let me now quote Moorcroft's description of Leh, in 1820, and contrast it with the Leh of the present day. He writes :[1] "Lé, the capital of Ladakh, is situated in a narrow valley, formed by the course of the Sinh-kha-bab[*Sengge kha-bab, i e.*, the Indus], and bounded on the northern and southern sides by a double chain of mountains running east and west, the highest of which are from eighteen hundred to two thousand feet above the plain. It is built at the foot and on the slope of some low hills, forming the northern boundary of the valley, and separated by a sandy plain about two miles broad from the river

[1] *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 315 ff.

It is enclosed by a wall, furnished at intervals with conical and square towers, and extending on either side to the summit of the hills. It is approached by a double line of the sacred structures or manis, frequently noticed in the journal, and houses are scattered over the plain without the walls, on either hand. The streets are disposed without any order, and form a most intricate labyrinth, and the houses are built contiguously, and run into each other so strangely, that from without it is difficult to determine the extent of each mansion. The number, it is said, is about a thousand ; but I should think they scarcely exceeded five hundred. They vary from one to two or three stories in height, and some are loftier. The walls are in a few instances wholly, or in part of stone, but in general they are built with large unburnt bricks : they are whitened outside with lime, but remain of their original colour inside. They are usually furnished with light wooden balconies ; the roofs are flat, and are formed of small trunks of poplar trees, above which a layer of willow shoots is laid, which is covered by a coating of straw, and that again by a bed of earth."

From this description we learn that in 1820, although the general character of the houses was the same as it is nowadays, yet the ground plan of the old town must have been very different from that of the present town. It is true that even then some houses existed outside the walls, but the town proper was enclosed by a fortified wall. The two large bazaars which form such a conspicuous feature of the present town of Leh were not yet in existence. As popular tradition asserts, the large bazaar of Leh was laid out by the Ḍōgrās after the war of 1834-1842, and the new bazaar was made in 1897 by Captain Trench, British Joint Commissioner. I have been told, the Schlagintweits give a very minute description of Leh as it was in 1856, when the large bazaar was already in existence. Where this description is to be found, I have not been able to trace. A few remains of the walls of Leh are found right in the middle of the present town, where there is also one of the ancient crooked gates. This gate, which is a little north-east of the great mosque at the end of the bazaar, marks the extent of the former town towards the south. All those houses which are found between the rNam-rgyal rtse-mo Hill and this gate, belong to the old town of Leh, of Moorcroft's time. He makes special mention only of three conspicuous buildings, *viz.*, the royal palace, the Chamba (Byams-pa, *i.e.*, Maitrēya) and the Chenresi (sPyan-ras-gzigs, *i.e.*, Avalōkitēśvara) Monasteries. These three buildings are still in existence, and will be referred to in due course. The following conspicuous buildings of the old town must also have been in existence in Moorcroft's time, although he does not make any reference to them. The house *Blon-po* ("Minister") is situated directly below the castle, on the south-west corner ; the *dGon-pa-so-ma,* (New Monastery) is situated on the south-eastern corner of the same castle. It is the scene of the devil-dances which were witnessed by Moorcroft. Both these buildings can be distinguished on Trebeck's picture of Leh. Below the dGon-pa-so-ma and the Byams-pa monasteries, is situated the *mKhar-chung* (" the little Palace"), and exactly below the latter the ruined site of the house *bKā-blon* ("Prime Minister "), possibly the very same house in which Moorcroft was received in audience by the then Prime Minister. West of the house *bKā-blon* we see the house *To go-che.* The



a. Clay pots from Dard graves, Leh.



b. Skulls from Dard graves, Leh.

To-o-che used to be an official who ranked between a minister and a *Grong-dpon*, or mayor. The present representative of the To-go-che is Munshi dPal-rgyas, the chronicler of Ladakh. To the west of his house we find the house *Grong-dpon* or "Mayor," and below it the old Byams-pa (Maitrēya) monastery. But on Trebeck's sketch of Leh we see two high palace-like buildings behind the Maitrēya and Avalōkitēśvara Monasteries, of which no trace remains. What were the names of these two buildings? From the chronicles of Ladakh we learn that a "new palace" was built above the sPyan-ras-gzigs Monastery during the reign of King Thse-dpal-rnam-rgyal. That would account for one of those buildings. During the reign of the same king mention is also made of a "*Theg-chen-gong-ma* Hall." As, however, nothing definite is said with regard to its situation, we do not know whether it is a room in the old castle or the building shown on Trebeck's sketch between the large royal palace and the "New Palace," behind the Avalōkitēśvara Monastery.

We could not possibly examine all the antiquities of Leh within four weeks, but we did some work, and I now wish to describe what we found.

We were just entering Leh, when I heard that somebody had again opened the ancient Dard graves near the *Teu-gser-po*, about two miles above the Commissioner's compound in the Leh valley. This is the same site on which Dr. Shawe and myself had done some excavation work in 1903. As I did not wish anybody else to take away the more important objects of interest, I asked Mr. Schmitt of the Moravian Mission to go with me to the graves on the 23rd August. This we did, and the two Christian boys who accompanied us proved very useful in opening the graves, which involved very hard work. The roof of the grave is more than a yard below the present level of the ground. It consists of large unhewn stones of rectangular shape, each about 1½ yards long, and a foot or so broad. The walls of the grave consist of masonry of unhewn stones. It is about two yards long, 1½ yards broad, and at least six feet deep. We had not yet reached the bottom, when we stopped our excavations. Originally the roof of the grave was probably above the ground. Later on, the deposits accumulated and buried it. But destruction did not set in, as I believe, until a field was made above it. Then, the continual flood of the irrigation water destroyed all the woodwork and many of the bronze implements began to oxydize. I suppose that the Leh graves originally contained wooden boards just like those at rGya.

The grave contained clay pots of various sizes, a few entire, but most of them in fragments (Plate XXVIII, a). The largest pot, of which only fragments came to light, may have had a height of three feet, and its diameter was probably not much less. The smaller pots, which were rarer than the large ones, had a height of 10 to 15 cm. There were also small, saucer-like vessels of clay, probably lamps. The natives who were with us at once asserted, that the pottery of the grave was distinctly different from present day Tibetan pottery. The pottery of the grave is not wheel-made but hand-made and characterised by very small handles. When Dr. Shawe and myself visited this grave (or another in the neighbourhood) in 1903, we found two elegant pots of medium size which were ornamented with designs in dark red colour. These pots were kept by

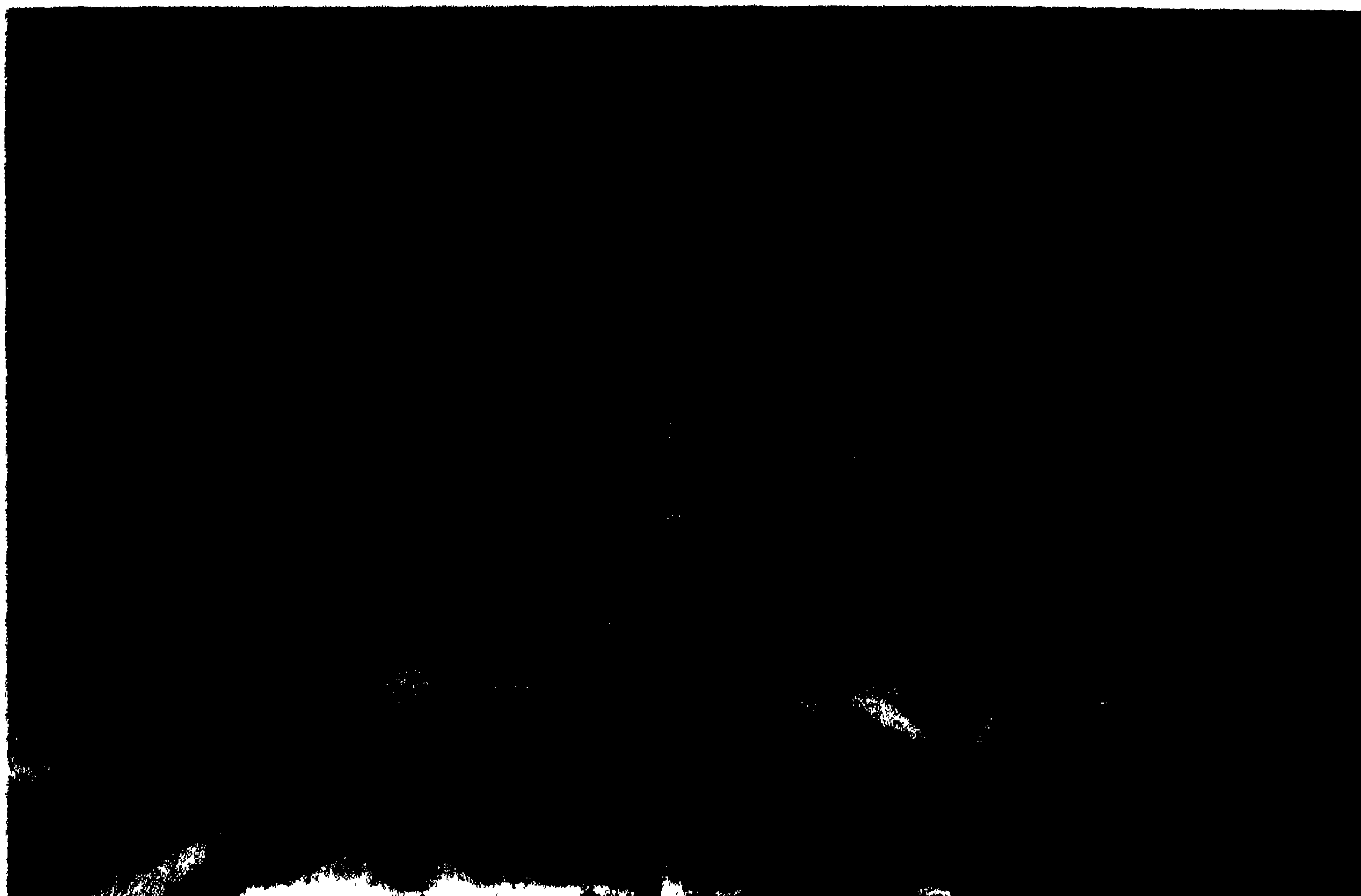
Dr. Shawe in his house, and photographed by Miss Duncan.[1] This time we could not find a single pot with painted designs in the grave. But there were linear ornaments impressed on several of them. The only places in Ladakh, besides the graves, where similar hand-made pottery with dark red ornaments has been found, are the ancient ruined castles of sBalu mkhar and Alchi mkhar gog. A plate showing such pottery is reproduced in my article "Archæological Notes on *sBalu mkhar*." [2] Another collection of such ornamental sherds was made at *Alchi mkhar gog* on our expedition and brought to Simla. These ornaments are all of a very primitive type. They consist of spirals, ladders, and a zigzag band ; and occasionally there are bunches of lines which may represent grass or reeds.

As most of the pots had holes in their bottoms, I was led to believe that they had fallen down from some higher position, probably from wooden boards (as are said to exist in the rGya graves). When the irrigation water entered, the boards decayed and gave way. As I had previously observed, when examining the graves with Dr. Shawe, most of the pots were filled with human bones. This circumstance seems to indicate that the ancient inhabitants of the Leh valley indulged in the gruesome practice of cutting the corpses to pieces and filling clay pots with the fragments. This custom, which is also found in other parts of the globe, is asserted by the Chinese to have been in vogue in the "Empire of the Eastern Women." Some of the pots had old cracks and carefully bored holes on both sides of them. Thus the art of mending broken pottery with strings must have been known to the race which built these graves.

There were, it appears, between fifteen and twenty skulls in one single grave (Plate XXVIII, b). How many, exactly, it is difficult to state now, as we were not the first to examine the grave. When we opened a grave in 1903, Dr. Shawe carried home three of the skulls. He took measurements of them and writes with regard to them in his letter of the 14th November 1905, as follows : "All the skulls I got are very decidedly egg-shaped. The measurements taken with an ordinary pair of compasses (we have no proper 'callipers' here) along the antero-posterior and longest transverse diameter of the roof of the skull are (approximately) $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5$ inches, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Against these, the similar measurements of a skull which I got in Baltistan from a Musulman grave, presumably that of a Balti, are $6\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ inches." If we convert these measurements into the ordinary centigrade formulas of cephalic indexes, we obtain the following numbers : three skulls from the Leh grave : 74,70 ; 77,77 ; and 77,77. Balti skull 82,82. Unfortunately, on our visit to Leh last year, even a pair of compasses could not be obtained, and I therefore cannot give any numbers. But as I have acquired an experienced eye for forms of skulls, I venture to state that all the skulls we found in the grave last year, were most distinctly dolichocephalic, and the formulas 74 to 77 would probably suit them all. We had also an opportunity to compare them with two skulls taken by Mr. Schmitt from the graves below Leh which date

[1] This photograph was reproduced in Miss Duncan's "*A Summer Ride through Western Tibet,*" p. 148, where the painted ornament appears quite distinctly.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 203 ff.



a. Bronze objects from Dard graves, Leh.



b. Implements used in devil dances, Leh.

from the last epidemic of small-pox in Leh, about a hundred years ago. These skulls from the small-pox graves appeared to be decidedly brachycephalic, when compared with those from the ancient grave. As dolichocephalic heads are a characteristic mark of the Dards of Hanu, Da, and other Dard places of Ladakh, we are led to believe that the people who built the ancient graves were probably of Dard stock ; at any rate they were not of Tibetan, but of North Indian origin.

Besides human skulls, a head of a sheep, and a horn of an ox were also found in the grave. These are apparently remains of a sacrifice, or gifts to the dead.

The grave contained also a number of bronze implements, some in fairly good preservation (Plate XXIX, a). Most of them were, however, much corroded, and covered with a thick layer of verdigris. First of all, I may mention small square leaflets of thin bronze furnished with an embossed ring, of which we found hundreds. Whether they were used for ornamental purposes, or as coins, I find it impossible to decide. Then there were numerous bronze beads, of round as well as of oblong shape, small and large, the largest thicker than a finger. Later on we discovered little pendants of bronze, of bell-like form, with triangular holes and a ring at the top. They were probably inserted between the bronze beads of the necklace. When we took photos of the bronze implements and other articles, we found a glass bead among the bronze beads. It was of mother-o-pearl colour, and looked like Roman or Greek glass. Dr. Marshall informs me, however, that this kind of glass is found all over Asia.

Once, when I had made arrangements to go to the grave and continue my exploration, I was prevented from doing so by an attack of malarial fever. Then Mr. and Mrs. Reichel of the Moravian Mission offered to go in my place, and they brought home several more very interesting finds. In particular, there were a number of bronze buttons of various sizes with a loop on the reverse. Some of them were of ordinary size, about half an inch in diameter, but others were much larger, nearlytwo inches in diameter. The largest had a scalloped edge, like an Indian one-anna piece. None of them contained an inscription. The smallest were quite plain, the largest had an elaborate spiral ornament, and those of medium size, a star ornament. I suppose that these buttons were worn by ancient officials as a distinguishing mark of rank, just as is the case in China nowadays.

Some other round pieces of bronze may have served as mirrors, such as are still found in Ladakh. Some fragments were probably the remains of bronze pots.

On the 28th August, three of our Christians went again to the graves of their own accord. They found many more bronze implements, several of them in fairly good preservation ; for instance, a can with a spout of excellent workmanship, though quite plain and without any ornament ; a seal with a cross-pattern engraved on it ; an entire bracelet with a pattern of little circles. Although we could trace decorative designs on several fragments, there was no vestige of any script.

In addition let me say that fragments of iron implements came to light also, and that Mr. and Mrs. Reichel discovered the only gold article that was in the grave. It is of a shape similar to the mouthpiece of a trumpet, but its purpose is not known. Its ornamentation is a curved form of the Greek key.

After this description of the grave and our finds in it, let me enter into the question of its date and the nationality of the people who built it. As I have pointed out already, in connection with the rGya graves, the condition of these graves calls to mind at once the description of the form of burial practised in the "Empire of the Eastern Women," of the Chinese historians. There we read: "When a person of rank dies, they strip off the skin, and put the flesh and bones mixed with gold powder into a vase, and then bury it.........At the burial of the sovereign, several tens of the great ministers and relatives are buried at the same time!" The latter statement about this gruesome custom may account for the great number of skulls, sometimes as many as twenty, which are found in a single grave. As the grave contained large bronze buttons, obviously a mark of high rank, it is very probable that the Leh grave actually contained the remains of several "great ministers." This "Empire of the Eastern Women" has been described in the *Sui shu*, a book which was compiled in c. 586 A.D. Here it is called Nü-Kuo. Hiuen Tsiang also heard of this empire, and a little after his time, we read that the last queen died and was replaced by a king. The frontiers of this curious empire are given by the *Sui shu* as well as by Hiuen Tsiang. They are: Khotan, Sampaha (Ladakh), Brahmapura (Chamba State), and Tibet. From these definitions we may conclude that the empire comprised the Tibetan provinces of Guge and Ruthog, and possibly Eastern Ladakh. The empire was a Tibetan one, according to our Chinese authorities, and it therefore appears strange that the skulls of the Leh grave are not those of Tibetans, but of Aryans. My explanation would be that it is very probable that portions of Ladakh were for a time at least included in this empire. The value of our grave finds lies in this that they afford us a glimpse of the general state of civilisation which prevailed in this empire. As regards its date, the presence of iron besides bronze precludes the fixing of any very early date, say before the Christian era. The absence of any form of writing in the grave would perhaps point to a time earlier than 586 A.D., at which time, according to the Chinese, the Indian characters were used in the empire. In my opinion the grave dates from between 1 and 500 A.D.

Fortunately for me, I had finished my investigations, when Mr. Chatterji, Director of Archæology in the Kashmīr State, arrived in Leh with the message that it was the wish of the Maharaja that no further excavations of any kind should be undertaken in Kashmīr State territory.

The village of Skara (*sGa-ra* in native documents) is situated south of Leh and forms a kind of suburb of that town. On the 3rd September, I visited the ruins of the sGar-rtse Monastery at Skara. According to K. Marx this is the monastery "for four lamas only," founded by King 'aBum-lde, about 500 years ago. It was built on a crag resembling an elephant. This little monastery was destroyed by the Ḍogrās, at least so I was told. There was also another small temple erected below the ruin, occupied by one lama who belongs to the 'aBrug-pa order. No tradition regarding King 'aBum-lde has been preserved in the locality.

The village of Skara was formerly situated on a rocky spur to the right of the Leh valley, where there are still many ruined houses. The chief reason for evacuating

the former site was said to be an epidemic. There are still many graves in a side-valley near it.

Probably the most ancient monastery at Skara is the one which is situated in a little ravine, between the rGar-rtse Monastery and the ruined village. Four walls are still standing, and there are traces of red colour (frescoes) on the walls. Close by is an underground room, in which we found a human skeleton of recent date.

Below this ruined monastery, there is a *mchod-rten* shaped like a "Mon *mchod-rten*." It consists of a lower square room, on the top of which is placed a round pyramid. Locally this *mchod-rten* is known as the grave of a king. It actually contained human bones, notably fragments of a skull.

Not far from it, on the plain, there is a group of three ancient-looking *mchod-rten* of the usual shape. A man from Skara had extracted from them several ancient household utensils filled with grain. Out of these, he sold me a sieve cup made of very thin copper leaf.

At Skara my attention was drawn to a rather modern-looking round *mchod-rten* which was hollow and furnished with a door. Inside of it we found several cremation tablets of ancient style, some with Indian inscriptions. I was told that a few years ago an ancient *mchod-rten* was destroyed by a Muhammadan who built a house for himself at Skara. He carried all the tablets found in the old *mchod-rten* to the new one and hid them there. In the desert below Skara, there are the low mounds of several ancient *mchod-rten*. We found in them cremation tablets with Indian legends, very much like those at rGya.

In the desert between Skara and Spithug (*dPe-thub*) on the Indus, on a plateau below the western mountain range, there are the ruins of a large building called *Chad-pai-lha-khang*, "Temple of Punishment." The outer wall towards the east has a length of more than 100 feet. There is no wall on the west side. Perhaps it was left incomplete. I made a plan of it. I was told that in the days of the Ladakhi kings (no personal name could be remembered) two men were ordered to erect this temple as a punishment for some crime. No woodwork remains, and there are no traces of images or frescoes on the site.

In the desert east of Leh, there is a large *mchod-rten* of yellow colour, which is called *Ma-ṇi-gser-mo*. Popular tradition asserts that it is one of the most ancient here. On the western side of the dome there is a niche with a complete figure of a seated Buddha. It must formerly have had such niches on all four sides. Attached to it are two or three *mchod-rten* of more recent date. One of them was open, and contained all sorts of old rubbish, *viz.*, fragments of idols, pages of books, charms, and cremation tablets. We took away some of the better preserved tablets. In 1906 we obtained from the same *mchod-rten* a few sheets of manuscript in a modern Indian dialect which were sent to Dr. Vogel, for examination. As King *Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal* (c. 1600 A.D.) exhibited strong sympathies with the religions of India, the manuscripts may date from his time. Of more recent date are the pages of a Sanskrit book in Dēvanāgarī character. This book was used by the Ḍōgrās after the wars, 1834—1842 A.D., when they established a

Sanskrit school at Leh; but the school soon came to an end, and the book was then placed in this *mchod-rten*. *mChod-rtens* of this kind, which serve chiefly as receptacles for old and useless manuscripts, remind me strongly of the Jewish Genizas.

The hill behind the town of Leh is called rNam-rgyal-rtsĕ-mo. On the top there are the ruins of the royal palace which was built by bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal (c. 1520 A.D.) As I had often visited this site during my former stay at Leh, I had not intended to visit it again on this occasion. Owing, however, to the return of the Italian, Dr. Filipo de Filipi, of the Duke of Abruzzi's mountaineering expedition, with his wife and brother, it was decided to show them some of the sights of Leh. One forenoon was accordingly set apart for a trip to the top of rNam-rgyal-rtsē-mo, Mr. Reichel of the Moravian Mission accompanying us. I had no reason to regret having been of the party, for on this occasion I noticed a few things which I had overlooked before.

The Maitrēya temple on the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo is apparently the oldest, and is in all probability identical with the "Red College" built by King 'aBum-lde, 500 years ago. It contains an inscription in praise of the reformer bTsong-kha-pa; and, among many other frescoes, a picture of the bKra-shis-lhun-po Monastery in Tibet. This picture shows the group of buildings which make up the large monastery, and there is a long inscription attached to it which is distributed all over the picture. Although this inscription, as well as the other one, is in very bad preservation, several sentences can be made out. As masons or architects are therein mentioned, it probably refers to a restoration of the temple. The name of a great minister, Phyag-rdor, is given in one of the inscriptions. He is possibly the same minister Phyag-rdor who is mentioned in the Daru rock inscription. I am inclined to think, for reasons which I will state later on, that Phyag-rdor served under Lha-chen Bha-gan, c. 1470—1500 A.D. In that case the inscriptions in this temple may date from the latter half of the 15th century. I ordered both of them to be copied. On the right and left hand side of the huge Maitrēya statue, there are fragmentary traces of two other statues which once stood there. This is in agreement with a statement in the *rGyal-rabs*.

There is another temple, of red colour, on the top of the same hill, namely, the temple of "the four Lords" (*mGon-khang*). This is the very one which was erected by king bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal c. 400 years ago, as stated in the chronicles. K. Marx was assured of its existence by bKra-shis-btsan-phel, his lama friend, but he was unable to visit it. It contains very artistically executed figures of "the four Lords" which are about from three to eight feet high. The principal figure represents rNam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa). All four figures were covered with blankets; but these were removed with the exception of the one which covered Vaiśravaṇa. With regard to the latter image we were told that it is exhibited only once a year. The lama showed us, however, a fresco of Vaiśravaṇa on the wall, where he is represented in sexual union with his Śakti. As these images belong to the few in Ladakh which can be dated, they are of the greatest importance for the history of Tibetan art. Among the frescoes on the walls, I found one on the right hand side of the door which represented gorgeously dressed men with Yarkandi turbans on their heads. I could not understand the presence

of these Muhammadan portraits in a Buddhist temple, until the lama in charge explained that they were Ladakhi kings. By the side of the picture, there is a long inscription in gold on indigo tinted paper, which mentions King bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal, the builder of the temple. From this inscription it appears that the picture represents this king who testified to his close attachment to the Turkomans by dressing exactly like them. As regards the Turkoman invasion under Sultan Ḥaidar during his time, it is very difficult to reconcile the Tibetan with the Turkish account. The latter is found in the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī. Not only according to the Tibetan chronicles, but also according to inscriptions from Ladakh, he gained a signal victory over the Turkomans. According to the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī, on the other hand, he was a servant of the Turkomans who held him in little honour.[1] I have come to the conviction that he was a very clever politician. bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal knew very well that he could not resist the first violent attack of the Turkomans with an armed force. He, therefore, concluded a treaty with them, and apparently took their side. He then very cleverly enlisted the energy of the Turkomans on his side, for co-ercing his disobedient vassal princes and unpleasant neighbours. Some of them were Muhammadans; for instance, the chiefs of Suru, Sod, Baltistan, and one in Nubra. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that the Turkomans actually went against and fought them. Whether the Lhasa expedition came to an end a few marches beyond the Manasarowar Lake, or eight marches from Lhasa, as stated in the Tārīkh, does not matter much. In the eyes of the Ladakhi kings, the chiefs of Guge as well as the Central Tibetans required suppressing. After the Turks had spent all their strength on the enemies of the Ladakhis, the latter rose against them themselves, and turned them out of the country. As the Ladakhi chronicles tell us, the corpses of the slain Turks were placed before the idols of the temple of the four Lords (*mGon-khang*). This is the reason why the male members of the royal family of Ladakh are shown wearing the Turkestan dress in the frescoes, whilst the female members are dressed in true Ladakhi fashion, wearing on their heads the *berag*, a leather strap covered with turquoises.

Above the temple of the four Lords (*mGon-khang*) are the ruins of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's palace. They include a little Lamaist monastery which is of no particular interest. Ruins of other parts of the ancient palace, for instance watch-towers, are found all along the ridge of the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill. Some of the ruins are of a decidedly earlier date than the reign of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal. For instance, I am told that the foundations of a certain round tower are commonly known by the name of *'aBrog-pai-mkhar*, "Dard castle." It may, therefore, be attributed to a building which was erected before the Tibetan conquest of Ladakh, in c. 900 A.D. A man from Leh brought me a fragment of a copper pot, which he said he had found on the top of rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo. It contained an inscription in ancient characters, giving the name of a prince: *rGyal sras dBang-(nya ?)-gsing dbang-po*, "Prince dBang-(nya ?) gsing dbang-po." As the word *rnam-rgyal* does not occur in the name, it may be the name of a younger son of a king of the first dynasty of Ladakhi kings. In the

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 418 ff., 423 and 460.

Ladakh chronicles we read that one of their early kings had placed the bones of Buddha in his elephant incarnation on the top of the same hill. I made inquiries as to their whereabouts and was told that they had been deposited in a *mchod-rten* which was utterly destroyed by the Baltis about 1580 A.D. No trace of the relics remains.

On our way down from the top of the hill, we passed by the Great Palace of Leh which was erected by king Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal in c. 1620 A.D. As I knew from former visits, it is practically empty. We did not enter it, but photographed the carved wooden gate, the famous "Lion Gate" of Ladakh (Plate XXX, b). One of the rooms of the palace contains heaps of old manuscripts. All the paper is indigo-tinted, and the writing is in gold, silver and copper. As this collection probably represents the old royal library, or part of it, I asked Mr. Chatterji of the Kashmir State, to make arrangements to put the manuscripts into order again.

I heard rumours of the existence of ancient Indian Buddhist manuscripts at Leh and in other parts of Ladakh, Munshi dPal-rgyas, the representative of the To-go-che family being reported to be in possession of one. Fortunately for me, Munshi dPal-rgyas himself arrived in Leh soon after I had heard this, and readily showed me his old book. It was, however, not of Indian, but of Tibetan origin, being the eighth volume of the Tibetan translation of the Prajñā-pāramitā, and written throughout in 11th century orthography, gold on indigo-tinted paper. The wooden cover (Plate XXXVII, b) was ornamented with very beautiful ancient carvings, for which reason a photo was taken of the same. Munshi dPal-rgyas emphatically denied the existence of Indian manuscripts at the Hemis monastery, in spite of a rumour to that effect which had been brought to us. But he said that he had heard of the existence of a book, written in Lañthsā characters at the Sanid (or Muni) monastery in Zangskar. This book may be identical with the old 'palm leaf' shown to the Rev. Mr. Bateson on the occasion of his journey through Zangskar in 1908.

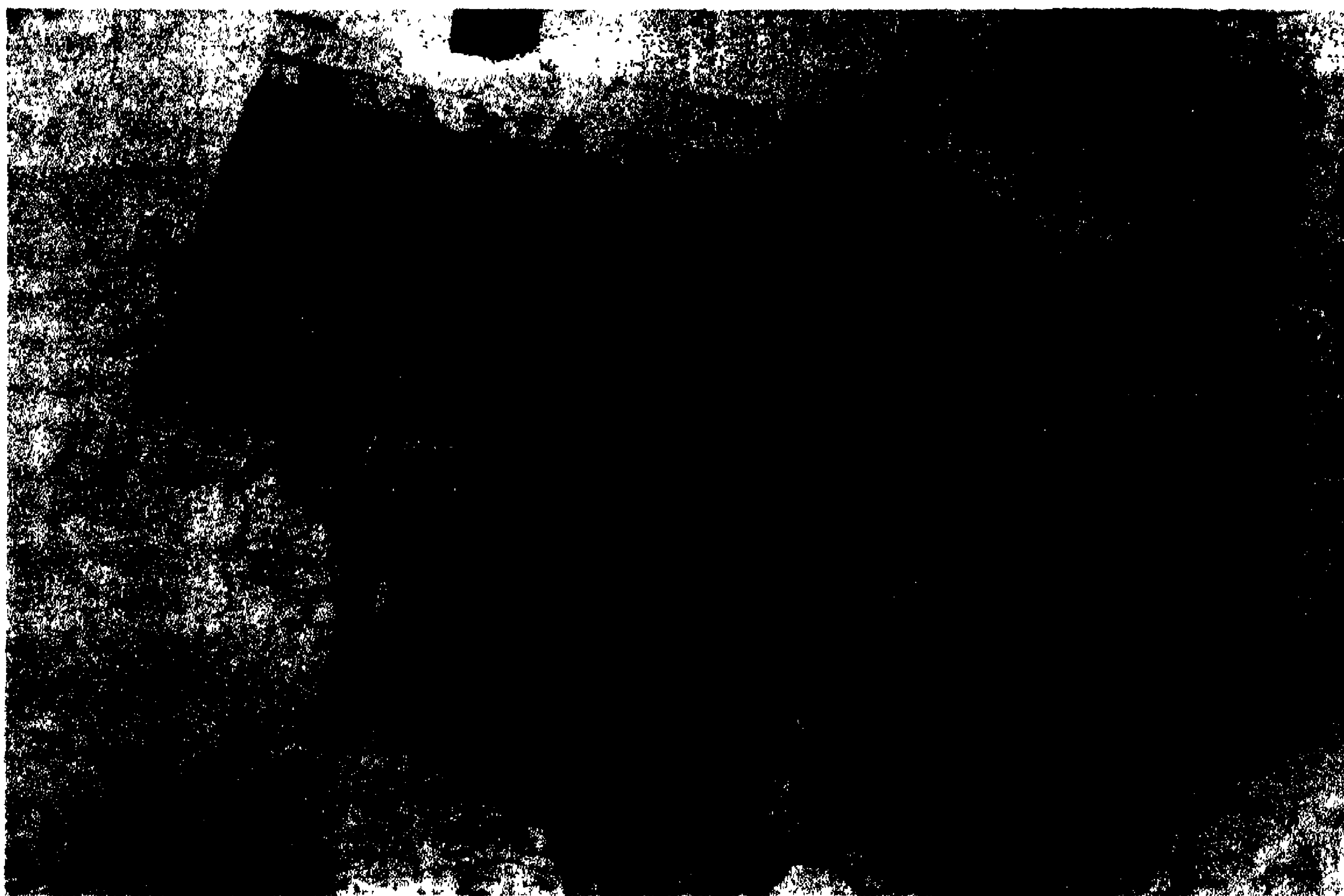
Mr. Meebold[1] also makes the statement that he was shown 'palm leaf' books at the Rangdum monastery of Zangskar. These statements await verification. It is strange that Munshi dPal-rgyas should have bought his ancient book at Lhasa, as he says. The Prajñā-pāramitā, as already stated, was translated into Tibetan by Lama Rin-chen-bzang-po, who was a West Tibetan, and most of the copies of his book were distributed among the West Tibetan monasteries of his time. Sending them to Lhasa would have been of no use, as Buddhism had practically disappeared from Central Tibet in the 11th century, being introduced into the country again from West Tibet and Khams. But at a much later time, possibly only a century or so ago, a number of important books were carried off to Lhasa. So I was told at the Alchi monastery where no ancient manuscripts now remain. The history of Munshi dPal-rgyas' book may therefore be as follows: It was originally written for one of the Western monasteries. Then it was carried off to Lhasa; and was there again sold to a pilgrim for a high price.

---

[1] *Indien*, p. 264.



a. View of Leh.



b. Lion Gate of King's Palace, Leh.

Here I may add that I made another find of manuscripts of a very different character at Leh. In the Mission library at Leh, I found a good number of my old hand-written books which I had collected in former years and quite forgotten. As they contain many hundreds of pages of hitherto unpublished folklore, I carried them off with me and sold them to Government for the benefit of the Mission, together with another collection of unpublished folklore which I had still in my possession. Among these latter manuscripts was a sheet which contained a kind of introduction to the cryptic alphabet used in Tibetan seals. The inscription on the Dalai Lama's seal, among many others, is written in this alphabet. How gratifying it was to find that my sheet from Leh proved to be the correct key to the reading of the Dalai Lama's seal.[1] Among my treasures are several hymnals relating to the pre-Buddhist religion of Ladakh which, I hope, it will be possible to translate in course of time.

At Changspa, a village half a mile from Leh, there is the large residence of a family of ministers (*bka-blon*) of the former Ladakhi kingdom. In a garden-house (*rab-gsal*) belonging to the minister's estate are the remains of frescoes illustrating the Kesar-Saga. Several years ago, I ordered one of them to be copied by a local painter. This time, I had photos taken of three of them, in addition to a copy in colours executed by a local artist. The frescoes in the garden house will soon be gone altogether, and as pictures relating to the Kesar-Saga are very rare, I was resolved to save for science what could be saved. All the frescoes in this hall refer to a chapter of the Kesar-Saga, entitled *Ljang-dmag*, "the war against the country of Ljang," as we find it in the literary version of the Kesar-Saga. Let me remark that the famous epic of Tibet, the Kesar or Gesar Saga, is preserved in two versions which are very different from one another. One of them, the oral version, exists only in the mouths of the people, whilst the literary version is found in several manuscripts in Ladakh, and possibly even in woodprints. All my publications with regard to the Kesar-Saga deal only with its oral version. A manuscript of the literary version of the Saga is in the hands of the present ex-minister of Changspa. From an article by Schiefner[2] it is evident that it was the Changspa minister's Gesar manuscript, which was copied for the Imperial collection of manuscripts in St. Petersburg. Up to the present, nobody seems to have been able to read and translate it. This is very natural, considering the extreme difficulties of its language. K. Marx says that it is written in the *Khams* dialect. As there are people here at Changspa who can read and understand the Saga, their knowledge ought to be utilised for the benefit of science. I copied all the wall-inscriptions relative to the frescoes which it was still possible to decipher. The following notes on the dress of the pre-Buddhist divinities represented in the frescoes, may be of iconographical interest: dBang-po-rgyab-zhin has a red coat, and white cloak with blue seam; Gog-bzang-lha-mo is dressed in white, but her trousers are red, and she has a green shawl; one of her sons (Don-yod?) has a red jacket with green seams; another of her sons (Don-ldan?)

[1] Cf. *J. R. A. S.* 1910, p. 1205.

[2] Publications of the Imperial Academy of Science at St. Petersburg, entitled "*Des Missionar Jäschke's Bemühungen um eine Handschrift des Gesar.*"

has a white and green jacket and red trousers; Kesar has a red coat, and a white cloak with green seams; he sits on a red carpet, and the background behind him is blue.

There is a large pyramidal *mchod-rten* at Changspa which is called "the Kings' *mchod-rten*" by Europeans, and bKra-shis-sgo-mang by the natives (Plate XXXI, b). The present inhabitants of Changspa say that it was not erected by their ancestors, but by Turks or Mongols on one of their expeditions to Ladakh. The latter assumption is, however, difficult to believe. This old *mchod-rten* may go back to the times of the Mons or Dards. It is surrounded by rows of one hundred-and-eight *mchod-rten*. And this goes to prove that it cannot be of much later date than the 15th century, and may very well be of much earlier date. The *mchod-rten* has received its name *sgo-mang* "many doors" on account of the many little niches with which it is furnished. In all probability these niches once contained Buddhist images, but none now remain. On the whole, however, this old *mchod-rten* has been wonderfully well preserved and is still regularly whitewashed.

Not far from it are several stone sculptures in relievo which probably also go back to Mon or Dard times (c. 700—900 A.D.). The best of them shows a standing Buddha with Bōdhisattvas on his right and left (Plate XXXII, a). The one on his right who carries a vase is Maitrēya. The one on his left, and higher up, with a flower in his hand, is Avalōkitēśvara[1]. Above him, in the air, we see two flying figures (Gandharvas?) On the reverse of the same stone is a four-armed figure, perhaps a Maitrēya, and a *mchod-rten* is carved on one of the narrow sides (Plate XXXII, b). I will not now describe all the stone sculptures of Leh and surroundings, because it would take too long, for there are many of them. A number have been mentioned or described in my article, "Archæology in West Tibet."[2] But I will mention another sculpture at Changspa near a group of houses, lower down, not far from the brook. It is enclosed by a masonry wall. This figure is furnished with an unusual headdress and seems to represent a Buddhist priest of the Mon or Dard times.

On a rocky hill to the west of Changspa, there are several crematories and some ancient *mchod-rten*. Higher up, on the same hill, are the ruins of the Ribug (Ri-phug) monastery. As the monastery was reported to be of ancient date, I visited it but could not, however, discover any inscriptions or documents referring to it. One of the *mchod-rten* close by is of an ancient type, but the cremation tablets contained in it are unfortunately without inscriptions. The temple hall being roofless, nothing remains of former frescoes except a few traces of colour on the plaster.

The ruined *mchod-rten* called Teu-bkra-shis-'od-mtho is the largest in Ladakh. It is situated about 1½ mile from the Commissioner's compound, a little higher up in the Leh valley. We measured the circumference of its base at about 10 feet above the ground, a height at which the masonry rose clear above the surrounding rubbish, and found it to be 550 feet. It was erected by king 'aBum-lde, in order to cover up a crag which was believed to be harmful to the country, and is now in a very dilapidated condition.

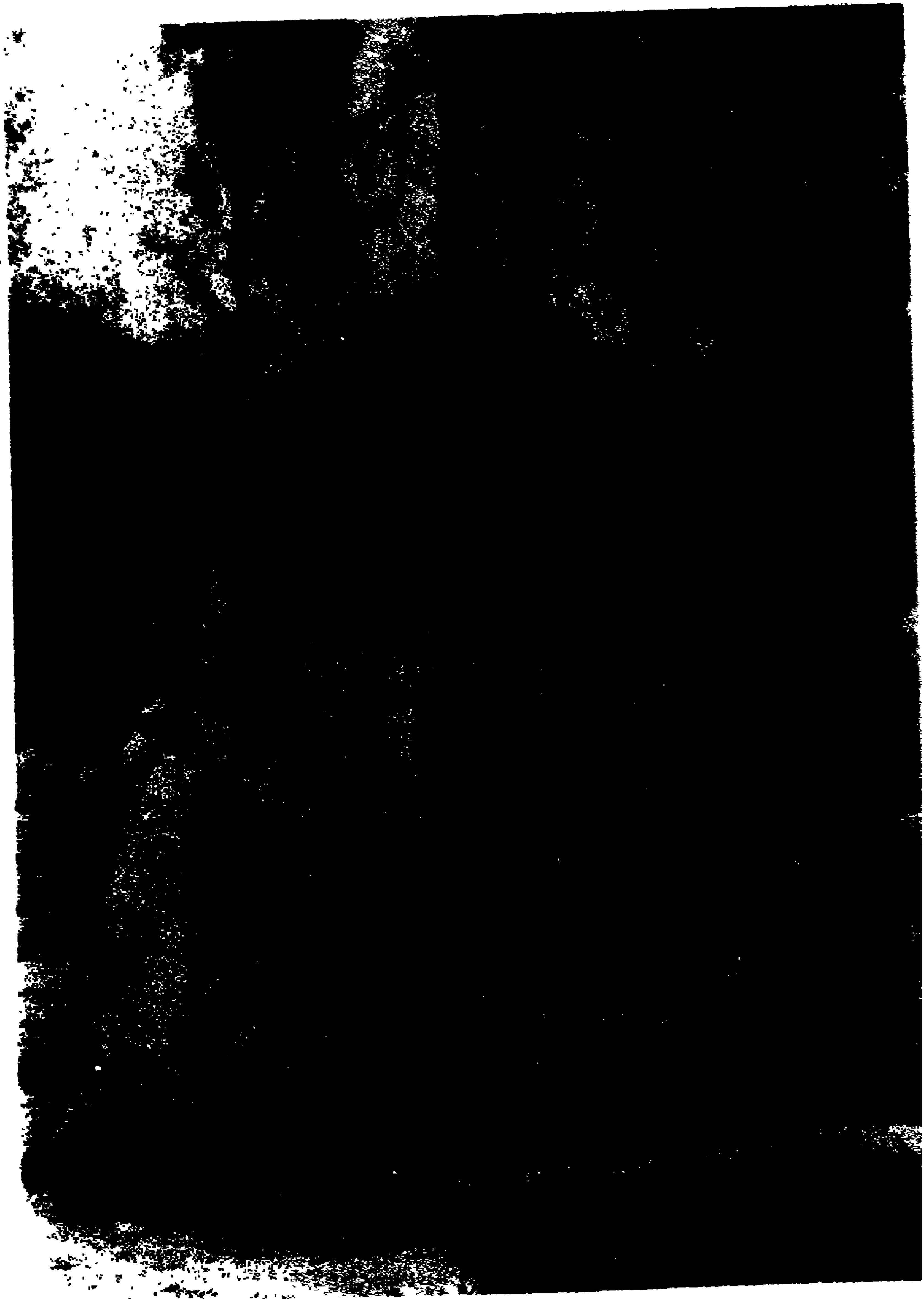
---

[1] The kneeling figure on the proper left looks more like a human devotee. [Ed.]

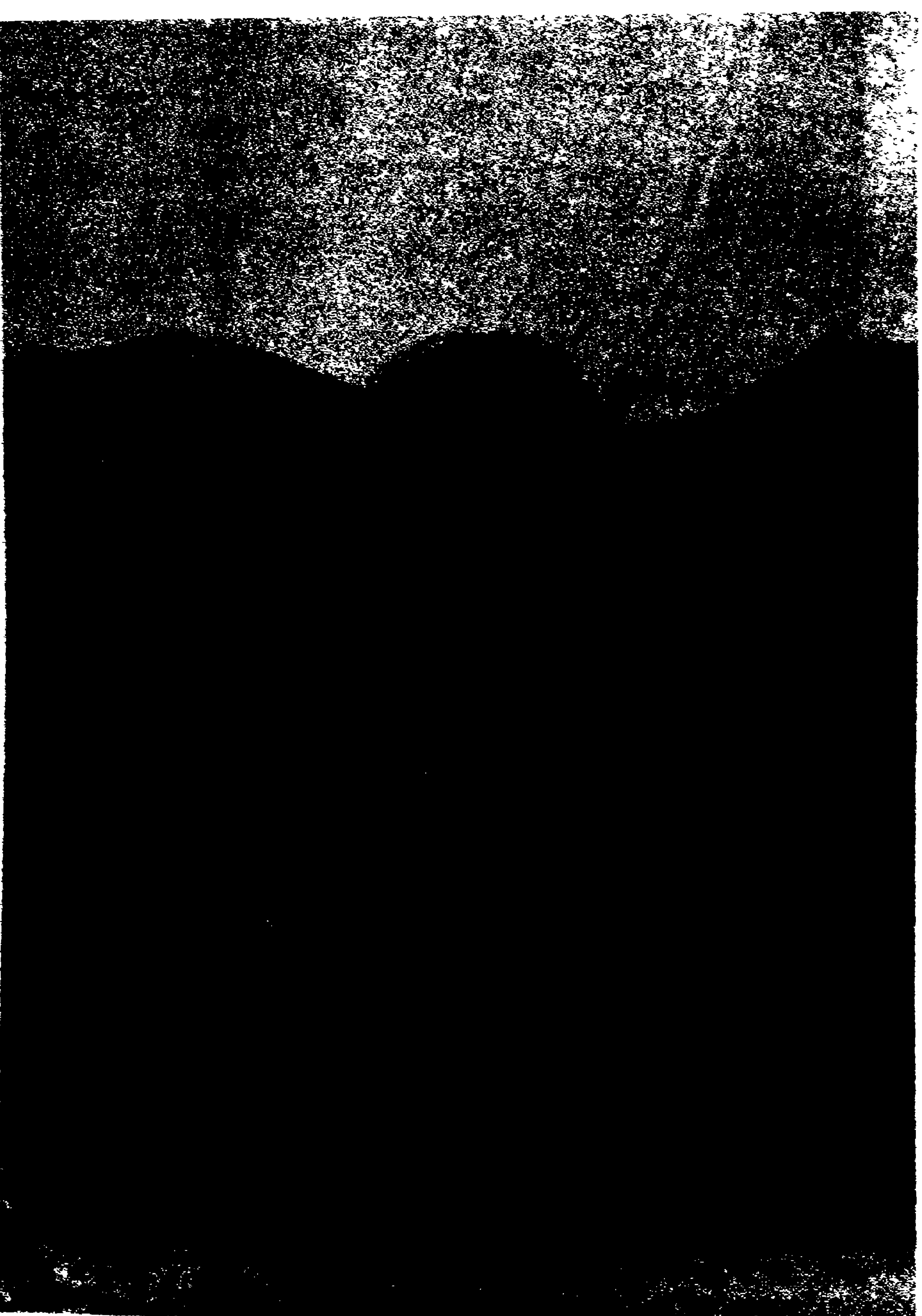
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p 237, and XXXVI, pp. 85 and 148 ff.



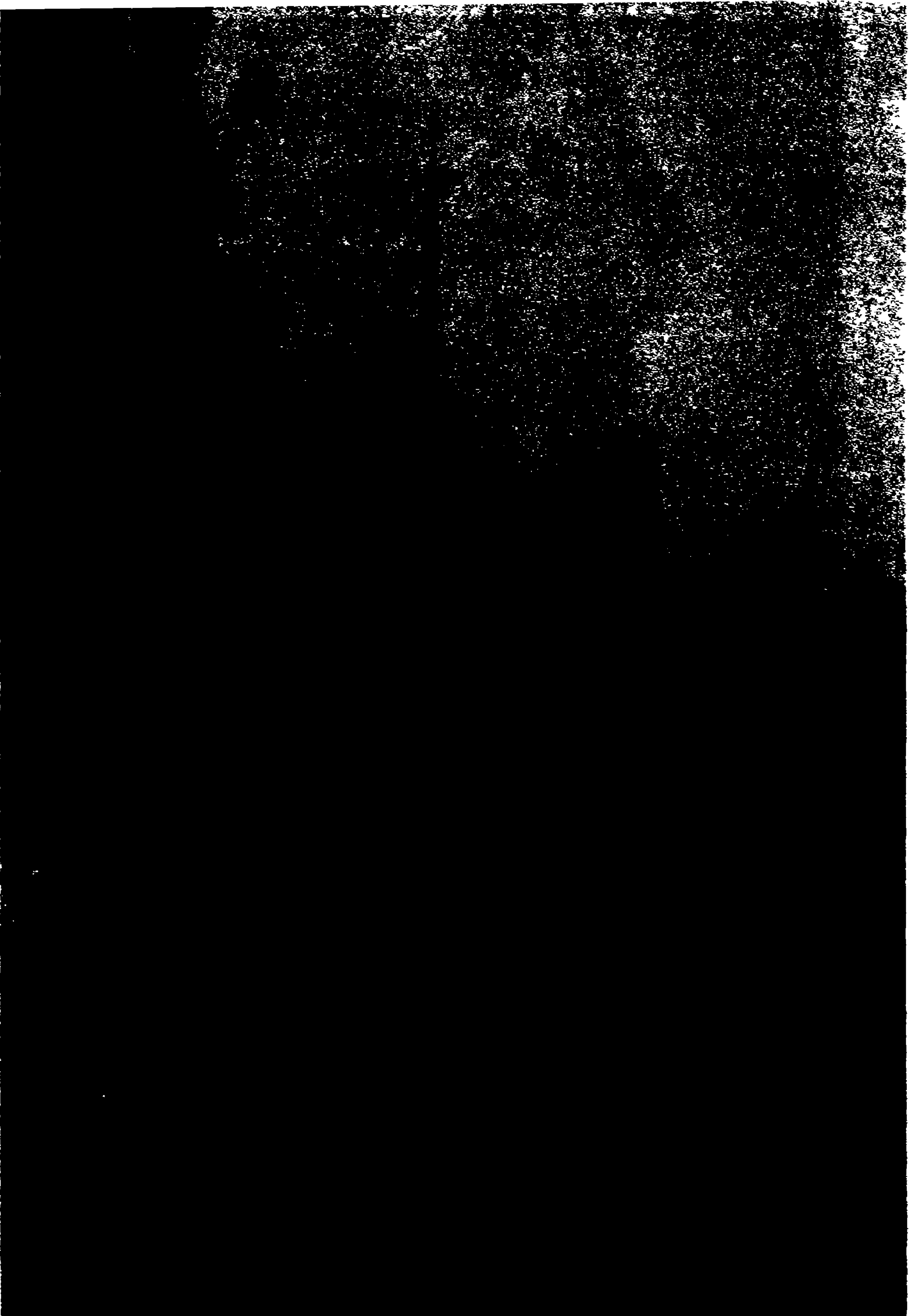
a. Rock-cut sculpture of Buddha with attendants, Changspa, Leh.



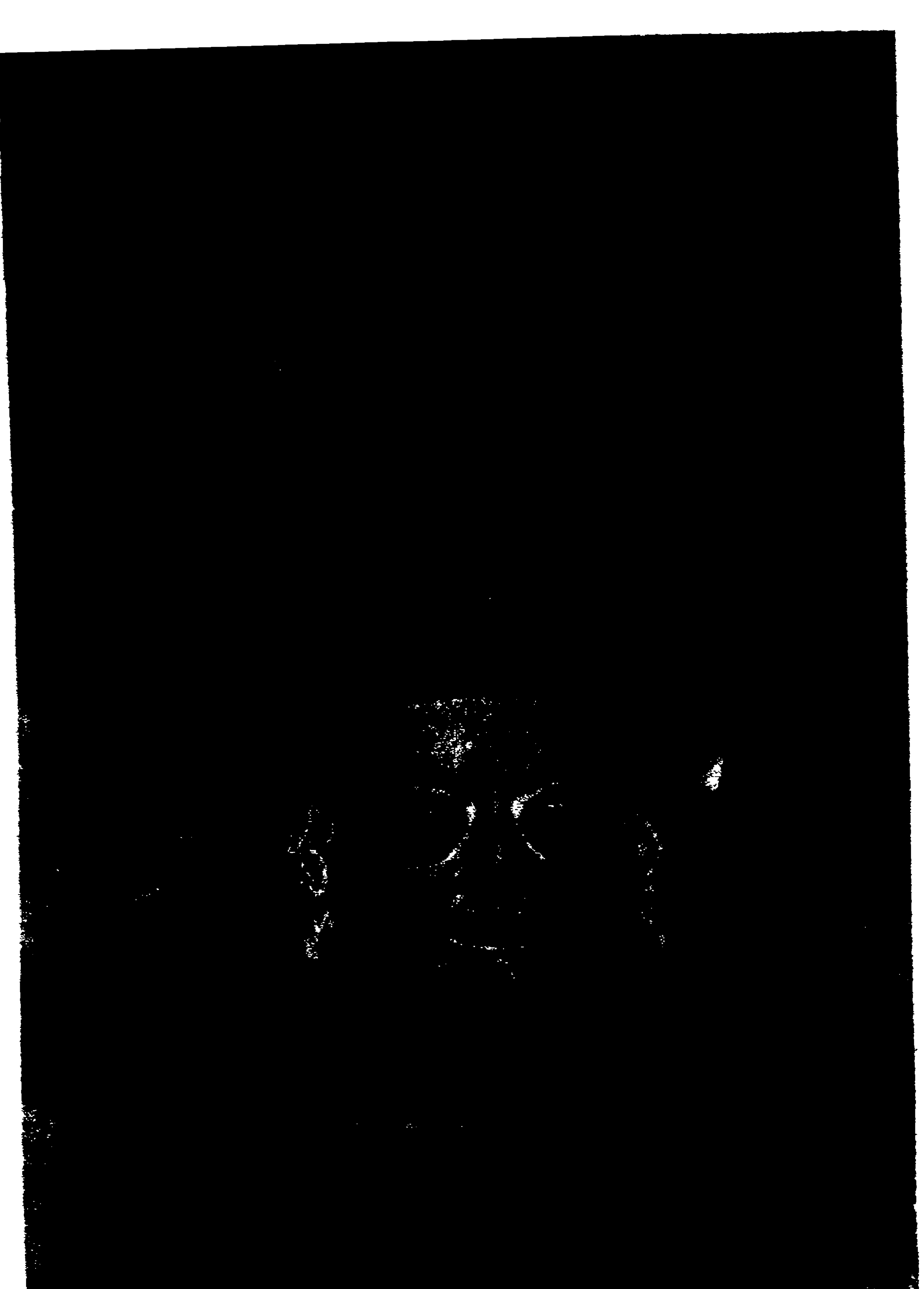
b. Rock-cut sculpture of Maitreya (?), Changspa, Leh.



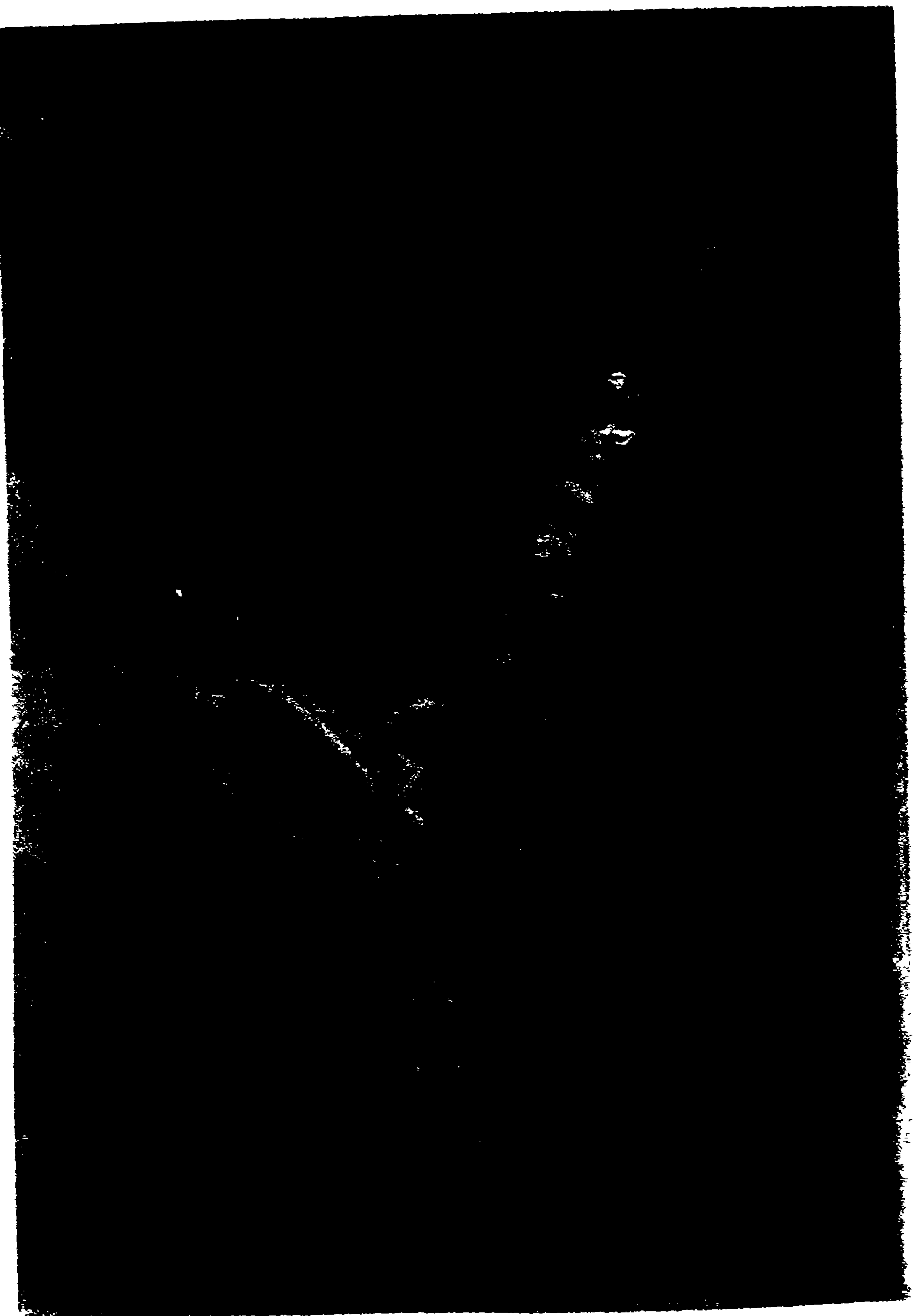
a. Mon *mchod-rten* at rGya.



b. bKra-shis-sgo-mang, ancient *mchod-rten* at Changspa, Leh.



a. Mask of Agu dGra-lha of the Kesar Saga, in possession of Munshi dPal-rgyas, Leh.



b. Head of ibex, believed to be that of Buddha in his deer incarnation, in possession of Munshi dPal-rgyas, Leh.

On the 9th September, I went to the Teu-gser-po or Tiserru (as ordinary people call this ruined *mchod-rten*), accompanied by Mr. Schmitt of the Moravian Mission, Lobzang, a Christian and Meteorological Observer at Leh, Pindi Lal, and the Khalasi. Our object was to study the inside of the structure. When we had climbed up to half its height, we found a hole in the surface, the opening of a narrow shaft. Lobzang went down first of all. He came to a narrow room of triangular shape, which was perfectly empty. We then tried to dig a new hole in a different place, when suddenly a number of men, who had been working in the fields, rushed towards us terrified. They implored us not to open the Tiserru, as such a procedure would bring incalculable misfortune to the country. From their remonstrances we learned something about the history of the old monument. The story reminds us of European fairy tales, such as that of the devil being caught in a bottle. In King 'aBum-lde's times, there used to live a demon in a cavity of the rock Teu-gser-po. This devil, who had fire proceeding from his mouth, roamed about the country and destroyed the king's palace and portions of the town of Leh. To exorcise him, the huge *stūpa* was built above his abode. If we opened the *stūpa*, the people feared that the evil spirit which had been kept under custody for 500 years, might once more attain liberty. We pointed to the old holes in the building, and observed that he might have escaped long ago. But that was of no avail. At the same time, we were told that the old *stūpa* was not only a repository for devils, but for heavy gales also. When in the days of King 'aBum-lde, the country suffered severely from storms, several large clay pots were held against the wind with their mouths open. As soon as the wind subsided, their mouths were closed, and they were stored up in the *stūpa* with the storms contained in them. People were afraid we might find and open this ancient pottery, and that the country would be plagued with heavy gales again.

From the opposition which we met in this case from the peasants of Leh, it was plain to me that it is difficult to do archæological work in an inhabited country. The chronicles of Ladakh have only a very short note on this *mchod-rten*. They simply state that it was built, because "some fatality" had occurred at Leh. I am still of opinion that the idea of a devil living in this place has something to do with the ancient graves described above. These graves are situated in proximity to, and some of them possibly below the *mchod-rten*.

On the same day, I went higher up the Leh valley, following the desert road to the west of the cultivated area, accompanied by Pindi Lal and the Khalasi. Close to the village of dGonpa, we passed by the ruined site of an old town with *mchod-rten* of ancient type near it. There we found also a stone sculpture of some Bōdhisattva, enshrined in a masonry wall, with a *lhatho* (altar of the pre-Buddhist religion), in front of it (Plate XXXIV, a). As usual, the altar was furnished with many ibex horns. This ruined town may be the original site of the present village of dGonpa.

Marching upwards in the side-valley to the left of the village of dGonpa, we came to the ruins of an ancient temple, which is generally known by the name of Gya-mthsa. I had visited it occasionally, ten or twelve years ago, when I was stationed

at Leh as a missionary. But the late Dr. Shawe of Leh was the first to draw attention to the fact that there are traces of circular medallions on two of its walls. In that respect rGya-mthsa reminds us of the ruined monasteries of Basgo[1] and Chigtan. Inside and below the medallions, Dr. Shawe noticed holes in the wall, as if sticks had once been stuck into it. He even found fragments of wood in two of the holes (according to his letter of the 27th October 1905). He supposed that these sticks had once served to support images. Our observations at the Tabo monastery of Spiti fully confirm Dr. Shawe's supposition. As will be remembered, in the Tabo monastery we found thirty-two raised medallions on the walls of the temple hall, and an image placed in front of each of them. After digging only a little way into the mass of débris below one of the medallions at rGyamthsa, we came across several pieces of plaster composed of clay, straw, and linen. This is exactly the material these images are made of. From our observations it follows that rGya-mthsa is probably of the same time as the Chigtan, Basgo and Tabo monasteries, *i.e.*, of the times of Rin-chen-bzang-po (c. 1000 A.D.). But let me add that my assumption is not supported by popular tradition. The present inhabitants of the valley do not even believe that the ruin is that of a temple, but assert that it once served as a summer house for a minister (*bkō-blon-gyi-dbyar-sa*).

On the other side of some adjoining fields, there are several ancient ruined *mchod-rten*. In one of them I found cremation tablets of the "miniature *stūpa*" type. When I threw one of them to the ground, it broke to pieces, and out of it came a very neat little tablet with an inscription in an ancient form of Śāradā. The inscription again contains the *Yē dharmā* formula, and its characters belong to the 11th century. Owing to its extraordinary receptacle, the characters of the inscription were as distinct as any I had seen up to this. I made an accurate copy of the inscription on the same day, and I am glad I did so. For, when my collection of clay tablets arrived at Simla several months later, the distinctness of most of the inscriptions had suffered much, in spite of very careful packing. Although I opened several more "miniature *stūpas*" in search of inscribed tablets, I did not find any other specimens.

On the 17th September, I visited Munshi dPal-rgyas in his own house, called *To-go-che*, at Leh. Mention has already been made of his old Tibetan book. This time he showed us some of the contents of his private temple, several printed flags of no particular importance, a few idols of the ordinary type, and a mask of an *Agu* (hero) of the Kesar-Saga (Plate XXXIII, a). This *Agu*, dGra-lha, who is worshipped in the Munshi's house, is also represented among the frescoes of Changspa. As I am told, several more masks representing Agus of the Kesar-Saga can be found also at the Lamayuru monastery. According to popular tradition, Lamayuru used to be the centre of the Bon religion of Ladakh. Munshi dPal-rgyas told me plainly that he was fully convinced that the religion of the Kesar-Saga and the Bon religion were absolutely the same. As will be remembered, the study of the Songs of the *Shar-rgan* festival at Poo leads to the same conclusion.[2] Then Munshi dPal-rgyas showed us the head of an

[1] See also beneath pp. 86, 100.

[2] *Cf.* above p. 21.

ibex in his possession, with the right horn crooked like an ammonite (Plate XXXIII, b). This head was found in Ladakh, and the famous lama bKra-shis-bstan-'aphel, who died in 1890, pronounced it to be the head of Buddha in his antelope incarnation. It is, of course, treated with proper respect by its owner, who will not part with it for anything. This is the second "bone of Buddha," which we have come across in Leh. The first is contained in a gaily coloured clay tablet which was brought to us for sale. It was said to have come from Lhasa, and the official seal stamped on its reverse indicates that a homoeopathic measure of a Buddha relic was mixed up with the clay composing it. Mention has been made of another Buddha bone, that of Buddha in his elephant incarnation. With regard to the latter, Munshi dPal-rgyas said that it was a tooth of the Buddha elephant on which the mystic syllable *Om* could be plainly read.

As I had suspected, Munshi dPal-rgyas turned out to be the writer of Dr. Marx's Manuscript C. Through Mr. Reichel's exertions I have come into possession of copies of the last two chapters of his *rGyalrabs*, and a comparison with Dr. Marx's translation shows that Munshi dPal-rgyas' text coincides with such passages of this version as are marked C-MS. As regards the "History of the Ḍogrā war," Munshi dPal-rgyas has written no less than three different versions of it. He would perhaps never have thought of writing one, if Dr. Marx had not asked him to do so. The first account he wrote probably soon after the latter's arrival at Leh in 1886. This account was lithographed at Leh, and used as a school book. The Munshi seems to have soon found out that this account contained several mistakes, and therefore he wrote another version which he presented to Dr. Marx apparently in 1890; but the latter did not live to translate and publish the whole of this.[1] As Dr. Karl Marx's text was believed to be entirely lost, the text and a translation of Munshi dPal-rgyas' first version of his account of the Ḍogrā war was published.[2] Mr. Reichel's manuscript contains the third version of Munshi dPal-rgyas' account. It is by far the best, and much fuller than his two preceding versions. I hope soon to be able to publish a translation of it. From what has been said, it follows that Munshi dPal-rgyas is quite an unusual man. Who else among the natives would have kept a certain subject of scientific interest in his mind for about twenty-five years, without being paid for it? Who would have continued his inquiries with so much patience and, discarding all his previous work, have started afresh, when more recent research showed him the truth in a new light? What a gain it would be to science if all historians were so conscientious!

Besides those already mentioned, it is necessary to refer to a few more buildings of importance at Leh. The mosque at the upper end of the Bazar is not the first of its kind at Leh.[3] The first mosque is a very small building; but the time of its erection has not yet been fixed. The Christian church is situated to the west of the "Great Palace" of Leh, behind the Bazar. North-west of the New Bazar is a small temple,

[1] One page of his translation is to be found in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIII, pp. 106 ff.
[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 21 ff.
[3] According to an inscription on a wooden board, preserved in the principal mosque, it was erected by a certain Shaikh Mi-ud-Din in 1077 A. H., *i.e.*, apparently after the battle of Basgo.

belonging to the Hemis monastery. It is said to have been erected at the same time as this convent.

The old kings had two pleasure gardens near Leh. One of them was the *bKar-bzo* garden. It is the present Joint Commissioner's compound. The other one is the *Mu-rtse* garden. It is situated south of Leh, near a ridge of rocky hills running across the desert The latter garden contains the royal Polo ground (*Shagaran*). It is believed to have been planted by king Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal, c. 1600 A. D., who brought the game of Polo from Baltistan.

Below Leh, at the Tewar gorge, is the longest *maṇi* wall in the country. It was built by king bDel-dan-rnam-rgyal, and has the following measurements: Length: 1,931 feet 8 inches. Height: varying between 6 feet, 7 feet, 7·4 feet, 7·8 feet. Breadth: 39·6 feet. The *mchod-rten* at both ends are built on square ground plans, each side of the square being 49 feet long.

In conclusion, let me say that the Wazir of Leh, Chaudhari Khushi Muhammad, a very well educated gentleman, and the Tahsildar, did their utmost to make me comfortable during my stay.

CHAPTER IV.

From the Indus to the Jehlam.

On Tuesday, the 21st September, we left Leh and marched to the village of sNyemo, 18 miles distant. Five miles below Leh, at Spithug (dPe-thub; map Pittuk), the road passes by the rock, on which King 'aBum-lde built his famous monastery 500 years ago. This monastery can be entered only with special permission of the *sKu-shog*[1] and as such a *sKu-shog* was not present at Leh, we had to give up the idea of visiting it. On the top of the same rock can be seen also the ruins of some older building, probably a castle. On the plain below, we found a ruined *mchod-rten* of ancient type, which contained cremation tablets of the shape of miniature *stūpas*. These tablets had an inscription in Indian characters impressed on them. Pandit Mukund Ram of Kashmir, to whom we showed such a tablet, was fortunately able to read the inscription. It again contains the *Yē dharmā* formula, which in this case is written in an early type of Dēvanāgarī characters, say, of the 11th or 12th century A.D. On the western prominence of the rock we noticed several very flat relievos, representing bTsong-kha-pa and his disciples. It will be remembered that the Spithug monastery was erected in honour of that reformer. This type of relievo which probably dates from the 15th or 16th century, is very different from the old type as it is represented at Leh and Changspa. The new type reminds us of the flat, carved figures often found on slabs placed on *maṇi* walls.

The trade road passes through the lowest extremity of the village of Phyang. This is a pity, for the village is well worth a visit. I should have visited it, in spite of everything, if at the time of our expedition, the thought had dawned upon me, that Phyang

[1] *sKu-shog*, the incarnation of its first abbot.



a. Sculpture in ruined town at dGon-pa near Leh.



b. Rock-cut image of Maitreya on the Yarkandi road, Leh.



a. Ruined castle Chung-mkhar at sNyemo.



b. Ruined temple near Basgo.

(spelt *Phyi-dbang*; map Phayang) is probably the most ancient town of Western Tibet. Unfortunately, I had not then yet started my studies of the geographical names contained in the account of gNya-khri-btsan-po's empire. Subsequent studies have shown me that practically all the places mentioned in the Ladakhi account of gNya-khribtsan-po's kingdom exist in Ladakh, and that the village of Phyi-dbang is in all probability identical with Phyi-dbang-stag-rtse, the earliest capital of Tibet.[1]

The Phyang (Phyi-dbang) monastery is a stately building of much later date. It was erected by King bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal (c. 1500—1532 A.D.) and belongs to the 'aBri-khung-pa sect of lamas. This monastery comes into view when the plain on the right bank of the Phyang brook is reached. At this place King bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal raised a long flagstaff on an elaborate pedestal. As we know from the chronicles, this flagstaff was intended to serve as a place of refuge for all those who were guilty of a *crimen læsæ majestatis*. It is quite possible that King bKra-shis thought of the crime committed by himself, when he erected the flagstaff. Had he not plucked out his elder brother's eyes and deprived him of his royal power? No doubt, bKra-shis himself had good reason to embrace the flagstaff most cordially. The pedestal still remains and is generally known by the name of *Thar-chen*, "great flag." From a note in Dr. Marx's "Three Documents" we learn that the Phyi-dbang monastery contains a beautiful collection of ancient armour.

A plain called La-dvags-gong-khai-thang stretches from the village of Phyi-dbang to the village of Umla (Umbla ?) in the west. Halfway between the two is situated the little village of Daru. The *maṇi* walls of Daru contain votive stones mentioning King bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal, c. 1630 A.D., and a minister Thse-dbang-don-grub (c. 1822 A.D.). These walls have little ruined houses built on one end which are known by the name of *Man Khang* (*Maṇi Khang*). These huts were built by the people who erected the *maṇi* walls, to serve as hospital stables for horses which had become exhausted on the long march across the great plain.

We examined and photographed the rock with sculptures at Daru. Thanks to the historical information contained in the Leh inscriptions of the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill, the sculptures and inscriptions on the Daru rock can nowadays be dated with more certainty than it was possible a few years ago. I made a first attempt at dating them in my article, "Archæology in West Tibet,"[2] when I tried to identify King Lha-chen-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal, whose name appears on the Daru rock, with Lha-rgyal (c. 1250 A.D.) of the chronicles. But even then I had to assume that part of the inscription was probably of later date, judging by the name of a lama which occurred in it. Now, the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo inscriptions give the name of a great minister, Phyag-rdor-jo, who is also mentioned on the Daru rock. Phyag-rdor-jo of the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo inscriptions is plainly stated to have been a contemporary of King

[1] This question has been fully treated in my article, "The Kingdom of *gNya-khri-btsan-po*," *J. A. S. B.* 1910, p. 92. Here we must distinguish between the chronicles of Ladakh and the chronicles of Central Tibet. Whilst the places mentioned in the former book are found in Ladakh, the places mentioned in the latter book are found in the vicinity of Lhasa. See "Yarlung" in the geographical work *'aDzam-gling-ye-shes* translated by S. Ch. Das.

[2] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 89 ff.

bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal. Here at Daru his name is found connected with a king Kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal. The question, therefore, naturally arises: Are bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal and Kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal the names of one and the same king or not? Was *bKra-shis kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* the full name of this king? Up to the present, only two inscriptions of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal have been found, one on the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo, the other one at Alchi. Neither of them contains the name *bKra-shis-kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal* as the name of a king; both give *bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal.* It is, therefore, possible that king Lha-chen-Bha-gan, the founder of the *rNam-rgyal* dynasty of Western Tibet, did not only give names ending in *rNam-rgyal* to his sons, but took a new name ending in *rnam-rgyal* for himself, that name being Kun-dgā-rnam-rgyal. The minister Phyag-rdor-jo would then appear to have served two kings, father and son, which is not at all uncommon. Similar cases are found in the history of the Tibetans as well as in that of other nations. If we say, therefore, that the Daru sculptures and inscriptions date roughly from the year 1500 A.D., we shall not be far wrong.

On the western end of the plain, called La-dvags-gong-khai-thang, there is a rock called bLa-ma-guru. It has an eroded hollow on one side which looks as if a man had left the mark of his head and shoulders in mud. This hollow is believed to have been formed through Padma-sambhava's sleeping on the rock on one of his journeys through Indian Tibet. The rock is worshipped by the people, who smear oil or butter on it. The *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* formula has been carved twice upon it.

At sNyemo we photographed the ancient castle on the river, called Chung-mkhar (Plate XXXV, a); and also the stone sculpture of Jo-mo-rdo-rje, the ancient abbess of the nunnery at sNyemo. These antiquities were discovered by me in 1906.[1]

On the 22nd September, we marched to Saspola, by way of Basgo and Likir. Before reaching Basgo, a little north of the road from sNyemo, the ruins of an ancient temple can be seen (Plate XXXV, b). It is built of sun-dried bricks and is of the type of Rin-chen-bzang-po's temples. It particularly reminded me of the Tabo temple. The number of raised medallions on its walls is thirty-two as in Tabo; and there was probably another medallion above the door.[2] I made a plan of this temple which, according to the best traditions, dates from the days of the great lama Rin-chen-bzang-po. Popular tradition connects it, without any reason, with an invasion by Turks or Mongols.

Not far from the ruined temple are two ancient *stūpas* of the "ladder" type, and also the remains of a third *stūpa* of the same kind. In the latter we found cremation tablets with inscriptions containing the *Yē dharmā* formula, in exactly the same type of ancient Śāradā as had come to light at rGyamthsa near Leh. The Basgo and the rGyamthsa monasteries are evidently of the same period.

The temple of Byams-pa (Maitrēya) at Basgo is apparently the only well preserved building in the place. In my article, "Archæology in Western Tibet," I wrongly attributed it to King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal. As it contains the inscribed portrait of Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal I and those of his two brothers, it was evidently erected by him,

---

[1] *Cf.* my article "*Archæology in Western Tibet,*" *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 88 ff.

[2] The arrangement of the medallions is shown on Plate No. IV of my article *Archæology in Western Tibet.*

although the chronicles do not contain any statement to that effect. On the walls of this temple are found frescoes: for instance, a series of pictures illustrating the Buddha legend, *viz.*, Buddha's conception, birth, seven steps in the four directions, etc. Their execution is of a ruder type than that of the paintings on the rNam-rgyal-rtse-mo But the most important pictures in this hall are undoubtedly those which represent the royal family. All the male members wear turbans and look almost like Mughals. The servants are also furnished with turbans, and the royal ladies seem to wear some form of the *berag*, mentioned above. There is another portrait of an historical personage on one of the walls, that of the famous lama sTag-thsang-ras-pa, which is evidently a later addition. Besides the huge statue of Maitrēya, I noticed a few small images in the hall of the same temple. One of them again represents sTag-thsang-ras-pa, the other a four-armed Avalōkitēśvara.

The Seljang monastery of Basgo is established in the ancient royal palace. It contains a huge statue of Maitrēya which was erected by king Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal, about 1610 A.D., and which is in remarkably good preservation. Several large jewels still remain on it. We saw only the upper part of the image, as, the key not being procurable, we could not enter the hall of the temple. This building contains a very large library, consisting mostly of loose sheets, which is the ancient library of the kings of Ladakh. Dr. K. Marx, who was the first European to draw attention to it, proposed to convey it to the Leh palace, arrange it properly, and appoint one of the Moravian Missionaries as chief librarian. The gallery above the Seljang monastery contains a number of very rude frescoes which are furnished with explanatory inscriptions; and also the remains of a very long historical inscription of King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal's time. We took a photo of what remains of the latter.

There is a great number of ancient *mchod-rten* at Basgo. We examined only two of them. One is called Kha-gan-stong-sku, and is furnished with three (originally four) doors. *Kha-gan* is probably a corruption of the word *Khanggani*, "door." It is called *stong-sku*, "one thousand images," on account of the many little pictures of blue, Buddha-like figures, which are painted on the walls and the ceiling. The pictures have mostly faded. I am of opinion that it is a monument of the Bon religion of former days. We found all kinds of old rubbish below the roof, and amongst it a well moulded image of sGrol-ma (Tārā) made of burnt clay.

The other prominent *mchod-rten* of Basgo is called *Rag-pa* (Plate XXXVI, a). It is situated at the entrance of the gorge leading up to the plain on the road to Saspola. This *mchod-rten* which is attributed to Lama Rin-chen-bzang-po, is of pyramidal shape. Its ground-plan has the form of a star and the dome is furnished with niches which originally must have contained images of Buddha, like the *Mani-gser-mo* at Leh.

In the evening of the same day, whilst the caravan went straight to Saspola, I marched to Likir, with Puntsog, my Tibetan assistant, whom I had engaged at Leh. The Likir monastery is mentioned in the chronicles of Ladakh as having been erected by King Lha-chen-rgyal-po (c. 1050—1080 A. D.). I had visited it before, but could find no record confirming the statement of the chronicles. The object of my present visit

was to make another search. The monastery is very picturesquely situated on a little hill inside the valley. This time the lamas showed me a long inscription written with black ink on one of the walls, which contained the history of the monastery, as they asserted. Although it dates only to the times of Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal II, who repaired the building after a conflagration, I ordered it to be copied. After a long introductory hymn the inscription gives the names of several ancient kings of Tibet, gNya-khri-btsan-po, Tho-tho-ri-snyan, Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-srong-lde-btsan, sKyid-lde-nyi-ma-mgon, and of some famous Buddhist teachers. Then follows a Buddhist account of cosmology which concludes with a list of the most famous palaces of the Ladakhi kings, the seats of king Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal. Finally, a few dates are given, connected with the history of the monastery. It is stated to have been founded by Lama Lha-dbang-chos-rje and King Lha-chen-rgyal-po. We must not, however, believe that these two persons were contemporaries. King Lha-chen-rgyal-po lived in the eleventh century, and the lama is most probably identical with the famous pupil of bTsong-kha-pa, Lha-dbang-blo-gros-chos-rje, who lived in the 15th century. The passage should be understood in this sense:—King Lha-chen-rgyal-po founded the monastery in the 11th century. In the 15th century, Lama Lha-dbang-chos-rje converted the lamas to the reformed doctrines of the Ge-lug-pa order, and thus founded the monastery afresh as a Ge-lug-pa establishment. Then it is stated that seven generations after Lha-chen-rgyal-po, King Lha-chen-dngos-grub arose, and that he introduced the custom of sending all the novices to Lhasa. This statement is given in exactly the same words as we find it in the rGyal-rabs. Then we read: "Eighteen generations after him," but the name of the king who reigned then has been scratched out, as well as any notes referring to him. Now, if we search in the chronicles for the name of the king who reigned eighteen generations after Lha-chen-dngos-grub, we find the name of bDe-legs-rnam-rgyal, the unhappy prince who after the battle of Basgo was compelled to embrace Islām. I have already drawn attention to the fact that votive tablets with the name of this king have not yet been found in Ladakh. They were apparently all destroyed. The Likir inscription is an instance of a similar kind. The lamas could not suffer the name of the apostate king to figure in the inscription, and therefore it was obliterated.

Below the monastery of Likir (Klu-dkyil), there is a large *mchod-rten* which contains frescoes inside. They represent bTsong-kha-pa and other lamas of his times. Painted above the door, a very strange figure is found which looks very much like one of the ordinary representations of Srong-btsan-sgam-po. I was told by the lamas that it represents a lama of Srong-btsan-sgam-po's times. The figure wears a three-pointed hat of white colour and carries two leopard skins under his arms. The lower part of this *mchod-rten* is a room, square in ground plan, which the lama said was the earliest temple at Likir, and was already in existence when Lha-chen-rgyal-po built the monastery.

On the 23rd September, we went to Alchi on the left bank of the river. On the way thither, at Saspola, we photographed the two ancient ruined *mchod-rten* which are attributed to Rin-chen-bzang-po's time (Plate XXXVI, b). On the remains of the larger one has been erected a modern monastery, called Byams-pa-dgon-pa.



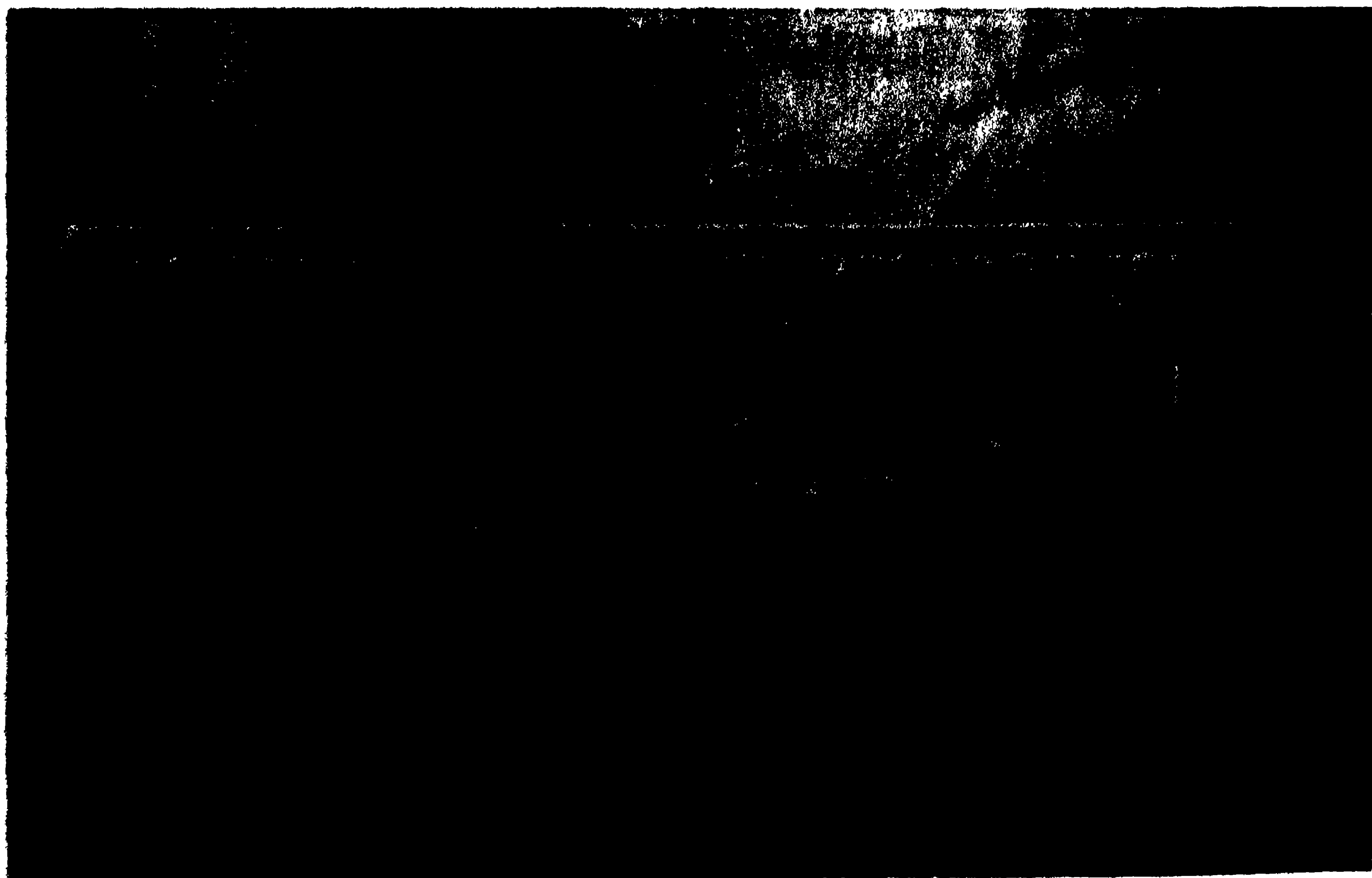
a. *mChod-rteṅ* of Rin-chen-bzang-po at Basgo.



b. *mChod-rten* of Rin-chen-bzang-po at Saspola.



a. Wood-carving in gSum-thsag Temple, Alchi.



b. Ancient book cover from Lhasa.

The famous monastery of Alchi is situated to the east of the village. It is called rNam-par-snang-mdzad, and according to popular tradition is of Rin-chen-bzang-po's times. We could distinguish the following six different temples :—

(1) Lha-khang-so-ma.—It is an insignificant square hall with a small *mchod-rten* in the middle, but several of the frescoes appear to be of ancient date. Some of them refer to the Buddha legend, whilst others seem to represent persons of the times when the pictures were painted. The head-dress of these people is quite unusual, and at first I took it for a kind of white top hat. A closer examination showed, however, that it represented a certain type of turban. What looks like the top of the hat, is in reality the turned-up end of the linen of the turban. I noticed two inscriptions in this hall. They were written in a kind of Ṭākarī character; but I have not yet met any one who was able to read them.

(2) gSum-thsag, meaning "Three Stories."—This temple has three stories, each narrower than the one below, and the general appearance of the temple is that of a stepped pyramid. The ancient temple of mTho-lding in Guge was probably of the same type. gSum-thsag is the only temple at Alchi on which the old wooden gallery and the trefoiled wooden arches have been preserved (Plate XXXVII, a). It gives us an idea of the appearance of the ancient Buddhist temples of Kashmīr. All the woodwork, especially the many columns, were covered with mythological carvings, and all the columns had on the inner side of their richly decorated capitals figures of jumping animals, apparently lions, stretched forth towards each other. But what reminded me of Kashmīr most of all, were three trefoiled arches under high pointed gables, exactly like those of the ancient stone temples of that country. On closer inspection it became evident that only the middle arch was of perfect shape, and that the two on the right and left were rude imitations of it. The middle one contains a wooden image of a Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude, the one to the right (of the spectator), the green Tārā (sGrol-ma), and the one to the left, Vajra-sattva (rDo-rje-sems-dpa). I am of opinion that these two statues were inserted later on in place of two more ancient ones. All the woodwork is painted red, except the arch of the green Tārā, which is blue. Inside the temple are three stucco images, larger than life size, of the following Bōdhisattvas: Vajra-pāṇi (Phyag-rdor) which is painted yellow ; Mañjuśrī (*'aJam-dbyangs*), the tallest, which is painted red ; and Avalōkitēśvara (*sPyan-ras-gzigs*) painted white. At the feet of Avalōkitēśvara we found an inscription recording the restoration of this temple under King bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal in the 16th century. It is interesting that in this inscription, the amount of red, blue, and gold colour which was contributed by various peasants of the neighbourhood, is mentioned. King bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's court painter was apparently an Indian who knew the Mughal art of painting. When he restored the temple, this artist preserved the old outlines of the 11th century as far as possible ; but in the choice of colours, he was more original than the old masters had been. For a large part, the walls had been covered with endless repetitions of the Buddha figure in the same colours. He brought variety into their dress, haloes and backgrounds. Whenever a picture had disappeared altogether, he invented new

scenes in perfect Mughal style, *viz.*, Indian musicians with harps, flutes, clarionets and violins; Indian acrobats, scenes of animal life, etc. Everything is of the most pleasing design and execution, and of the most brilliant colours. Ample use was made of silver and gold. When the artist painted the dress of Avalōkitēśvara, he seems to have forgotten Buddhism altogether. Among the pictures we find Indian garden-houses in full Mughal style, and Indian nobles (perhaps meant to be portraits of bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal and his court) who look exactly like the Mughals themselves. This adaptation of Mughal art to a Buddhist subject is probably unique. Interesting also is the representation of lamas with dresses of various fragments patched together. Such representations are found at Alchi among the old originals as well as among bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal's renovated pictures. Among the frescoes of this hall we find also a row of monks in yellow dress whose hats are of the shape of European soft hats with broad brims. On the walls, there are many little stucco figures of the type of the thirty-two figures at Tabo; but it was impossible to count them.

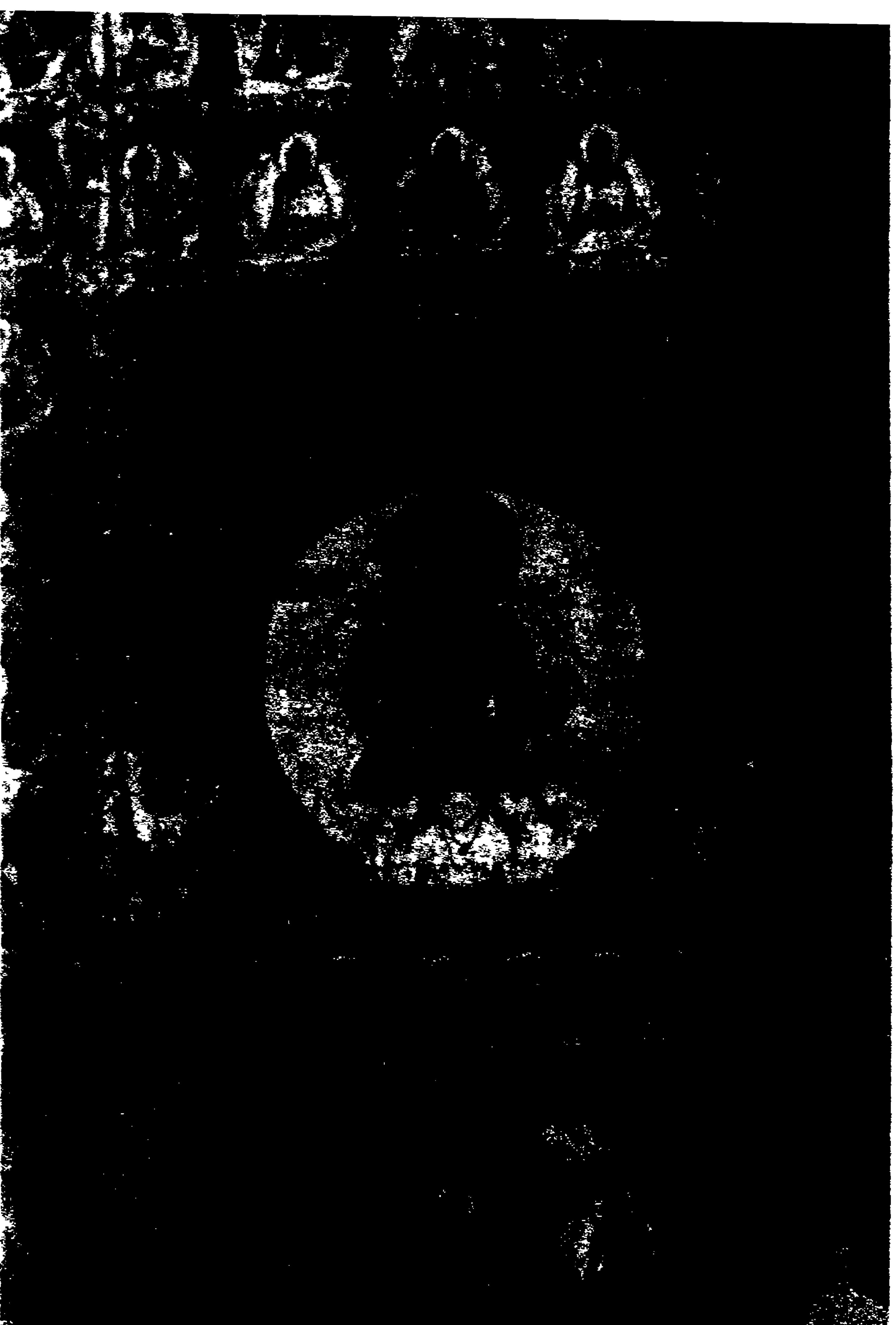
(3) rNam-par-snang-mdzad.—This temple is a little to the north of the other temples and quite hidden by other buildings. It is not shown to foreigners, and for this reason I did not see it on my previous visits. I should not have seen it even this time, had Mr. Chatterji not been at Alchi before me. It had been shown to him, and when Puntsog, my Tibetan assistant, heard of it, he said to the monks: "Mr. Chatterji is the Maharaja's servant. We are King Edward's servants. What do you think King Edward will say, when he hears that a temple was shown to Mr. Chatterji, but was closed to his own servants?" This argument appealed to the monks, and the doors of rNam-par-snang-mdzad were flung open. There is a little courtyard in front of the temple with painted galleries. These frescoes are very rudely executed, and hardly do credit to King bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal who renovated this courtyard, according to an inscription written on one of the walls in black ink. Fortunately for archæology, the king did not attempt to renew the principal temple which seems to have remained untouched since the days of its foundation in the 11th century. The temple hall contains a great number of ink inscriptions in an ancient form of *dbu-med* characters. The orthography employed shows that they must be contemporaneous with the Tabo monastery inscriptions. One of them, near the door, seems to mention King Byang-chub-sems-dpā who reigned in the first half of the 11th century. He calls himself *Nyag-ra, i.e.* "warden," of the monastery, and in the inscription he gives admonitions to the monks. Besides the king's name, the epigraph contains also the names of three famous lamas, his contemporaries, *viz.*, Mar-pa, Al-lci-pa and 'aBrom-ston. Whilst Mar-pa and 'aBrom-ston are widely known, Al-lci-pa was probably only a local celebrity.[1] On the wall on the other side of the door, we find a well executed picture of a king with his queen and son. Although there is no special inscription added to this picture, it most probably represents King Byang-chub-sems-dpā with his wife and son. My reason for this assertion is that both in the dGon-khang temple of Leh,

[1] Of some interest is a little song, placed at the end of the inscription which gives an account of Alchi in the 11th century. Alchi was then famous for its bows and arrows, its watermills, and its beer.

PLATE XXXVIII.



a Stucco figure in gSum-thsag Temple of monastery, Alchi.



b. Fresco in gSum-thsag Temple of monastery, Alchi.

and in the Byams-pa temple of Basgo, we find the portraits of the royal founders by the side of the door. Whilst at Basgo the name of the king is found written below the picture, at Leh the inscription containing the name of the king is found on the other side of the door, as is the case here. The king wears a diadem, and his yellow mantle shows large round spots of blue or purple colour with the figure of a lion or tiger in each of them. His girdle shows a chequered pattern of white and red. In his hand he bears an axe of fanciful shape, and he is shaded by an umbrella. His son (probably Lha-chen-rgyal-po) is dressed in a similar manner, and the queen has her hair plaited in many little pigtails. The principal image in this shrine is of course Vairōchana (rNam-par-snang-mdzad). The temple door is most elaborately carved in Indian style (Plate XXXIX, a), and on both sides there are two narrow chapels which contain huge stucco figures.

(4) Lo-tsa-bai-lha-khang.—This temple is in a line with the first and second temples described above, but farther north. It contains a statue of a seated Buddha and a portrait painting of Rin-chen-bzang-po, the founder of the monastery. There is also an image of this lama in the same hall, but the monks say that it was modelled after the fresco. The hall is also furnished with an ancient, well carved door, and there are a few fragments of carved wooden pillars.

(5) 'aJam-dbyangs-khang.—This temple contains a large stucco image of the Dhyāni-buddhas of the four regions, the one towards the east being painted yellow, that towards the south white, that towards the north red, and that towards the west blue. Below them, there are more images and the sixteen emblems of happiness, *i.e.*, the eight ordinary emblems of happiness with additions. Among them we could distinguish the pair of fishes, the wheel, the parasol, and even a cross, which is evidently intended to symbolise the four quarters of the globe. This hall is also furnished with beautifully carved door-beams and pillars. But the best wood-carving is that of a standing Buddha which is found above the door outside. It is already very brittle and will probably not last much longer.

(6) Lha-khang.—This temple is situated a little way to the south of the preceding ones. It contains only pictures and has suffered much by the rough treatment of the children of the village. A figure of Gaṇēśa is painted above the door. On one side of it are painted historical scenes ; for instance a group of West Tibetan noblemen on horse-back, hawking. On the other side are pictures of Buddhist saints and lamas, all furnished with inscriptions. I ordered Puntsog to copy all the decipherable inscriptions ; but the copying of the many interesting frescoes I had to leave to some future explorer. The inscriptions contain mostly names, belonging to well known lamas. The following is a list of such lamas as are known to me : Klu-grub (Nāgārjuna) ; Arya-rdeba (Ārya-dēva) ; Natropa (or Naropa) ; Tilipa (or Telipa) ; Loipa (or Luipa) ; Kumara and Dharma-ki(r)ti of Srong-btsan-sgam-po's time ; Kamala(śila), Ananta, Shantipa (Śānti-rakshita) of Khri-srong-lde-btsan's time ; E(n)-tra-bhodhe (Śrīlendra bodhi) of Ralpacan's time. The latest seem to be Zla-ba-grags-pa and Kun-dgā-snying-po of the 11th century. A further reason for attributing the frescoes and inscriptions of this temple to the 11th or 12th century, is that the orthography employed in the inscriptions shows signs of considerable age (*myi* and *mye* instead of *mi* and *me*).

Besides the temples mentioned above, there is at Alchi a great number of ancient *mchod-rten* and *mchod-rten* gates with four doors. Several of them contain pictures similar to those noticed at Basgo and Ubshi, *i.e.*, Buddha-like figures of blue complexion. They probably represent Nāgas, and these gates and *mchod-rten* may be of Bonpo origin. But there were so many that it was found impossible to register them all.

Let me add a few words with regard to Tibetan palæography, based on a comparison of the Alchi and Tabo inscriptions of the 11th century. Besides the Alchi and Tabo inscriptions of the 11th century, the following datable inscriptions of ancient Tibet are known: (1) The Endere manuscripts, excavated by Sir M. A. Stein in Turkestan. The latest date which can be attributed to them is the year 788 A.D., but several appear to be earlier. (2) The inscription of Khri-srong-lde-btsan in Lhasa of c. 780 A.D. discovered and edited by Dr. Waddell.[1] (3) The inscription of king Ral-pa-can in Lhasa, of c. 810–820 A.D.[2]

The most archaic of the Endere relics have the following peculiarities:—

(1) The *i* vowel sign is often inverted.

(2) In several cases, the final consonant of a syllable is written below the first.

(3) The article is in many cases *pha* and *pho*, instead of the ordinary *pa* and *po*.

(4) Ordinary *c* and *ts* are in many cases replaced by *ch* and *ths*; and *ch* and *ths* both have *g*, *b*, and *d* prefixes attached to them.

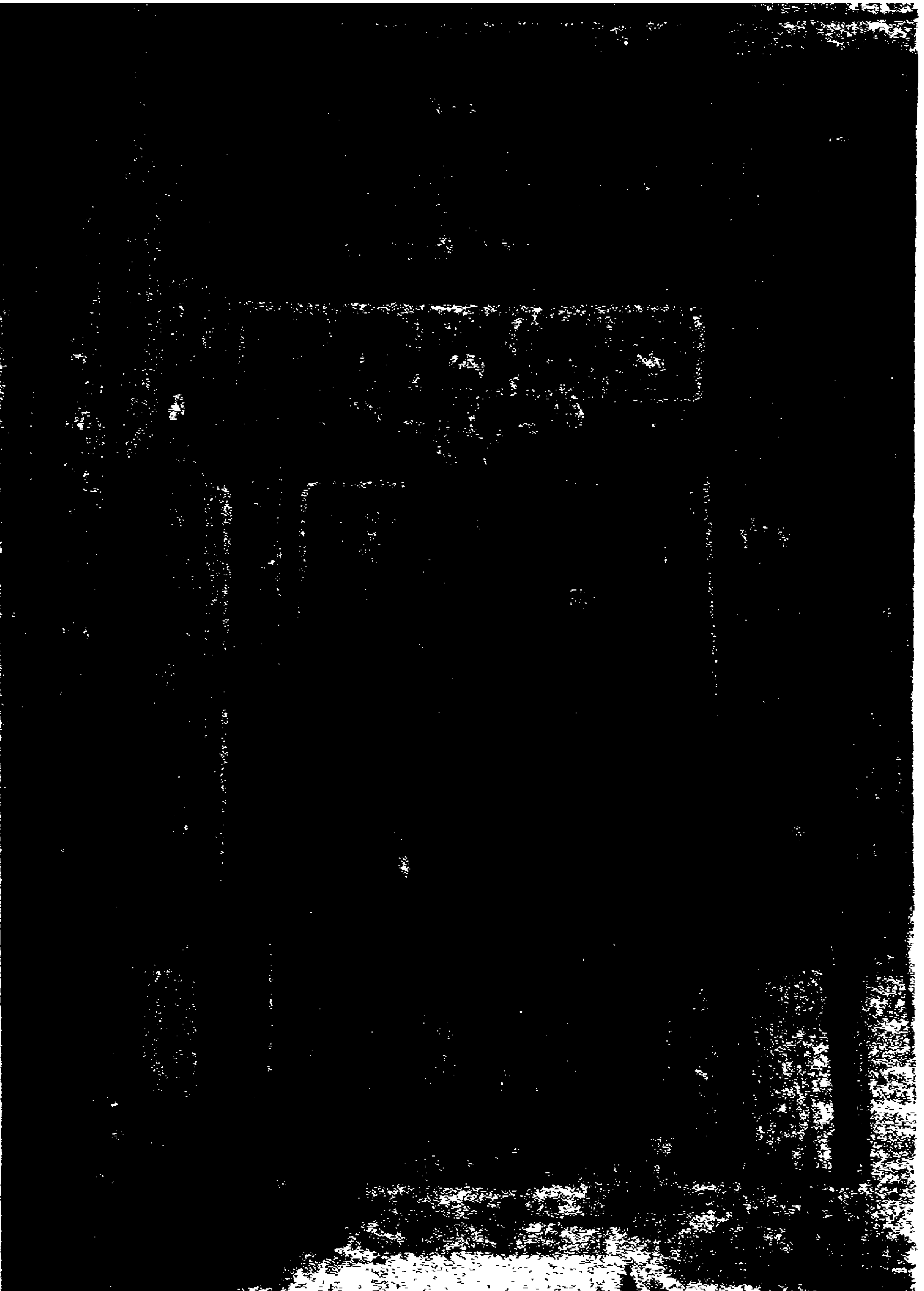
(5) When *m* precedes *i* or *e*, *y* intervenes.

(6) Words ending in *r*, *l*, or *n*, are furnished with a *d* suffix, called *drag*.

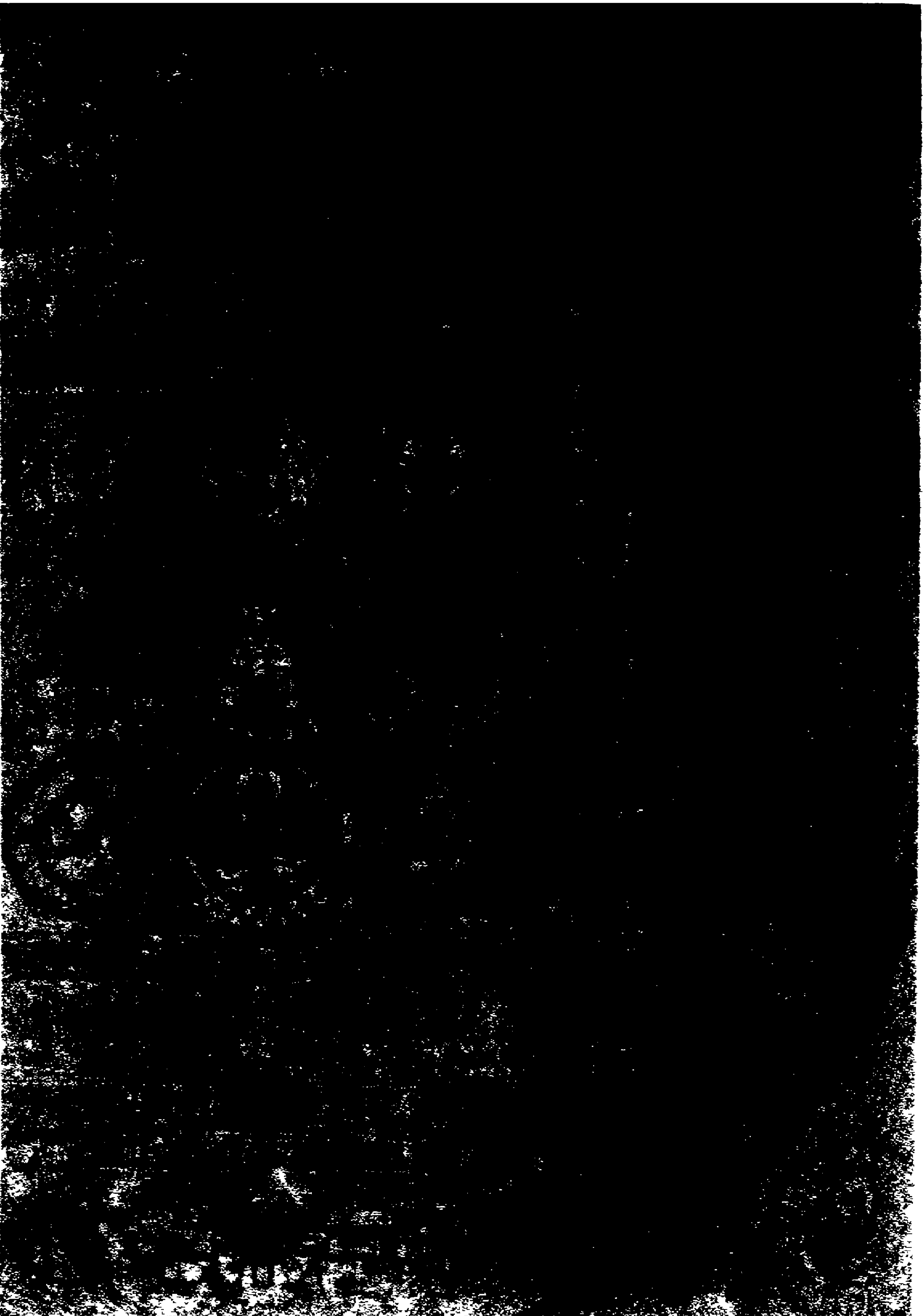
If we examine the Tabo, Poo and Alchi inscriptions of the 11th century, with regard to the peculiarities of the Endere manuscripts enumerated above, we find that they exhibit only the two last mentioned peculiarities, *viz.*, *y* intervenes between *m* and *i* or *m* and *e*; and *r*, *l*, and *n* are often furnished with a *d* suffix. Thus we see that during the period from the 8th to the 11th century, the Tibetan orthography has come much nearer to its present state. The *i* vowel sign, for instance, is no more found inverted, but always in its present position. At Alchi we found the *i* vowel sign only once inverted and that was probably due to want of space. From this observation we may conclude that all those inscriptions which contain inverted *i* vowel signs, may be older than the 11th century. As regards the position of the *e* and *o* vowel signs on the right or left upper end, or above the consonant base, it varies with the age of inscriptions. I am of opinion that the compilation of the *bKa-'agyur* and *bStan-'agyur*, in c. 1300 A.D., marks an epoch in Tibetan palæography. It probably put an end to the intervening *y* between *m* and *i* or *e*, and to the suffixed *d*. From the year 1300 A.D. onwards Tibetan orthography presumably remained stationary, and the age of an inscription after 1300 A.D. can be estimated only by the form of its compound letters, and the position of vowel signs on or above their consonant bases.

[1] *Ancient historical edicts at Lhasa* in *J. R. A. S.* 1909, pp. 923 ff.

[2] See my reading and translation *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 89 ff.



a. Carved door in rNam-par-snang-mdzad Temple, Alchi.



b. Fresco in gSum-thsag Temple, Alchi.

On our way back, from Alchi to Saspola, I visited the site of a ruined castle called Alchi-mkhar-gog, which once guarded the Alchi bridge. I found a number of sherds of pottery with dark red designs. The pottery was not wheel-made, but rudely shaped with the hand. As will be remembered, entire specimens of pottery with dark red designs were found in the ancient graves at Leh. On the boulders round about the ruined castle are found many inscriptions of officers who once resided here. As I have shown in my article "Archæology in Western Tibet," most of these epigraphs may be attributed to the times of King Nyi-ma-mgon, in the 10th century, and his immediate successors. We took a photo of one of them.

On the 24th September, the principal caravan under Pindi Lal, marched to sNyurla, by the ordinary road. I myself went to sGyera on the left bank of the Indus, accompanied by Puntsog, my assistant, and Labpa, the Khansaman. From sGyera, I went up the valley, to visit the famous monastery of Mang-rgyu. Just below it, we passed a very rudely-executed rock sculpture which represents Mañjuśrī. The inscription below it mentions King Phun-thsogs-rnam-rgyal of the 18th century. It is the latest rock sculpture in West Tibet which I have seen.

The Mang-rgyu monastery consists of four temples standing in a row, with their doors towards the East like so many others of the same period.

(1) Byams-chen (or Lōkēśvara).—This temple contains a huge stucco image; but the present lamas are uncertain whether it represents Maitrēya or Avalōkitēśvara. I should think that it represents the former. The door is furnished with ancient wood carvings of Indian type.

(2) 'aDu-khang (or Thugs-rje-chen-po).—The door of this temple is ornamented with ancient wood carvings of artistic workmanship, which represent the five Dhyāni-buddhas with Vairōchana (rNam-par-snang-mdzad) in the centre. We found an ancient and much effaced inscription in this hall near the door. I ordered it to be copied. Neither a personal nor a local name has been preserved in it, and it contains hardly a single coherent sentence. But the preserved fragments afford several instances of intervening *y* between *m* and *i*, and for this reason I feel inclined to attribute it to the 11th or 12th century. Local tradition connects the Mang-rgyu monastery with Lama Rin-chen-bzang-po. In another part of the same hall, we found a short fragmentary inscription giving the name of a forgotten prince, possibly a younger son of one of the kings of the first dynasty of Ladakh. It reads *Jo-no-chung-Khri-stod-'adi*, "the younger prince Khri-stod."

(3) rNam-par-snang-mdzad.—This temple contains a number of stucco images, some of which reminded me of the thirty-two at Tabo. On the wall outside, there is a long inscription recording the renovation of the monastery under King Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal II (?) If the present ugly pictures in this and most of the other temples are the result of that renewal, it was absolute barbarism. The principal hall has lost its ancient door.

(4) 'aJams-chung (or Mañjuśrī).—This temple also contains a huge stucco statue, concerning the identity of which the present lamas do not seem to be agreed. They do not know whether it represents Mañjuśrī or Maitrēya. The frescoes of the hall have

escaped renovation and reminded me of similar pictures I had seen at Alchi. Here also were pictures of monks with patchwork gowns of many colours.

(5) Tretapuri (Tīrtuapuri).—This is a large *stūpa* which is enshrined in a ruined house. The name of the building would point to its former occupation by a community of heretics (Skr. *tīrthika*), as they were found in Tibet by Atīśa on the occasion of his advent into the country. Judging by the images contained in it at the present time, however, it is now as Lamaist as any other temple at Mang-rgyu. There were four stucco images of the following Lamaist deities : 'aJam-dbyangs, (Mañju-ghōsha) painted yellow, in the eastern corner ; sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalōkitēśvara) painted white, in the southern corner ; and Phyag-rdor (Vajra-pāṇi) painted blue, in the western corner ; and further the reformer bTsong-kha-pa (Sumati-kīrti), resplendent with red, orange, and yellow, in the northern corner.

At the time of its foundation, the Mang-rgyu monastery may have equalled the Alchi monastery in splendour. Now-a-days it is far inferior to it.

On the 25th September, we marched to Khalatse, on the right bank of the Indus. Half way we passed by a gorge which forms the entrance to the valley of the village of Tar. I should not have visited the latter, if rumours had not been current that a very ancient rock inscription had been discovered there by Mr. Chatterji and others. Just below the village of Tar, there is a rock, on which people believe they can see twenty-one figures of the goddess Tārā (sGrol-ma) which have come into existence of themselves. There used to be a high flagstaff in front of this rock. These *svayambhū* figures of Tārā may account for the name of the village. It was probably called Tārā originally, the name having become abridged to Tar. Lower down the valley, we found very well moulded clay representations of Tārā in a *mchod-rten*. In the village we examined the "famous" inscription mentioned above. It contains only the name of King Thse-dpal-rnam-rgyal, the last independent ruler of Ladakh, and is very fragmentary.

We arrived at Khalatse just in time to prevent the boulders containing the oldest inscriptions of Ladakh from being broken. There are several rocks near Khalatse bridge, bearing ancient Kharōshṭhī inscriptions, and one with an ancient Brāhmī inscription. As a new bridge was under construction, many boulders, some with interesting rock carvings and inscriptions had been blasted ; and the boulder with the Brāhmī inscription had already been marked for blasting. I spoke to the Public Works overseer in charge, as well as to the authorities at Khalatse, and entreated them to preserve these invaluable stones. I hope that this may not have been in vain. We took photos of the Brāhmī, the longer Kharōshṭhī,[1] and the old Gupta inscriptions. The latter is found in the close vicinity of the mGo-chen *mchod-rten*. Some of the ancient rock carvings were also photographed, and impressions taken of the royal Tibetan and the Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. The mGo-chen *mchod-rten* belong to the

[1] Our photograph of the longer Kharōshṭhī inscription was sent to Professor Rapson of Cambridge. He writes in his letter of the 23rd September 1910, as follows : "The title *Maharajasa* is quite clear. After this comes the name beginning with *A* and ending with the genitive termination *sa*. Four or five syllables intervene, but I am not quite certain about any of them. Above the king's name is a date which I read—with some doubt as to whether three strokes at the end are part of the date or not—as 100+20+20+20+20+4 [+3]; that is to say 184 or 187."

site of a ruined Dard castle at Khalatse. They were photographed and a plan was made of the whole ancient site.

As regards the antiquities of Khalatse, they have been described by me elsewhere[1]. I do not wish to repeat here all I have said in my previous articles, and, therefore, I will simply give a list of the more important of those antiquities :—(1) certain places of the cult of the pre-Buddhist religion in the neighbourhood, (2) Indian inscriptions extending over a period of more than one thousand years, several of which have already been mentioned. (3) A number of royal Tibetan inscriptions near the bridge. (4) Besides the ancient custom house (*sBalu-mkhar*) which is only three miles from Khalatse, there are three more ruined castles at this place, one being of Tibetan, and the others of Dard origin.

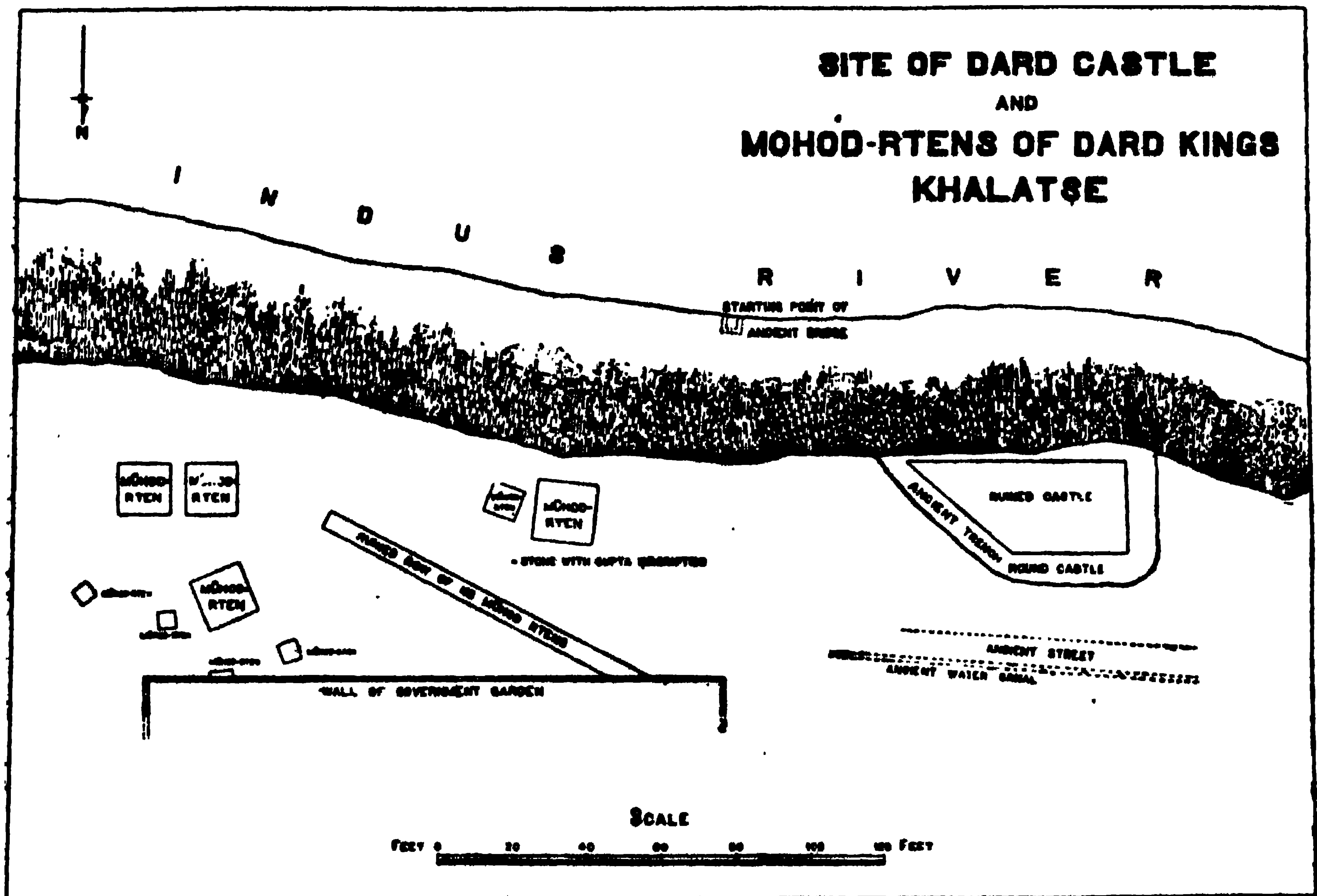


Fig. 4.

Whilst we were at Khalatse, the people of the village sold me a good many antiquities which they had found either in their houses or at ancient sites in the neighbourhood, *viz.*, sBa-lu-mkhar, Brag-nag-mkhar, or Brog-pai-mkhar. Among them was a stone knife, a stone axe, to be used without a handle, several stone lamps, beads of bone, stone charms, ancient female head-dresses, a bone knife, a stone inkpot, a pair of goggles made of turnips, etc.

Our Christian evangelist at Khalatse had become a father a few weeks before, and the people of the village had made presents of "flour-ibex" to him and his wife. He

[1] "*Historische Dokumente von Khalatse,*" in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 583 ff, and '*The Dards at Khalatse,*" *M. A. S. B.*, Vol. I, No. 19.

gave me one of those figures, which are made of flour and butter, and told me that it was a custom in Tibet and Ladakh, to make presents of "flour-ibex" on the occasion of the birth of a child. This is quite interesting information. I had often wondered why there were so many rock carvings of ibex at places connected with the pre-Buddhist religion of Ladakh. Now it appears probable that they are thank offerings, after the birth of children. As I have tried to show in my previous article,[1] people used to go to the pre-Buddhist places of worship, in particular, to pray to be blessed with children.

On the 30th September, we left Khalatse and travelled to Lamayuru. When we arrived on the left bank of the Indus, after crossing the Khalatse bridge, I examined again the three stones with inscriptions, which I had discovered there several years ago, and again made careful copies of the inscriptions, which later on I sent to Dr. Vogel. Although it is not yet possible to read them with certainty, Dr. Vogel believes the kind of character employed to be later Gupta, almost Śāradā, of c. 600—800 A.D.

At Lamayuru, we visited, first of all, the famous monastery of the 'aBri-khung-pa order which is very picturesquely situated on a steep rock (Plate XL, a). According to the Māhātmya of Lamayuru, the monastery was founded by the Buddhist priest Naropa in the ninth or tenth century. When Naropa arrived at the site, the whole valley was filled with a lake which he caused to dry up.[2] The monastery received its name from a plantation of sacrificial grain which mysteriously grew into the shape of the *svastika* (*gYung-drung*). It is interesting that there are traces of deposits of a former lake all around the mountains of Lamayuru, and it is strange that Drew in his book does not make any mention of them. But the Ladakhis must really have a geological instinct, to be able to invent stories of this kind. They have also tales of the former existence of lakes at Leh and at Trilōknāth in Lahul. The name *gYung-drung* was of course not given by Naropa, but must date back to a time long before he arrived in the country, as it was then the foremost place of the Bon religion which is called *gYung-drung-bon*. The Māhātmya concludes with a tale of an image which cannot be moved out of its original position. The 'barbarian' who spends his energy on it in vain, is in this case Dīwān Hari Chand, the Ḍōgrā general who beat the Tibetans in 1842 A.D. I asked the monks, if they had an image of Naropa in the temple hall, to which they replied in the affirmative. We were shown a rather modern looking stucco statue of Naropa in the library which also contained images of several more lamas connected with him, for instance, Tilopa, Marpa, Milaraspa. They seem to belong to a complete set of figures of the bKā-brgyud lamas. These bKā-brgyud lamas who are something like church-fathers of the 'aBrug-pa order of lamas, are enumerated in inscription No. 128 from Kolong in Lahul, as follows: (1) rDo-rje-'achang, (2) Ti-lo-pa (3) Na-ro-pa, (4) Mar-pa, (5) Mi-la-ras-pa, (6) rGam-po, (7) Thar-sab-pa, (8) gNas phug-pa, (9) dPal-ldan-'abrug-pa.

I asked the lamas to show me the most ancient part of the monastery, and we were taken to a temple called Seng-ge-sgang, which is situated at the southern end of the

[1] *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse in West Tibet* (*Ladakh*) in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXI, pp. 583 ff.

[2] A similar legend is told about Kashmir. *Cf. Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 25-27 transl. Stein, Vol. I, p. 5. [Ed.]



a View of Lamayuru



b. View of ruined town, Bod-Kharbu

Lamayuru rock. There we were shown a hall which reminded me strongly of Rin-chen-bzang-po's temples, especially the stucco images on the walls, which were of a style similar to those at Tabo. The entrance is towards the east. The principal image is that of 'aJam-dbyangs (Mañju-ghôsha). On his right we find the blue Tārā, and on his left, the yellow Tārā. The figure above the blue Tārā is said to represent Thse-dpag-med (Amitâyus), but the identity of the figure above the yellow Tārā cannot now be established. Garuḍa is placed above the whole group of images. Below it is a stone pedestal showing well carved relievos of elephants and lions. The frescoes in this hall are far gone and most of them can no longer be identified. I noticed a picture of a divinity with very many arms, and another fresco apparently representing the 'Wheel of Life' (*Srid-pai-'akhor-lo*) showing in its better preserved parts the torments of hell, and the gods fighting the Asuras. The lama who had taken us to this temple, said that, according to an inscription in the bCu-gcig-zhal temple at Wanla, the following four temples date from one and the same time, called the *bKā-gdams-pa* time: (1) the Seng-ge-sgang temple of Lamayuru, (2) the bCu-gcig-zhal temple at Wanla, (3) the ruined temple of Chigtan, (4) the Lha-bcu-rtse-lha-khang temple at Khanji. As regards the *bKā-gdams-pa* time, this expression seems to indicate the times of the great teacher 'aBrom-ston, the founder of the *bKā-gdams-pa* sect, who lived in the 11th century. This statement is quite in agreement with the general appearance of the Seng-ge-sgang temple. I had sent a man to the famous bCu-gcig-zhal temple of Wanla to copy any ancient inscriptions, he could discover in it. He evidently did not find that of the bKa-gdams-pa times mentioned by the lama, for what he brought me, was one of the Muhammadan period, as is evident from the occurrence of Moslem names in it. In a side chapel of the Seng-ge-sgang temple, there are three large images of terrible appearance, similar to those which we found in the mGon-khang at Leh. A female figure riding on a mule, is called dPal-ldan-lha-mo (Śrī Dēvī); and a male figure seated on a man, mGon-po (Mahākāla). The two remaining figures I cannot define, although the name of one of them was said to be Abchi.

Below the monastery of Lamayuru there is an ancient shrine which appears to be the old Bon-po temple. The roof is almost gone, and for this reason the frescoes on the walls have suffered badly. The door was also in the wall towards the east. All the divinities painted on the walls of this hall are of Buddhist type; but their complexion is either blue or black, and their dress is red. These pictures seem to represent Nāgas, similar to those we saw at Ubshi and Alchi. Those ancient gates with four doors, and this mysterious temple at Lamayuru are apparently all of Bon-po origin; but they were erected in the days when the Bon-po religion was largely influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism. Although a good number of pictures of Buddha-shaped figures have been preserved in this ruined temple, I could not discover a single one with a white, yellow, or red complexion. But there were several female figures of very unusual shape whose complexion was white. They appeared to wear ear-flaps, like the modern Ladakhi women, and were depicted on the walls as well as on the ceiling. On the latter were represented well designed rows of female musicians, alternately white and grey.

The most interesting group of frescoes is that which represents what I believe to be priests of the Bon-po religion (Plate XLI, a). One of them is represented in almost life size, whilst the others are smaller. They are all clothed in white undergarments and striped gowns. The large figure, and one of the smaller ones, show a gown with black and blue stripes, the other small figures have black and grey stripes. The large figure is shown wearing a blue hat, like a European soft felt-hat with a broad brim. The smaller figures have hats of the same shape but of black colour. There are but few early references to the dress of the Bon-po priest; but in most cases it is described as being black. There are, however, a few passages which make mention of the blue colour of their dress.[1] These relics of the Bon religion at Lamayuru are of some importance; for, as we know from Sarat Chandra Das,[2] the present day Bon-po priests of Central Tibet cannot be distinguished from Buddhist priests, their dress being exactly alike.

Above the Lamayuru Bungalow, there are several modern and two ancient gateways. They are called *Khagani* (Khanggani). As the ceilings of the old ones are painted all over with blue Buddha-like figures, we may ascribe their origin also to Bon-po times.

Moorcroft[3] in 1820 discovered in the Lamayuru monastery several letters of protection issued by Aurangzeb, Mughal officers, and even by one of the Balti kings.

On the 30th September we marched from Lamayuru to Kharbu by the ordinary trade road across the Phothola Pass, 14,000 feet high. The castle of Kharbu is situated on the top of a rocky hill above the present village of Kharbu. It is all in ruins, and rather difficult of access. Puntsog climbed up to it, but he could find neither ancient implements, nor inscriptions. One of the ruins appeared to be an ancient temple, built of sun-dried bricks. But even here no ancient remains were discovered, nor any traces of raised medallions on the walls.

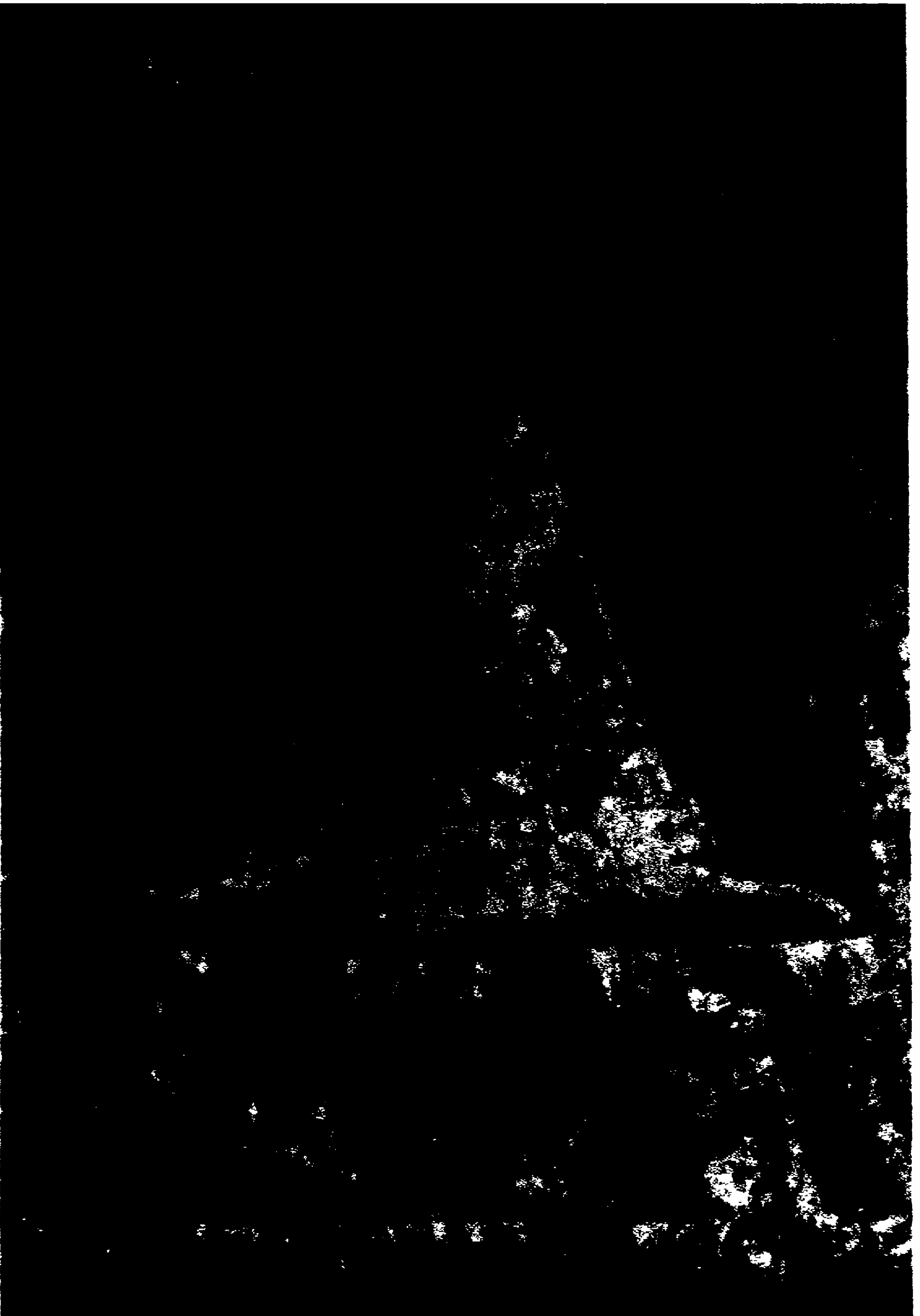
The old town of Kharbu lies on the rocky plateau above the present village, but below the castle (Plate XL, b). It is easier of access than the latter, and was probably deserted, between circa 1620 and 1630 A.D., when King bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal wrested it from the Khri Sultan of dKar-rtse. According to the chronicles, the conqueror carried all women and children away into captivity, so after this war it was probably never reoccupied. Captain Oliver, the present Joint Commissioner of Ladakh, informed me that a man at Dras who is now one hundred and eight years old, told him that the fort or ancient town of Kharbu was taken by storm in the Ḍōgrā war. But I feel very doubtful with regard to this statement which is not confirmed by the Ladakhi chronicles, nor by Basti Ram's account. Moreover, Moorcroft in 1820 A.D. found the old town in ruins. At the eastern end of the old town, not far from two small whitewashed *mchod-rten*, there is an inscription of the times of King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal carved on the rock.[4] It is very indistinct, and extremely difficult to decipher. The rough surface of

[1] Cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. L, pp. 198 and 211.

[2] *Journey to Lhasa*, p. 207.

[3] *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 14.

[4] I discovered this inscription in 1906, and published it as No. 55 of my *First Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*. It seems to contain a reference to Shāh Jahān's attempt to conquer Ladakh.



a. Fresco in Bon-po Temple, Lamayuru.



b. Ancient wood-carving of Garuda, Chigtan.

the rock also makes it impossible to take impressions of it. I believe, however, that I have succeeded this time in getting a more correct reading of a certain passage. What had been read *Sku-med 'aJam-yang*, seems to be in reality *Sku-mkhar mkhar-bu*, and thus the name of King 'aJam-dbyang-rnam-rgyal does not occur in it after all. But there are several more passages, the reading of which is still very doubtful. This much we may, however, safely infer from the inscription, *viz.*, that the old town of Kharbu was still inhabited in King Seng-ge-rnam-rgyal's days. On the western end of the old town, there is a solid round tower with a staircase inside. These stairs lead down to a spring which used to provide the town with fresh water, even when it was besieged.

On the elevated plateau between the old town and the present village, there are a number of old *mchod-rten* and *maṇi* walls. But there are also many ancient graves, the origin of which is not known to the present inhabitants. They may be either of Dard, or of Muhammadan origin. For, when the town of Kharbu was in the hands of the *Khri* Sultans of dKar-rtse, the inhabitants were probably compelled to embrace Islām together with the other subjects of the Sultans in the Suru valley. Possibly they date from the Mughal war.

A very remarkable ruin in the Kharbu valley is the castle of Stag-rtse (map Takhcha), on the opposite bank of the brook. It was built on a very steep rock, apparently also very difficult of access, and once formed part of the possessions of the chiefs of Chigtan. It was probably destroyed by bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh at the same time as Kharbu.

In the Kharbu valley, between Kharbu and Stag-rtse, are the ruins of a large temple called Mun-dig-lha-khang, 'the dark temple.' It is 20 paces long and 16 paces broad. This temple had apparently two doors, one in the eastern, and one in the western wall, and there were separate doorways at some distance from the temple. In the vicinity, I noticed the ruined remains of at least two rows of one hundred and eight *mchod-rten*. A native whom we met, told us the following tale regarding this ruin: "It was built by two lamas after the model of the Chigtan temple. One of them went to Lhasa, and the other to Kashmir, to buy colours for painting frescoes. Both died in those distant countries, and the temple was never completed." There were no traces of any frescoes or raised medallions to be seen. But that is not to be wondered at, as the ruin was roofless.

On the 2nd October, we went to Chigtan, situated in a side valley, on a tributary of the Indus. The old castle of the chiefs of Chigtan, the Purig Sultans, is very picturesquely situated on a steep cliff (Plate XLII, a). Below the castle are the ruins of the old town. The greater part of the rooms of the former are no longer accessible, owing to the dilapidated state of the whole building. A great number of the doors, and also several windows, were adorned with very artistic wood carvings in Tibetan style (Plate XLIII, a). Two of those in the inner court of the castle were said to be the portraits of the two architects, father and son. In one of the rooms we found a large wooden board on which is carved the figure of a Nāga-devouring Garuḍa. (Plate XLI, b) Although no document recording the erection of this castle has yet been found, the

Tibetan style of the carvings suggests that its construction took place before 1550 A.D., *i.e.*, before the chiefs of Chigtan became Muhammadan.

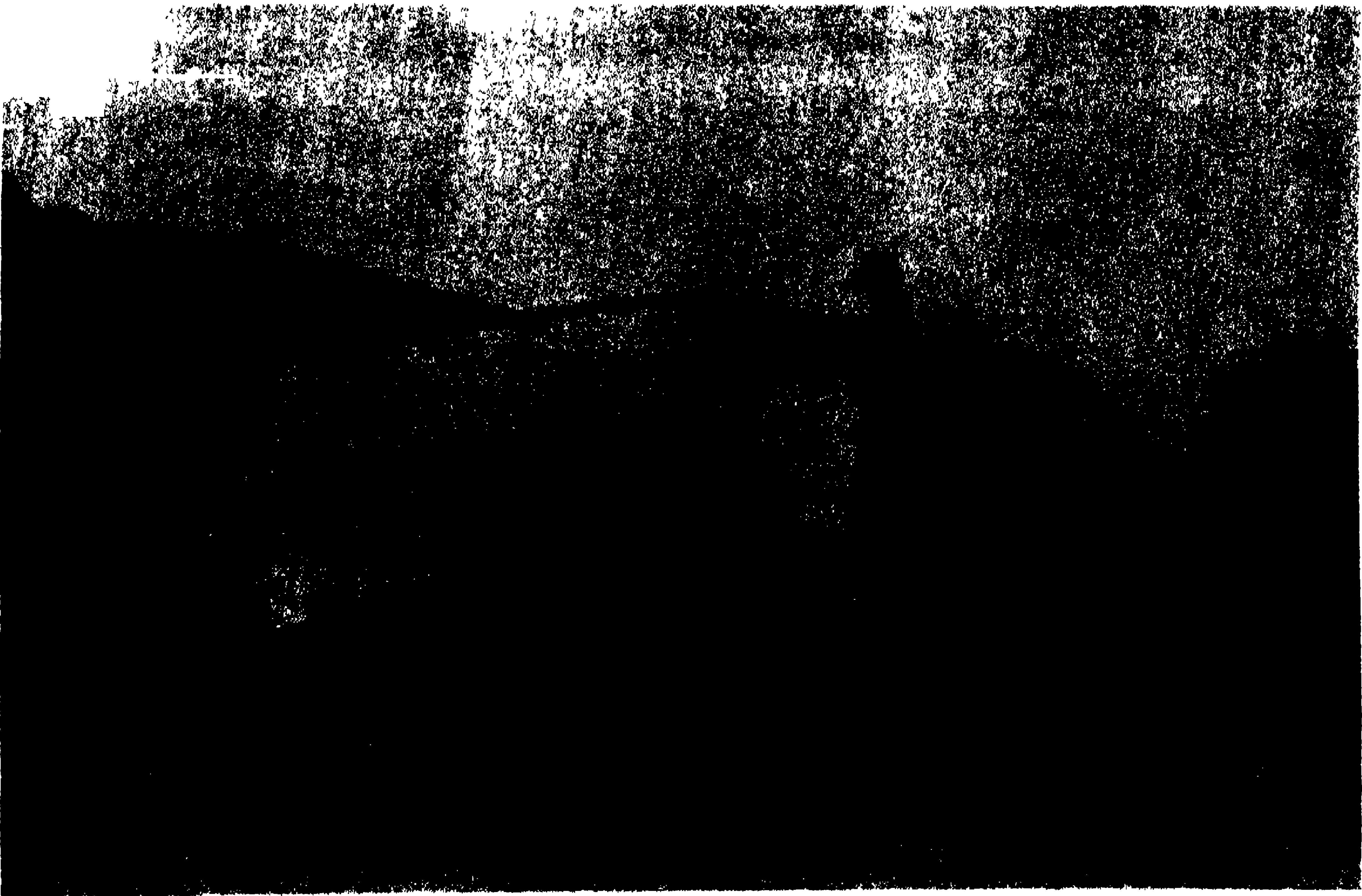
Among the ruins of the old town below the castle, we found two stone slabs which contained inscriptions in a very faulty form of Tibetan. One of them treated of the remission of taxes and forced labour, and gave the name of Adam Malig of Chigtan. This Adam Malig is probably identical with a chief whose name is found in the genealogical roll of the chiefs of Chigtan, and who probably reigned c. 1580 A.D. The other inscription is more fragmentary. It does not contain the name of any chief, but apparently treats of a similar subject and may be attributed to the same time.

The ancient Buddhist monastery of Chigtan is situated at the other end of the village and on the further bank of the brook, coming from the palace (Plate XLII, b). It is similar in type to the monasteries of Rin-chen-bzang-po's times and is attributed to the so-called bKā-gdams-pa epoch, judging by the Wanla inscription, mentioned above. The bKā-gdams-pa epoch probably began in the middle of the 11th century, a generation or so after Rin-chen-bzang-po's time. There are a great number of raised medallions on the wall opposite the door, and all had formerly stucco images in front of them, which were destroyed, when Chigtan adopted the Muhammadan religion. I counted the medallions and found their number to be thirty-nine. This is seven more than the usual thirty-two; but the seven additional medallions seem to belong to a special group of larger images which once occupied the central portion of the wall. We found traces of a number of inscriptions on the temple walls, the best preserved of which is the Tibetan inscription of the old Lamaist chiefs of Chigtan, which I discovered in 1906.[1] There are also traces of another Tibetan, one Arabic (or Persian), and at least five or six Śāradā inscriptions. Most of them are found on the medallions. We took photos of two of the Śāradā inscriptions, and with one of them we succeeded so well that Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri of Kashmir who examined the photo with a magnifying glass, was able to read a couple of words. The inscription was in Sanskrit, and the character a very late type of Śāradā. As the words "army" and "inflated skins" occur among the distinct portions of the inscription, it looks almost as if it had been written by a Ḍōgrā Brahmin during the time of the Ḍōgrā wars. In front of the medallions has been erected an altar (*lhatho*) which is ornamented with twigs of the pencil cedar; a number of brass cups containing offerings of butter, have been placed below it. The temple hall is a square of 14 or 15 paces each side. Its height is about 24 feet. The roof which was recently renovated is supported by four high pillars of pencil cedar wood. They are quite plain, but the door of the temple is elaborately carved in Indian style (Plate XLIII, b). It shows the figures of a number of Buddhist saints, whose identity it is however impossible to ascertain, owing to the decayed state of the wood. We found the temple in charge of two Muhammadans who said that they were descended from its former Buddhist keepers. Their house name is *Lha-khang-pa* or *dGon-pa-pa*. These people still light the butter-filled lamps in the temple, and look after

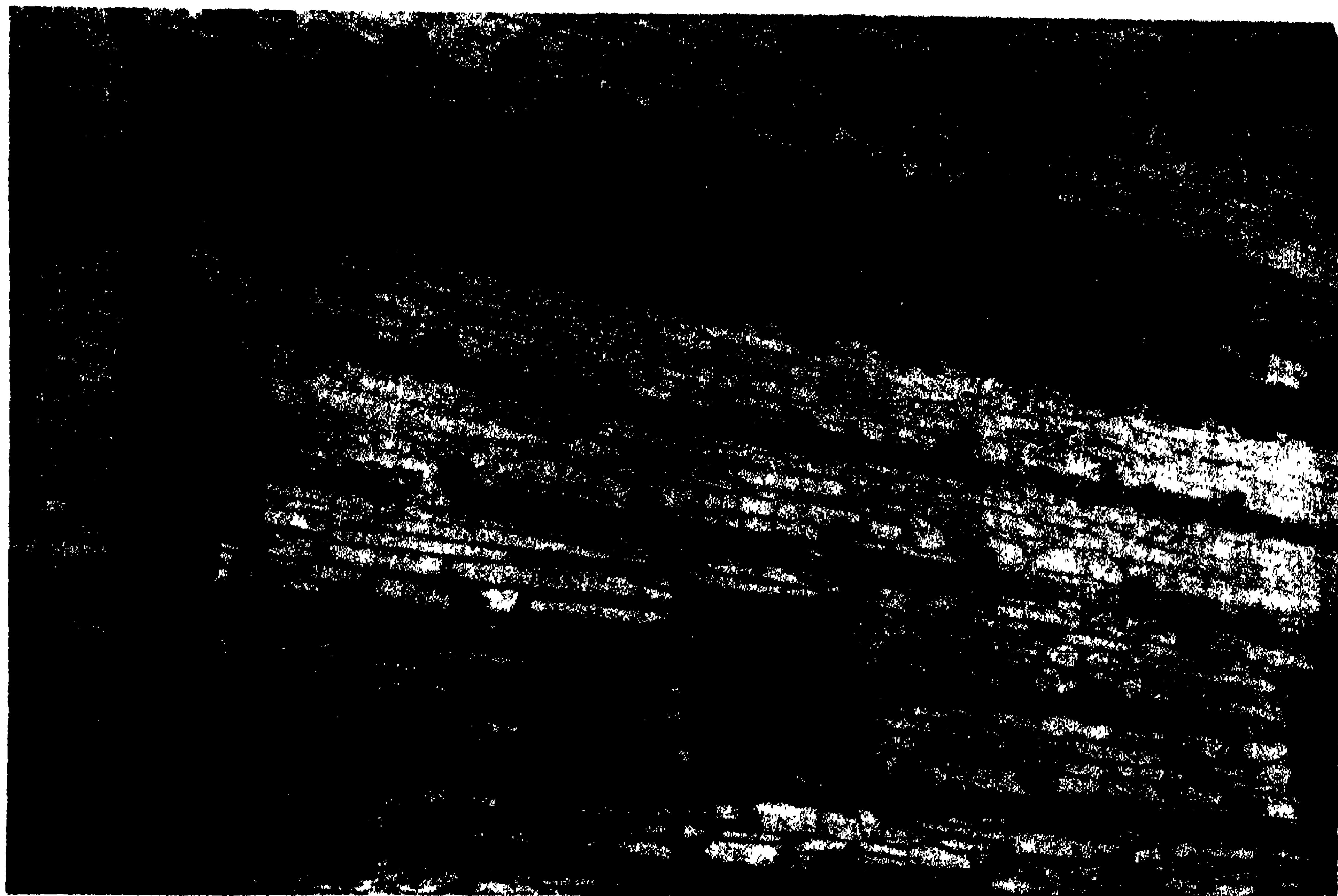
[1] It is described in my *First Collection of Inscriptions* under No. 48.



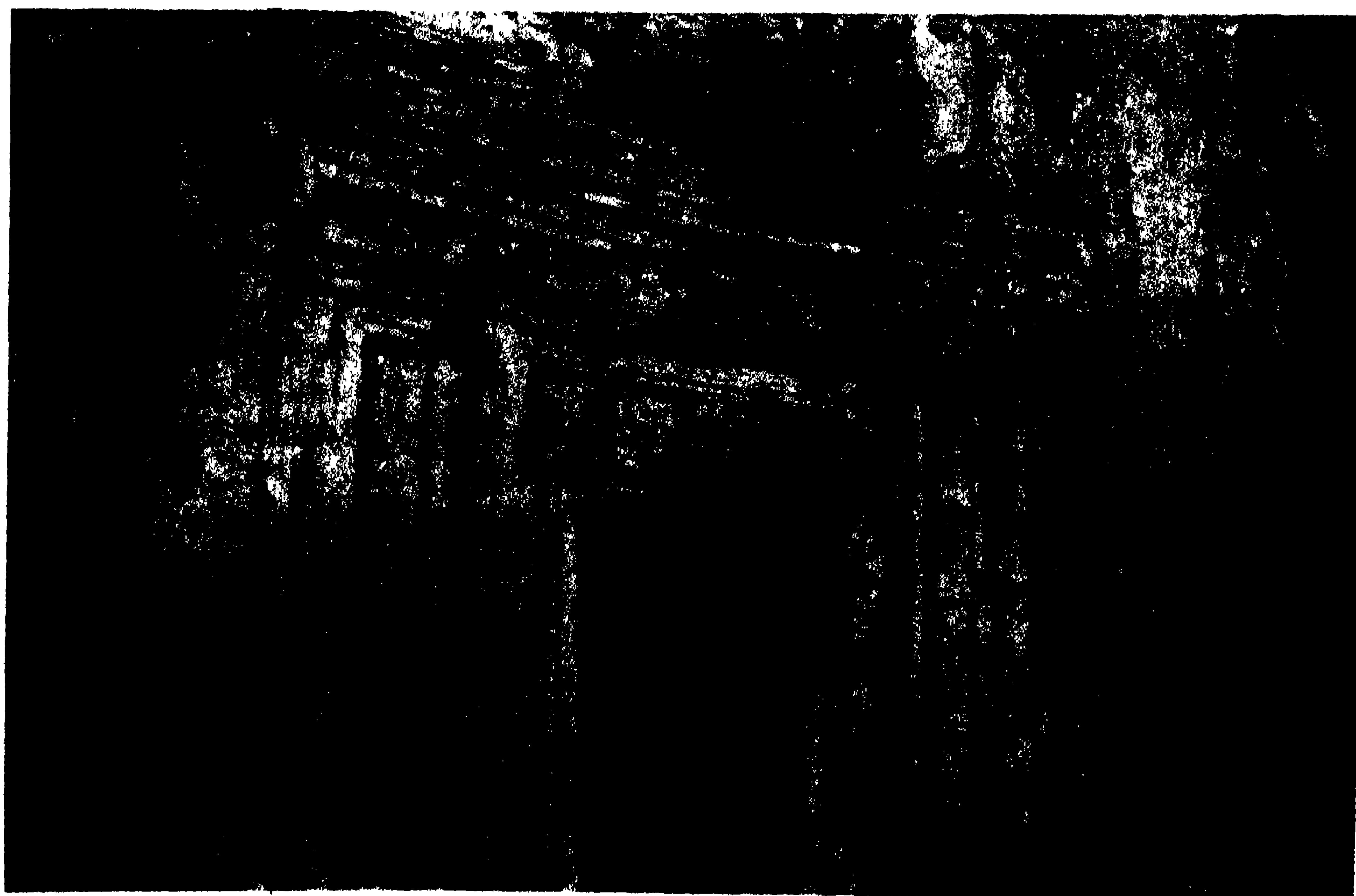
a. View of castle, Chigtan.



b. View of monastery, Chigtan.



a. Wood-carving in the castle, Chigtan.



b. Door of monastery, Chigtan.

the altar. They told us that the temple was still visited by their Buddhist neighbours from Da and Hanu who pay adoration to its old deities.

On the 4th October, we marched to Mulbe, crossing the Namika Pass (13,400 feet high). On the way, Puntsog and myself visited the ruined castle of Waka which is situated at the east end of the Mulbe valley. On a steep spur, to the north of the present village of Waka, lie the ruins of the old castle and town. They are of considerable extent. Some parts of the well-built castle are now inaccessible. This fortress was probably once a stronghold of great importance, as would appear from Jōnarāja's Second Rājataraṅgiṇī,[1] where a war between two Tibetan tribes, the Vakatanyas and Kālamānyas, is described. The former name probably stands for the garrison of Waka, and the second for the Baltis of Khar-mang. Of ancient remains we found only a stone mortar, a bone tube, and several sherds of thick, hand-made pottery, but no inscriptions.

A little below the fortress, towards the east, there were traces of an ancient hermitage (*mthsams-khang*), a kind of cave dwelling. Above the caves, we noticed a smooth place on the rock surface with indistinct traces of ancient frescoes. We could only make out the outlines of the picture of a *mchod-rten*, and a few letters of an ancient inscription. On the plain beneath, a little to the west of the ruined castle, are the remains of an ancient temple called Lha-khang-gog-po (" ruined temple "), a large square hall which reminded me at once of the temples of Rin-chen-bzang-po's times. It had been lately used as a dwelling place by several Muhammadan families who had built partition walls across it. This may be the reason why nothing remains of ancient frescoes. It had its door probably in the western wall.

The most famous relic at the village of Mulbe is the huge rock sculpture of Maitrēya the Mulbe " Chamba " (Byams-pa). It was noticed by Moorcroft[2] in 1820, who has the following note on it : " Near the end of this day's journey, the road passed between the foot of the mountains on the right of the valley and an insulated pillar of rock, about fifty feet high. On the face of this was sculptured the figure of one of the Tibetan divinities named Chamba. It differed from the same representation in the temples in being decorated with the Brahminical cord, hanging from the left shoulder and over the right hip. The figure was naked, except round the waist, and was about twenty-four feet high, but the lower part was concealed by a low wall in front ; the upper had been protected by a screen projecting over it from the rock, but this was gone, leaving only the holes in which the pins that had fastened it, had been inserted."

As we see, Moorcroft noticed already the Brahminical cord among the characteristic emblems of the Maitrēya sculpture of Mulbe. The other emblems, a flask and a rosary, are of similar interest. Several students of Indo-Buddhist art feel inclined to derive the most ancient types of Bōdhisattvas from deities of the Hindu pantheon. Thus

---

[1] Jonarāja, *Rājataraṅginī*, 157 ff. (Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. LIV, pp. 14 f.) *Kings of Kashmira* (transl. J. C. Dutt), Vol. III, pp. 16 ff. The passage is not quite clear, but it seems to convey that one Vakatanya was killed by certain Tibetan (*Bhoṭṭa*) chieftains called Kālamānya, who in their turn were exterminated by Vakatanya's son Riñchana (see beneath pp. 107 ff) who had escaped the massacre. [Ed.]

[2] *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 17.

Avelōkitēśvara has been compared with Śiva, and Maitrēya with Brahmā. And in fact there are representations of Brahmā which are hardly different from some of Maitrēya. Thus, for instance, among the wood-carvings of the Śakti temple at Chhatrāṛhī in Chambā State, there is a four-armed Brahmā, carrying a rosary and a water-pot, and accompanied by a pair of geese. The Chhatrāṛhī sculptures date from about 700 A.D., and the Maitrēya of Mulbe is of the same time, approximately. Cunningham, without any foundation, assigns it to the 17th century! We visited the little temple below the huge sculpture, and found that its keepers were of an old family of On-pos (Astrologers). They said that their family had always been in charge of the sculptures, and that their family name was On-po-pa. The small templé in front of the sculpture was built by Wazīrb Sod-nams, who is the present baron of Mulbe. According to these On-pos, the sculpture is either of Rin-chen-bzang-po's time, or a little older. Rin-chen bzang-po is at any rate credited with having taken an interest in it. The On-pos say that the image was carved by "the eight great sons of Nyeba," whose figures are shown carved at the feet of Maitrēya.[1] It is particularly interesting to notice that one of these sons of Nyeba is shown wearing a round hat with a brim, as is the fashion with On-pos who probably inherited this costume from the ancient Bon-po priests of Tibet. The name *Nyeba* means "friend" (*Skr. mitra*). In the modern little temple of Wazīr bSod-nams there are fanciful fresco paintings, representing "the eight great sons of Nyeba." They are of various complexions, one has a blue, another a green face; some are even yellow black- and brown-faced. Except several repetitions of the *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* formula no inscriptions are found on the sculpture.

As regards the other antiquities at Mulbe, *viz.*, a Dard castle, two monasteries, and several important rock inscriptions, they have been fully treated in my article "The rock inscriptions at Mulbe."[2]

From Mulbe we marched to Kargil by way of Shargola, on the 5th October. The name of the village of Shargola (*Shar-'ago-lha*) seems to mean "Lord of the first rising" and to refer to the morning star. This amounts almost to a certainty when we examine the "Song of the *gDung-rten* at Shargola." A *gDung-rten* is a kind of *stūpa*. The song begins with the eulogy of an ancient hero, called Agu Drumba, who is the supposed builder of the monastery as well as of the *stūpa*, and ends with a direct praise of the morning star. The morning star is called here *nam-langs-kyi-skar-chen-po*, "the great star of the rising heaven." Agu Drumba is probably a personification of the morning star, as is the case with Agu 'aBu-dmar-lam-bstan of the Kesar Saga.[3] The morning star is the herald of the sun, and therefore its personification would

---

[1] As we learn from S. Ch. Das' Dictionary, the eight great sons of Nyeba are Buddhist saints. Their names are given on p. 485 of the dictionary. But on p. 91 of the same book, we find a group of eight Bon-po deities who are called *sku-sras-brgyad*, the 'eight great sons.' It is evident that the Mulbe sculptures originally represented eight Bon-po deities who were converted into eight Buddhist deities at a later time.

The custom of representing the donors at the feet of the deity is met with both in Christian and Buddhist art. See *Note sur une statue du Gandhâra*. B. E. F. E. O. Hanoi, Vol. III, 1903, p. 149. [Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 72 ff.

[3] *A lower Ladakhi version of the Kesar Saga*, Bibliotheca Indica. [Can Drumba be connected with Dhruva as the Polar Star is called in Sanskrit?] [Ed.]

be the messenger of the king in the Saga. And indeed, Shargola is believed to be the home of a legendary messenger *par excellence*. Here, the house of bLon-po Rig-pa-can is still shown to travellers. bLon-po Rig-pa-can is said to have acted as the messenger of King Srong-btsan-sgam-po who sent him to China to fetch a bride for the king. The tale of Rig-pa-can's journey to China is apparently indentical with the Prime minister Gar's journey to the same country. I obtained a popular Ladakhi version of the former story, which also contains the tale of the passage of an ant through a spiral labyrinth, as told by Sarat Chandra Das,[1] but the other parts of the Ladakhi tale differ from the Lhasa version. This tale of the minister's embassy is very similar to such episodes of the Kesar Saga as "Kesar's journey to China." The tale of the minister Rig-pa-can's embassy is full of nature-mythology, and may have only a very slight historical foundation. The house in which the minister Rig-pa-can is believed to have been born, is situated near the bridge of Shargola. It is very well built and looks like a nobleman's house; but only a small portion of it has preserved its original beauty. Here also, a Moslem family have taken up their abode and spoilt the old architecture.

The ancient *gdung-rten* (*stūpas*) of Shargola are painted in red, blue and yellow. They are adorned with stucco figures round the base—a feature which is quite unusual in Ladakh. The figures are very time-worn, but seem to represent Garuḍas, or similar fabulous creatures. They are, however, popularly known as Gyad-pa, "heroes," and as the word *Agu* is also used to indicate the heroes of the Kesar Saga, there may be some sort of connection between these figures and Agu Drumba, mentioned above.

The idea that the messenger *par excellence* has his home at Shargola, seems to have been accepted also by Buddhism, when it entered the village. I found here a stone with a rock carving representing Vajra-pāṇi (Phyag-rdor), the constant companion of Buddha on Gandhāra sculptures. This carving is well drenched in oil or ghee, and includes an inscription running from top to bottom which gives the name of the donor, She-rab-zang-po. It looks as if it dates from about the 15th century, to judge by the form of its characters. Vajra-pāṇi is easily confused with Vajra-sattva; in fact, Jäschkee asserts that both are generally taken for the same divinity, and thus we find an inscription *Oṁ Badzrastva* on one of the ancient *gdung-rten*. This inscription is raised in stucco and appears to be older than the Vajra-pāṇi inscription.

The convent of Shargola is a genuine cave monastery and is probably very old. Its former name was apparently *Ma-khang*, "Mother house." This name is found in the above-mentioned song of the *gdung-rten*. It may refer to Śrī-Dēvī (dPal-ldan-lha-mo) or her pre-Buddhist equivalent to whom the monastery was evidently dedicated. As it was recently renovated, no ancient wall-paintings or images were found in it; but the present frescoes were possibly painted in imitation of more ancient ones. I noticed the two following pictures: dPal-ldan-lha-mo (Śrī-Dēvī) riding on a male; and Chos-skyong Satra-pa ("Satrapa, the protector of religion"). Can this be a reminiscence of the

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. L (1881), Part I, p. 220.

famous Satraps of Buddhist India? He is shown in the dress of an ancient Tibetan knight, mounted on a horse or *rkyang*, with five arrows in his quiver. The lama said that Satrapa was the brother of Agu Drumba who himself is represented by a stucco image. The latter is depicted in the dress of a Ge-lug-pa lama the order to which the monastery now belongs. On one of the walls I noticed also a modern inscription which contained a Tibetan calendar. The people of Mulbe assert that the Shargola monastery was built by two of their ancient chiefs, Thog-lde-Jo (Tog-lde-jo?) and Yang-lde-Jo, father and son.

On the way from Shargola to Kargil, and from Kargil to Dras, I was continually on the look out for traces of Buddhism, which is said to have been the prevailing religion in Purig three or four hundred years ago. But though there were many rock carvings representing ibex, or hunting scenes, I could not, even after a long search, find a single carving representing a *stūpa* or the *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* formula. Yet, I feel sure that there were many of them in the old Buddhist times. They were probably all destroyed, when Kargil became Muhammadan. Many boulders there look, indeed, as if they had been deprived of their outer coating.

People told me that there was a rock with a large Buddhist sculpture at dKar-rtse in the Suru valley, and that it also contained a Tibetan inscription. I could not, however, go there. Another sculpture from Shinggo is found pictured in Drew's book of travel.

The Muhammadanism of Purig (Kargil to Dras) is probably closely connected with a certain type of Balti Muhammadanism, another type of which appears to be connected with that of Kashmir, to judge from the style of its mosques. The Kashmir type is found north of Skardo; and what may be called the Purig type, south of Skardo, and in Purig. As Mr. W. M. Conway has made a thorough study of this kind of architecture we cannot do better than quote his description. He says[1]: "We were now come to a country in which the mosque type is different from that north of Skardo. The *Gol* mosque may be taken as an example of the change. It is relatively lower and flatter than the *Shigar Nagyr* mosque. Its walls are built of mud. Its roof is carried on long beams transverse to the axis of the building, and each beam is supported on a row of columns. There is no emphasized central square with four columns round it, and a lantern above, as in the other type. Here the centre is occupied by a column more ornamental than the rest, and standing right between the door and the *mihrāb*. The other columns are of all sorts, oblong and polygonal in section. Capital, column, and base are carved from one log. There is a portico along the east wall. For external finish there is a kind of double corbelled arrangement of beam ends and beams, where roof and walls join. The carving about doors, capitals, and the like, is of a style that was new to me. It affects foliation and flowers rather than geometrical designs. Outside the mosque, on the east, is *meydah*, a collection of round walled latrines — numerous, obvious and large."

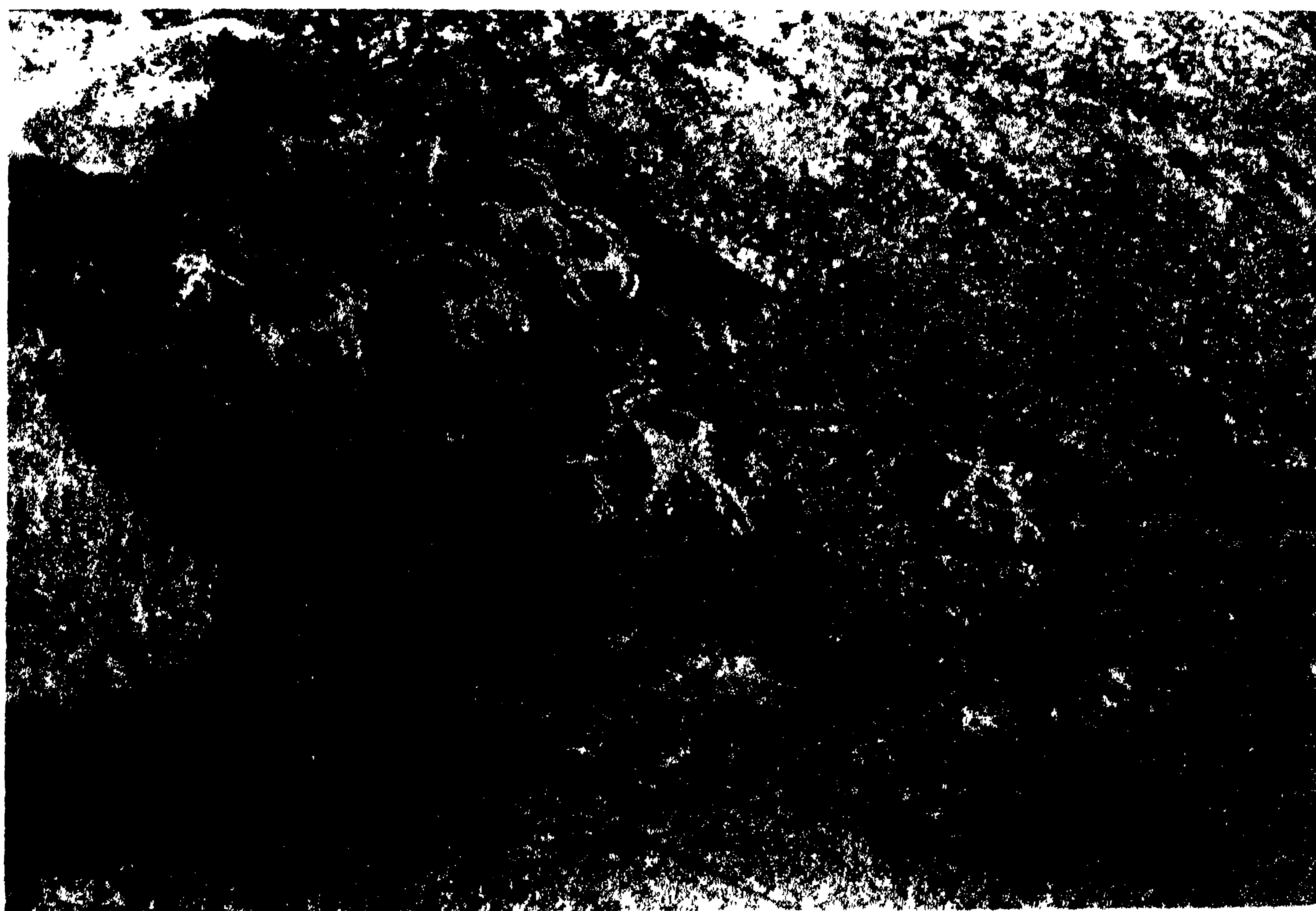
On the 6th October, we marched from Kargil to Shimsha Kharbu. On a rock between Kargil and Chanigund, in the Dard district, are several rock carvings which

---

[1] *Climbing and exploration in the Karakoram*, Vol. II, p. 582.



a. Rock carvings at Dongga.



b. Rock carvings at Dongga.

reminded me of the pre-Buddhist religion of Western Tibet, *viz.*, a *svastika* and a *yōni*, and several ibex; a little later on, we also found a sun symbol among the carvings at Chanigund.[1]

On the road from Chanigund to Shimsha Kharbu, at a place called Dongga, there is a boulder which is covered with many carvings. (Plate XLIV.) The older ones are of a yellowish colour, the modern ones are white. Here we actually found carved representations of *stūpas*, one of the cross-type. Most of the more recent carvings represent ibex, but not scenes of ibex hunting. As I have already pointed out in other articles, the ibex is a symbol of fertility according to the pre-Buddhist religion, similar to the ram of Lahul. The pre-Buddhist divinities, Kesar, 'aBruguma, etc., are invoked to grant children. When one is born, the neighbours make presents of "flour ibex" to the happy family. I am inclined to think that the many figures of ibex carved on the rocks of Ladakh, represent thank-offerings for the birth of children.

On another boulder at the same site, I found carvings, representing war-like scenes, *viz.*, the capture and slaughter of prisoners. They do not look very old and may refer to the Ḍōgrā war.

There is an extensive ruin of a castle at Shimsha Kharbu, above the bungalow. When I asked the inhabitants, if they knew who built it, they said that it had been the property of the Khri Sultans of Sod (near Kargil). The word *Khri* is not pronounced *Ṭhi* at Shimsha Kharbu, but *Khri*. The Dard women here, as well as at Dras, wear high caps. We tried to induce one of them to allow herself to be photographed, but were not successful. After the long desert journey from Leh to Purig, we hailed with delight the first appearance of occasional trees on the road side, during this day's march. The mountain sides also ceased to be entirely bare, and showed occasional patches of green pasture.

On the 7th October, we marched from Shimsha Kharbu to Dras, or Hembabs. When Moorcroft visited Dras in 1820, he found it to be the joint property of the king of Ladakh and a Kashmir Malik, both of whom extracted one rupee annually from every household in the Dras valley.[2] He does not mention the ancient Buddhist stone sculptures of Dras at all. They were, however, discovered by Vigne, twenty years later. Cunningham says that the images represent females, and that they are called *Jomo*, "nuns." Both statements are wrong. The sculptures represent Bōdhisattvas and are called *Chamba* (*Byams-pa, i.e.*, Maitrēya). Cunningham made a copy of one of the inscriptions and gives his reading of it. We managed to take Nāsik paper impressions of all three inscriptions found on the sculptures, and also photos of the stones. The sculptures may be described as follows:—

(1) The first stone which is the smallest, shows a man on horseback, his right hand on the bridle, and his left hand above his head, probably wielding a sword. This rider represents a Rāṇā (*Skr. rājānaka*), and has nothing to do with *satī*, as was supposed by Cunningham.[3] This stone has a very clear Śāradā inscription on the reverse. It is the

[1] *Cf.* my article *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse, Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXI, p. 583.
[2] Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 41.
[3] *Cf.* J. Ph. Vogel, *The Rāṇās of the Panjāb Hills, J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 539.

one which was copied by Cunningham, who was unable to translate it. Pandit Mukund Ram of Kashmir who studied our rubbing of it, had, however, no particular difficulty in reading and understanding it. The language is Sanskrit, and the inscription records the erection of two images, one of Maitreya, and another of Avalōkitēśvara, evidently the two larger sculptures.

(2) The second stone is about six feet high. The carving shows a plain Maitreya. He wears a three-pointed tiara, and has a rosary in his raised right hand, and a vase in his left Three small figures, probably human devotees who reach up to his knees, are carved below him, one on his right and the two others on his left. Below them is a lotus throne which contains the figures of two lions couchant. To the left of Maitreya's head is carved another very small human figure. To the right of his head is carved a Śāradā inscription which is, however, in a very dilapidated condition.

(3) The third stone is also six feet high, and shows a standing human figure. The right hand is raised, and the left hand is probably carrying some object. The head-dress has been destroyed. This figure apparently represents Avalōkitēśvara. On his right and left we see two female figure which are almost of the same size as the main image. They are represented in the " Indian attitude," resting on one foot, and holding one hand above their heads. They may be taken as representations of the two Tārās. Below the female on Maitreya's right, we see three small kneeling figures, with their hands raised in supplication (Skr. *añjali*). Below Avalōkitēśvara, there is lotus throne, with two miniature figures emerging from it.[1] There were probably also several small standing figures on both sides of Avalōkitēśvara, reaching up to his knees; but they cannot now be distinguished. On the reverse of this stone, there is a large and elaborate carving of a *stūpa*, with thirteen umbrellas on the top. There are also thirteen steps below it leading up to a square in the centre which contains a human figure. Above the head of the female figure to the left of Avalōkitēśvara, we discovered a much damaged inscription, partly in Tibetan. All the sculptures seem to date approximately from the 10th century A.D.

(4) The fourth sculptured stone stands on the opposite side of the road. The carving represents a full-blown lotus flower, as we often find them on the fountain tablets of Manchad. But this one was decorated with additional vases on the four cardinal points of the wheel.

According to the chronicles of Ladakh, the ancient boundary between Ladakh and Kashmir was at La-rtsa, and a "stone with holes" was the boundary stone. The people of Dras told me that their village was also known by the name of La-rtsa ('Root of the Pass'); but they did not know of such a stone. They also said that, according to their belief, the watershed on the Zo-ji Pass was the frontier between the two countries. I had to leave Pindi Lal with two assistants at Dras, to wait for better weather. He had not been successful in his first attempt at taking rubbings of the inscriptions,

[1] It seems that one of these two figures is kneeling, while the other is standing and carries a lotus-flower as an offering in his right hand. They bear a remarkable resemblance to the two Indo-Scythian donors in the Vaiśravana image of the Lahore Museum. [Ed.]

as the wind tore off the moistened paper, as soon as it was laid on the rock. He and his companions caught us up at Baltal on the other side of the pass, and the Nāsik paper impressions which he brought along with him, were excellent.

On the road between Dras and Pandras, on the Tibetan side of the pass, there is a boulder, on which a much worn inscription *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* can be distinguished. This is the only inscription of that kind which I have been able to trace in the now Muhammadan territory between Shargola and Kashmir. As is the case with all ancient examples of the *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* formula, the Pandras inscription also has the *d* and *m* written separately, while all the more modern inscriptions show *d* and *m* combined into one compound character.

The Zo-ji Pass is called Du-zhi-la by the Tibetans after a goddess Du-zhi-lha-mo (probably Dus-bzhi-lha-mo, "goddess of the four seasons"). The following tale is told of that deity. Du-zhi-lha-mo was the wife of Naropa. When the latter went to Ladakh, he wished to leave her behind, on account of her Kashmiri smell (*Che-ri*, in full *Kha-che-dri*). She was displeased at that, and turned her back towards Ladakh, and her face towards Kashmir. This caused Ladakh to dry up, and Kashmir to become fertile. People say: "I wish he had taken her to Ladakh, then it would be as green as Kashmir." And the sudden appearance of the luxuriant vegetation on the Kashmir side of the Zo-ji Pass is really an ever fresh and pleasant surprise to the traveller from Ladakh. Although during the last two or three days a few scattered trees have made their appearance on the roadside, a beautifully wooded mountain slope is more than he would expect to rise before his vision, and yet it is so; for on turning a corner of the excellent new road across the pass, green wooded Kashmir suddenly makes its appearance, and desert Ladakh remains behind.

The first typical Kashmiri village on the south side of the Zo-ji Pass, is Sonamarg (Golden Meadow). A short distance above the village, there are remains of ancient ramparts which were built across the valley. The Tibetans call them *La-dvags-rgyal-poi-mchibs-ra*, "the king of Ladakh's horse-enclosure." They believe that their ancient kings had their horses on this side of the pass. The Kashmiri inhabitants of Sonamarg, however, believe that these ramparts are the remains of a Qila' (fort) of a certain Ibrāhīm K͟hān of Kābul. I may add that the Tibetans call the resthouse of Baltal *Shing-khang*, and the village of Sonamarg, *bSod-nams-ma-lig*.

About a mile above the village of Gund, on the old road, is a rock covered with several ancient and crude carvings of human figures which are believed by the Tibetans to represent King Kesar. They remind one of those put up in commemoration of the dead in Manchad and Lahul. How these carvings of human beings (about eight), came to be connected with King Kesar, I do not know. On the same rock we found also sun symbols, for instance, wheels with eight spikes.

In Śrīnagar, the capital of Kashmīr, I was particularly interested in all those places which are connected with Riñchan Bhoṭi, the Tibetan (Ladakhi) king of Kashmīr (circa 1319—1323 A.D.). As is stated by Sir Walter Lawrence in his book on Kashmīr,[1]

[1] *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 190.

Rainchan Shāh (Riñchan Bhōṭī) built the Jāmi' mosque of Śrīnagar. I went there on the 18th October, two days after our arrival. The priests said, they knew for certain that the mosque was built by Sikandar But-shikan, a statement which agrees with Mr. Nicholls' reading of the inscription. When they understood that I was particularly interested in Rainchan Shāh, they told me that he was the founder of the Awwal Masjid "The first Mosque" in Mahārāj-Ganj. We therefore visited the latter which is also generally known as *Rindān Shāh Masjid.* (Plate XLV, a). It is a small, insignificant building, and cannot be compared with the beautiful, later mosques of Śrīnagar. It is empty, has not even a minaret on its roof, and the walls have lost their coating of white-wash. I could not discover in it any kind of works of art. Formerly there had been a stone slab which was inscribed with non-Arabic characters, said to have been a kind of Śāstrī, which designation may stand for Śāradā or Tibetan.[1] About twenty years ago, so I was told, a European carried off the inscribed slab and took it to England. As this gentleman did not leave his address, there is not much chance of rediscovering this important record. However, a Persian translation of the inscription has apparently been preserved in Haidar Malik's Persian History of Kashmir. It runs thus: "My friend for the sake of gaiety has become the observed of observers! His face claimed Islām and his hair adorned Paganism. He controls both Paganism and Islām, and takes interest in both." From this inscription it follows, that Riñchan Bhōṭī had become only half Muhammadan.

Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri says that there is another stone, at or near the Jāmi' Mosque, lying on its face, which also has a non-Arabic inscription. The Muhammadan priests, however, would not allow him to examine it.

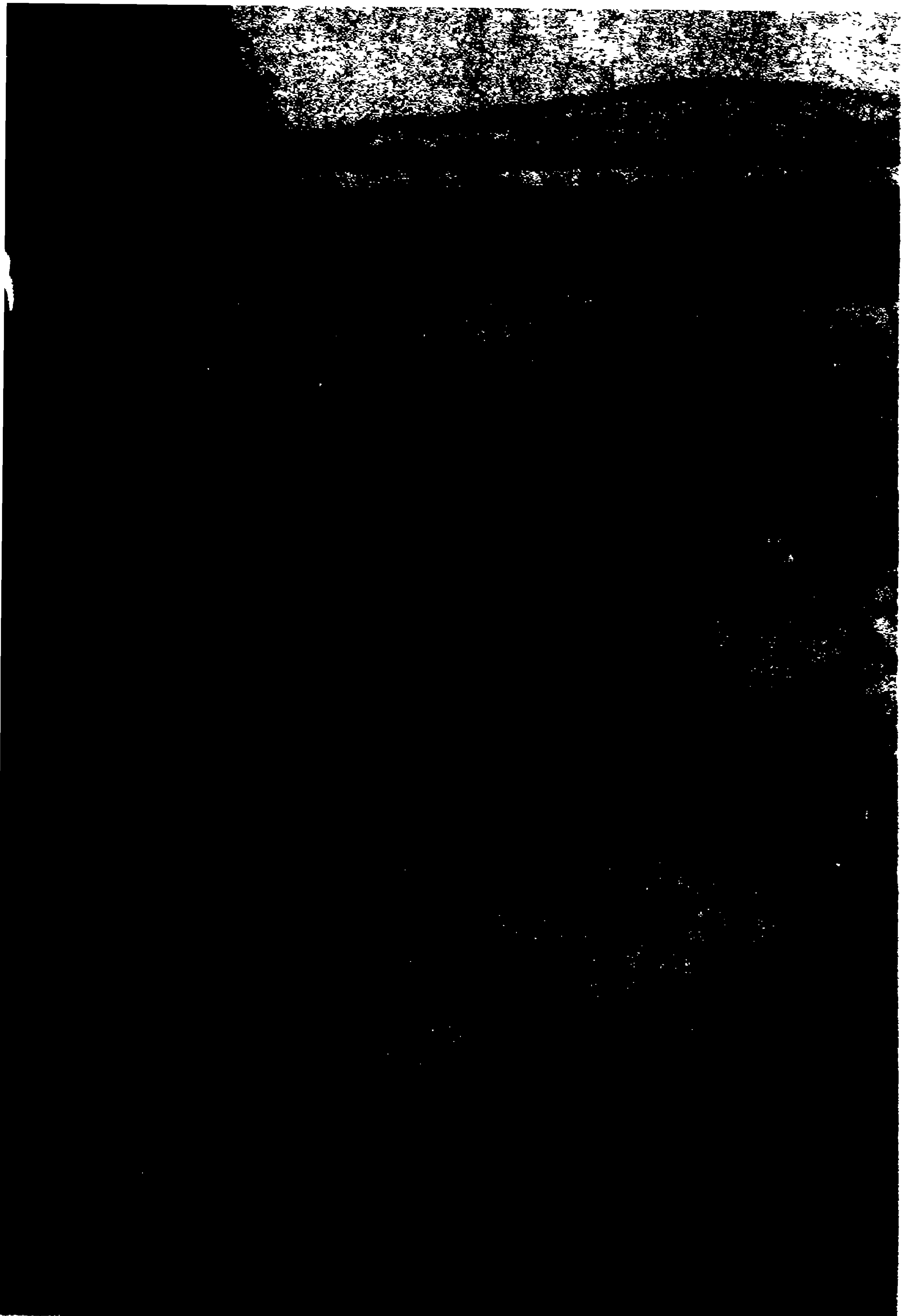
The Awwal Masjid is, according to popular tradition, the oldest mosque of Śrīnagar and people assert that thousands of Hindus were here converted to Islām. Pandit Mukund Ram Shastri told us Riñchan Bhōṭī's story, exactly as it is given in Sir Walter Lawrence's "Valley of Kashmir." When I asked him how he came to know it, he said he had read it in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. He could not, however, produce a passage in that book which contained more than Pandit Daya Ram Sahni's translation of the account of Riñchana's reign.[2] He provided me, with extracts from two Persian chronicles which describe the same times, *viz.*, Haidar Malik's chronicle, and the "History of Azmi." In both these chronicles it is plainly stated that Rinchan Shāh built also the shrine called *Bulbul Lankar*, besides the mosque.

This shrine is situated only a few steps from the Awwal Mosque. It is a comparatively plain sanctuary. The fresco flower ornaments on its walls seem to be of more recent date. People assert that it was built in Rainchan Shāh's time, and everybody here knows of the friendship between king Rainchan Shāh and the priest Bulbul. It is interesting that this Bulbul has also found his way into Ladakhi folklore, where he is mentioned in the "Song of the Bodro Masjid of Srinagar." The Ladakhi poet who wrote this song in times gone by, must have known of the Ladakhi origin of the Kashmir king Riñchana. *Bodro*

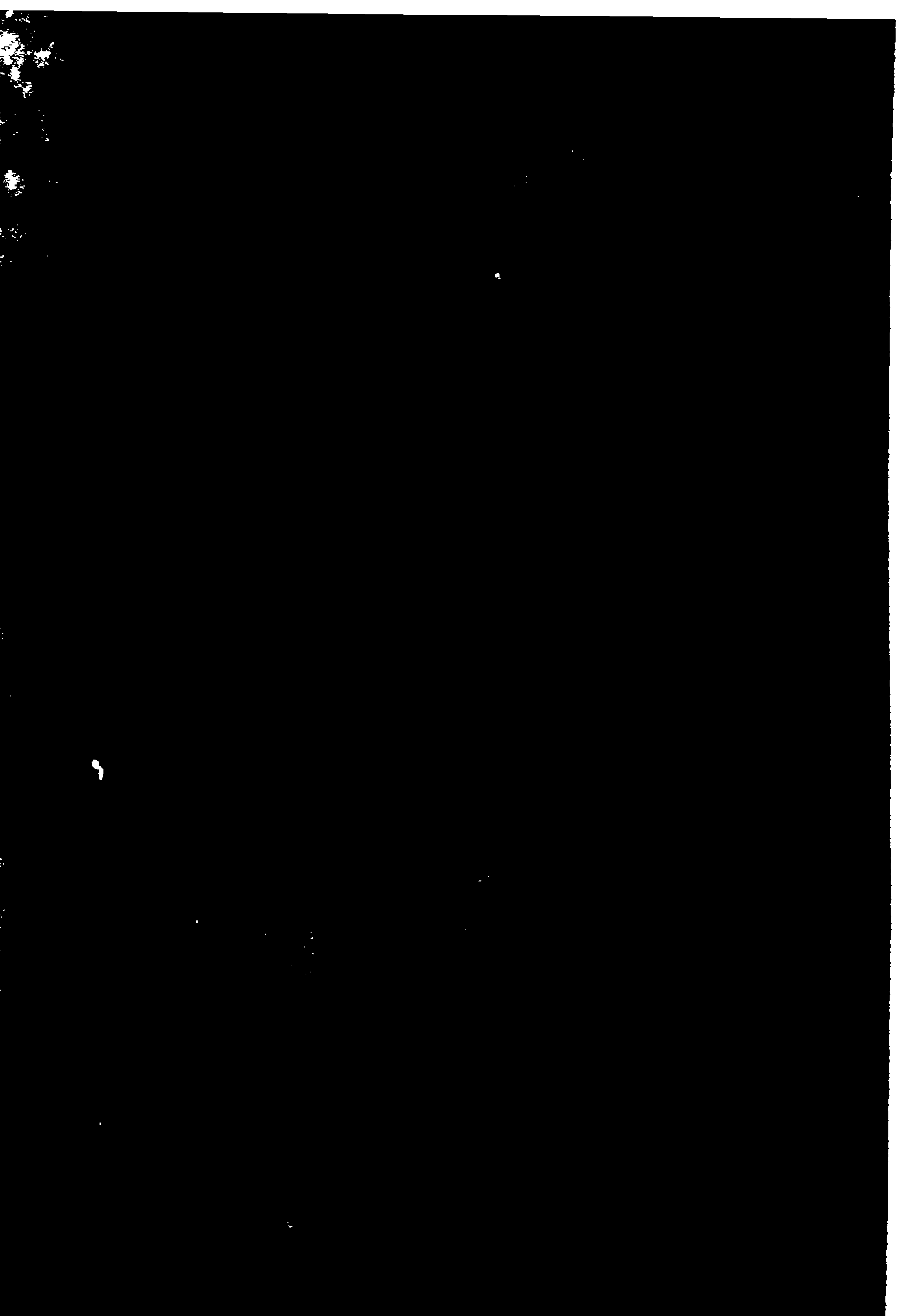
---

[1] *Śāstrī* is a term commonly used in Northern India to designate Nāgarī. [Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 181 ff.



a. Awwal Masjid, Srinagar.



b. Rinchan Shah's grave, Srinagar.

means "Tibetan" and the Ladakhis, therefore, called Riñchan's mosque "The Tibetan Mosque."

Only a short distance from Bulbul Lankar, people showed us the "grave of Rindān Shāh." It is indicated by a plain stone without an inscription, a little larger than the tombstones of ordinary people. It is surrounded by a low stone wall on all four sides, and rose bushes have been planted inside the enclosure (Plate XLV, b).

There are many rumours among the Ladakhis about another Bodro Masjid (Tibetan Mosque) at Śrīnagar. They say that it was an old Buddhist temple which was converted into a mosque several centuries ago, and that pictures of Buddhist saints are traceable under its whitewash. Popular tradition has connected this mosque with Naropa and calls it Na-ro-pai-thsogs-khang, "Naropa's Assembly Hall." Of this Bodro Masjid, it is asserted that it is situated below the Hari Parbat or castle hill of Śrīnagar ; but although we tried our best to find it, we were not successful. In the course of our researches we were taken to another very insignificant little mosque outside the town, at Idka (Īdgāh) which did not appear to be very old. This little mosque was also called Bodro Masjid by the Kashmiris. It may have been erected on the site of a former mosque which was more worthy of the name ; but the real Bodro Masjid with the Buddhist pictures below its whitewash still remains to be discovered.

The Ladakhis regard the Takht-i-Sulaimān, the hill overlooking Śrīnagar, as the former abode of Padma-sambhava, and have legends connected with him. Padma-sambhava is supposed to have lived in the present stone temple on the top of the hill, which is believed to have been his hermitage. They called the hill *Puspa ari*,[1] and say that the hermit once saw seven magicians perform miracles on the surface of the lake which then covered the Kashmīr valley. He threw a handful of barley over them and thus prevented their escape ; for according to Tibetan belief, spirits can be arrested by throwing barley at them. He kept them in his service, and the present inhabitants of Kashmīr are descended from them. The works of art executed by the Kashmiris are like the work of magicians in the eyes of the Ladakhis.

At Śrīnagar I enjoyed the hospitality of the two doctors Neve, well known as medical missionaries and explorers. In their house, I also made the acquaintance of Dr. Longstaff who had just returned from a most successful expedition along the frontier of Ladakh and Turkestan. The results of this expedition, *viz.*, the discovery of the largest glacier, and of one of the highest mountain peaks in the Himālayas, are now being published in various geographical journals. It was a great treat for me to be able to discuss a number of geographical questions, regarding Tibet, with this experienced geographer. It was also encouraging to meet here with Sir Francis Younghusband's interest in our work and achievements.

As Pindi Lal belonged to Dr. Spooner's establishment we travelled first to Peshāwar. to divide our office equipment between the Peshāwar and the Simla offices. After a few ideal days, spent under the hospitable roof of the discoverer of the "Buddha's relics," we reached Simla safely on the 11th of November.

---

[1] The original name was *Gōpādri*. *Cf.* Stein *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, Vol. I, p. 51, note 341.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED BY DR. FRANCKE IN INDIAN TIBET.

I.—British Government Collection.

(Preserved in Indian Museum, Calcutta.)

1. Tablet of unburnt clay showing a seated Buddha with two standing Bōdhisattvas, surrounded by many small *stūpas* (29). Inscription in late Gupta: *Yē dharmā*. From Khalatse, Ladakh. (6 by 4½ inches.)

2. Ditto.

3. Tablet of unburnt clay showing a Buddha in Vajrāsana, seated in an ornamental arch decorated with animals. Below him a carpet with the wheel. From Nubra, Ladakh. (2¾ by 2¼ inches.)

4. Tablet of unburnt grey clay, showing Saṁvara (bDe-mchog) standing (three or four faces, twelve arms, with his Śakti) lower portion broken. From Chang, Bashahr. (2½ by 2 inches.)

5. Tablet of unburnt grey clay, showing Saṁvara (bDe-mchog) seated. (Three faces, ten arms) with his Śakti. From Chang, Bashahr. (2½ by 2¼ inches.)

6. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing six Buddhist deities, lower row probably Avalōkitēśvara with two Tārās, upper row Maitrēya (?) in the middle, on his right Vajrapāṇi, on his left Mañjuśrī. From Nako, Bashahr. (2½ by 2¼ inches.)

7. Ditto.

8. Ditto.

9. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Vajrapāṇi in his wrathful form. From Nako, Bashahr. (1¾ by 1½ inches.)

10. Tablet of unburnt red clay, showing a Bōdhisattva seated on lotus, perhaps Padmapāṇi, four arms, one with lotus. Excellent finish. From Nubra, Ladakh. (2½ by 2 inches.)

11. Tablet of unburnt clay, gaily coloured, showing Tārā. From Leh. (1 by ¾ inch.)

12. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing seated Mañjuśrī. Inscription: *Yē dharmā*, in Indian characters of the 9th century. From Skara, near Leh. (2½ by 2 inches.)

13. Tablet of burnt clay, showing bTsongkhapa with book seated with three disciples, two, with books sitting to his right, and one standing to his left. Two piles of books in background. Coloured red and gold; lower part broken off. On border Tibetan inscription: *dge* "virtue." From Leh. (2 by 2½ inches.)

14. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing a lama seated in European fashion, believed to be lama Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas. Possibly it is Maitrēya. From Leh. (3 by 2½ inches.)

15. Tablet of burnt clay, showing Pehar, standing on a corpse. Gaily coloured, round shape. Said to contain a relic of Buddha. Seal on reverse. Bought in Leh, came from Lhasa. (1½ by 1½ inches.)

16. Tablet of unburnt grey clay, showing Avalōkitēśvara with eight arms and eleven heads, standing. From Li, Bashahr. (6½ by 3½ inches.)

17. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing effigy of *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Indian characters of 9th century. From Skara, near Leh. (2 by 1¾ inches.)

18. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted white, showing *stūpa* in the centre, and an inscription in twenty-seven lines, apparently in ancient Nāgarī characters, but no longer legible. From Sabu, Ladakh. ($3\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)

19. Same as No. 17.

20. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted white, showing Padmapāṇi. From Nako (?), Bashahr. ($1\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches.)

21. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted white, showing Padmapāṇi. Traces of Tibetan inscription. Rarang, Bashahr. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.)

22. Ditto.

23. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Buddha seated in the earth-touching attitude (*Bhūmisparśa-mudrā*). From Nako, Bashahr. ($1\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

24. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Vajradhara (rDo-rje-'achhang) seated on a lotus. From Rarang, Bashahr. (2 by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.)

25. Miniature *stūpa* of unburnt clay. From Rarang, Bashahr. ($1\frac{5}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches.)

26. Ditto.

27. Miniature *stūpa* of unburnt clay, painted white. From Nubra, Ladakh. ($1\frac{1}{8}$ by $\frac{7}{8}$ inch.)

28. Fragment of stucco, showing central figure of Buddha (?) seated on lotus, and three smaller figures of Bōdhisattvas (?) each seated on a lotus. Coloured, badly damaged. From Nyoma, Ladakh. Dr. Shawe's collection. ($5\frac{1}{2}$ by 4 inches.)

29. Wooden figure of a standing Bōdhisattva. Black wood, traces of gold bronze, five-pointed crown, lotus throne, right hand pointing to the ground, left arm bent and hand pointing upwards. Bought at Leh. ($3\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 inch.)

30. Carved piece of black wood pierced at one end. Carvings on one side. One representing a pyramidal *stūpa*, the other a seated Buddha in *Bhūmisparśamudrā*. Found at the ruined site of the *bKa-blon's* house at Leh. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ by 1 inch.)

31. Bronze statuette of a standing lama (?). His hands folded. The object which he held in his hands is broken off, as is his head. Purchased at Leh, and asserted to come from Khotan. ($3\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)

32. Fragment of a copper pot, ornament of double vajra. Inscription *rgyal-sras-dbang-gsing dbang-po*. Found on top of *rNamrgyal rtsemo* hill, Leh. (4 by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.)

33. Hammer, used at the lama dances. Tibetan name : *rDorje thoba*, on account of the *rDorje* (*vajra*) ornaments. Bought at Leh. ($24\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

34. Hatchet, used at the lama dances. Tibetan name *Chu-srin-poi-lce*. The blade proceeding from a *makara's* mouth. Purchased at Leh. (27 by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)

35. Iron hook, used at the lama dances. Tibetan name *Zorba*. Purchased at Leh. ($21\frac{5}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

36. Trumpet made of a human thigh bone, used at the lama dances. Tibetan name *rKang dung*. Purchased at Leh. ($12\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.)

37. Wooden mask, ancient type, used at the lama dances. Tibetan name *Baq*. Found in the godown at Nako, Bashahr, and purchased. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches.)

38. Iron head ornament of women, ornamented with eight lotus-petals, brass-plated and set with turquoises. Tibetan name *Kyir-Kyir*. Found near ancient graves at Skara, near Leh. ($3\frac{5}{8}$ by $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches.)

39. Ancient wooden head-ornament of females, worn on the crown of the head, as in Lahul, set with Indian seeds and turquoises, four incisions. Found at sBalu-mkhar, near Khalatse. ($1\frac{3}{4}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.)

40. Silver head-ornament of females, worn on the crown of the head called *mchod khung*. Found in Byangthang. ($1\frac{1}{4}$ by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches.)

41. Shell button with black incised ornament of eight forked spikes, pierced in the middle. Tibetan name *Dung char*. Said to have been worn by ancient Dards. Found at Khalatse. (1 by 1⅛ inches.)

42. Ancient cross of iron and bronze, hollow inside. Ornaments of double spirals at the ends of its beams. Said to have been excavated near mThsomo Riri. (2 by 1⅞ inches.)

43. String of sixteen beads, fourteen of shell, one of yellow material, and one coral, the latter broken. The shell beads cir. ¼ inch in diameter. Said to have been found in a ruined *mchod-rten* near Leh.

44. String of five beads, three of bone, excavated at Khalatse, one of mother-of-pearl coloured glass from ancient grave at Leh; one of crystal found at Skinding near Khalatse (diameter ⅜ to ⅝ inch.)

45. Old stone lamp, plain, without handle. Tibetan name *rKyongtse*. From Khalatse. (5 by 3½ inches.)

46. Stone lamp, plain, with handle. Tibetan name *rKyongtse*. From Khalatse. (7 by 3½ inches.)

47. Stone lamp, with ornaments and handle. Tibetan name *rKyongtse*. From Khalatse. (5½ by 2⅜ inches.)

48. Old stone axe, blunt, used for breaking wood. Tibetan name *Kalam*. From Spiti. (7 by 6⅛ inches.)

49. Old stone axe, blunt, used for breaking wood. Tibetan name *Kalam*. From Shibke, Tibet. (4 by 4¼ inches.)

50. Stone tobacco bowl, of a *hukka*. Tibetan name *Trob*. From Khalatse. (2⅜ by 1⅝ inches)

51. Stone charm. The charm to be written on it with chalk. Hole for string. From Dard Castle, Khalatse. (2⅜ by 2¼ inches.)

52. Stone charm. The charm to be written on it with chalk. Hole for string. From sBalu-mkhar near Khalatse. (2¼ by 2¼ inches.)

53. Stone of cylindrical shape, perhaps used as a hammer, or a handle. From Khalatse. (2¼ by 1¼ inches.)

54. Fragment of a stone lamp (*rKyongtse*) ornamented with band of foliage. Found in a Dard grave, at Khalatse. (5½ by 1½ inches.)

55. Stone axe, to be used without a handle, with a hollow for the thumb. Had a sharp edge. Found at sBalu-mkhar, near Khalatse. (5 by 4 inches.)

56. Stone knife, handle missing. Tibetan name *rDo-gri*. From Skinding, near Khalatse. (13⅜ by 1¼ inches.)

57. Ancient bone knife, without handle. Found at sBalu-mkhar, near Khalatse. (4⅜ by 1⅛ inches.)

58. Two stone needles (genuineness doubtful) 4⅜ and 3⅜ inches long. Both broken. From Khalatse.

59. Stone inkpot, pierced in the bottom. From Khalatse. (2⅜ by 2 inches.)

60. Ammonite which was worshipped in the house of lama Ngorub Tungtog of sNam-rgya and was bathed in butter. Tibetan name *Norbu yang khyil* [*dbyang* (?) *dkyil*]. From sNamrgya, Bashahr. (3 by 2⅜ inches.)

61. Spindle whorl, made of burnt clay, ornamented with impressed lines, broken. Tibetan name *Phanglo*. From Khalatse. Found at sBalu-mkhar. (3½ by 3½ inches.)

62. Spindle whorl, made of stone. Tibetan name *Phanglo*. From Khalatse. Found at 'aBrogpai-mkhar. (1⅜ by 1⅜ inches.)

63. Tibetan silver coin, called *Nag-tang*, coined in 1722 A.D. by Ranjit Malla Deva, of Bhatgaon, for Tibet. Purchased at Leh.

64. Three early Muhammadan coins from Turkestan. Compare Dr. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Plate XC, No. 45. Purchased at Leh; came from Khotan.

65. Fruit of *Trapa natans*, collected by the Tibetans in Lake Rawalsa, Maṇḍi. They call the fruit *mTsho padmacangyi sbyin rlabs*. From Rawalsar.

66. Sherd of ancient pottery with linear impressed ornaments. Found at Kalagtrung castle, Poo, Bashahr. (2½ by 1½ inches).

67. Sherd of ancient hand-made pottery with linear impressed ornament. Found at Kalagtrung castle, Poo, Bashahr. (3¼ by 2½ inches.)

68. Sherd of ancient hand-made pottery, handle, with ornament of impressed lines. From bragnag mkhar, Khalatse. (4 by 3 inches.)

69. Sherd of ancient pottery, handle, plain. From Khalatse. (5 by 3 inches.)

70. Tibetan drill, made of wood and a string, with an iron point. Tibetan name *sGiri.* From Shibke, Tibet. (16 by 7¼ by 11½ inches.)

71. Tibetan scales (for weighing) consisting of a stick with marks, a bag of cloth, and a weight of stone in a bag, Tibetan name *Nyagu phordo.* From Shibke, Tibet. Length of stick 23¼ inches.

72. Tibetan writing tablet, made of wood, consisting of two boards, one showing woodcarving of *svastika* ornament. Tibetan name *samtra.* From Khalatse. (14⅜ by 2½ inch.)

73. Tibetan cup of wood, with iron ring. Tibetan name *Kore* or *Lahorgyi Kore*, "cup of Lahore." From Khalatse. (4 by 2 inches.)

74. Tibetan lock and key, of iron. Tibetan name *Kulig.* From Leh. (1¾ by 1¾ inches and 3 inches.)

75. Iron hoe and hammer, broken. Tibetan name *Togtse.* Found at Dard castle, Skinding valley, near Khalatse. (4¼ by 1⅝ inches.)

76. Iron penholder case, with incised foliage ornaments. Tibetan name *Myug rogs.* Found in Byangthang, Tibet. (10 by ⅜ inches.)

77. Iron spoon, incised with foliage ornament. Tibetan name *Thurmangs.* Found at sLas, Skamlung, Khalatse. (5 × 1¼ inches.)

78. Pills, made of the Dalai Lama's excrement. Purchased at Khalatse, Ladakh.

79. Sieve cup of copper leaf with brass trimmings, was found filled with grain. Found in ruined *stūpa*, at Skara, near Leh. (3¼ by 2 inches.)

II.—Kashmir State Collection.

(*Preserved in Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar.*)

1. Coloured tablet figure of Mañjuśri ('aJams-dpal) seated, fragmentary (4½ inches high, 3½ inches broad). Burnt clay. From Basgo, Ladakh.

2. Coloured tablet with figure of bTsongkhapa, seated on lotus throne (3¾ inches high, 2¼ inches broad). Burnt clay. From Leh.

3. Coloured round seal (3⅜ inches diameter). Burnt clay. From Basgo, Ladakh.

4. Coloured tablet with figure of Tārā (*sGrol-ma*) seated in *varamudrā*, painted gold (4 inches high, 2⅜ inches broad). Burnt clay. From Tar, Ladakh.

5. The same, a little damaged.

6. Tablet of burnt clay showing seated Buddha under arch with *stūpas*, and two monks, probably his chief disciples, Maudgalyāyana and Śāriputra, standing on his right and left (1¾ inches high, 1⅜ inches broad). From Tar, Ladakh.

7. Tablet of burnt clay showing seated figure of a Bōdhisattva, probably Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-rdor) (2 inches high, 1¾ inches broad). From Leh.

8. Tablet of black burnt clay, showing a seated Tārā (sGrol-ma) (1½ inches high, 1⅜ inches broad). Inscription in Tibetan characters, indistinct. *Oṁ dvare d . . . dvare duri s.* From Leh.

9. Tablet of burnt clay, showing seated Buddha-like figure, damaged, painted white (2 inches high, 1½ inches broad). Inscription in Tibetan characters *Oṁ a hum*, on reverse. From Leh.

10. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing bTsongkhapa seated on a lotus-throne between two disciples standing on each side holding a flower with a sword and book respectively (2¾ inches high, 2¼ inches broad). From Leh.

11. Tablet of unburnt clay showing bTsongkhapa seated with book and sword as in No. 10 (2 inches high, 1¾ inches broad). From sNyemo, Ladakh.

12. Tablet of unburnt clay showing a lama seated in European fashion ; believed to be Pha dam-pa-sangs-rgyas. Possibly Maitrēya. (3 inches high, 2¼ inches broad.) From Leh.

13. Tablet of unburnt clay showing a four-armed, seated Maitrēya (Byams-pa) with lotus and bowl and with a *stūpa* on his head. Inscription in Tibetan characters : first *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ* ; then the *Yē dharmā* formula, rest indistinct, then *Oṁ a huṁ*. (2¾ inches high, 2¼ inches broad.) From *Likir*.

14. Head of a stucco figurine of a Bōdhisattva coloured. Traces of colour. From Leh. (1½ by 2 inches.)

15. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Tārā (sGrol-ma) seated. From Thugsrje chenpo in Rubshu. (2 by 2 inches).

16. Same as No. 11, but showing traces of a Tibetan inscription. Inscription… … …*brang po la namo*. From sNyemo, Ladakh.

17. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Saṁvara (bDe-mchog) with his Śakti (three or four faces, twelve arms). From Leh. (3½ by 2½ inches.)

18. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-dor), in his wrathful form, with six arms three faces, trampling on two corpses. From Leh. (3¾ by 2¾ inches.)

19. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Mañjuśrī. Inscription in Tibetan characters indistinct. From Leh. (2½ by 2 inches.)

20. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted yellow, showing Buddha seated in *bhūmisparśa*. From Leh. (1¼ by 1 inch.)

21. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Tārā, same as No. 15. From Rubshu.

22. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing indistinct Bōdhisattva, probably Avalōkitēśvara with two lotus flowers. Tibetan inscription. *Oṁ a huṁ*. From *Thugsrje chenpo, Rubshu*. (1½ by 1¼ inches.)

23. Ditto.

24. Ditto.

25. Miniature *stūpa* of unburnt clay with eight little *stūpas* in relief. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Nāgarī characters of 11th century. From Spithug, Ladakh. (4 by 3 inches.)

26. Miniature *stūpa* of unburnt red clay. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Tibetan characters. From *rGya*, Ladakh. (3½ by 2½ inches.)

27. Miniature *stūpa* of unburnt clay. Inscription in unknown characters, possibly kind of ancient Nāgarī. From Leh. (2 by 1½ inches.)

28. Miniature *stūpa* of unburnt red clay with eight little *stūpas* in relief. Inscription indistinct, apparently the *Yē dharmā* formula, in Tibetan or Gupta characters. From rGya, Ladakh. (1½ by 1 inch.)

29. Ditto.

30. Ditto.

31. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing Mañjuśrī ('aJams-dpal) seated with sword and book. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Indian characters of circa 800-900 A.D. From rGya. (2½ by 2 inches.)

32. Ditto.

33. Tablet of unburnt clay showing Bōdhisattva (Maitrēya ?) seated with lotus, book and *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in ancient Tibetan characters. From rGya, Ladakh. (2½ by 2 inches)

34. Ditto.

35. Ditto. Red clay tablet, similar to Nos. 33 and 34, but book omitted.

36. Tablet of unburnt red clay, showing Vajradhara (rDo-rje-'achang) seated. Tibetan inscription *Om a hūm*. From rGya, Ladakh. (1½ by 1½ inches.)

37. Tablet of unburnt red clay, showing Buddha seated in *bhūmisparśa*. From rGya, Ladakh. (1¾ by 1½ inches.)

38. Tablet of unburnt red clay, showing wrathful form of Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-rdor) (two arms only). From rGya, Ladakh. (1¾ by 1½ inches.)

39. Tablet of unburnt clay coloured red, showing two small and one large *stūpa*, the latter of the ladder type. Inscription indistinct. Apparently the *Yē dharmā* formula in old Tibetan or Gupta characters. From Staglung, Ladakh. (2¾ × 2¾ inches.)

40. Tablet of unburnt clay painted red, showing two small and one larger *stūpa*, the latter of the ladder type. Inscription quite indistinct. From Staglung, Ladakh. (2¾ by 2½ inches.)

41. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted red showing nine *stūpas* in two rows. Inscription quite indistinct. From Staglung, Ladakh. (3 by 3 inches.)

42. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted red, showing two small and one large *stūpa*, the latter of the ladder type. Inscription : The *Yē dharmā* formula in ancient Tibetan characters. From Staglung, Ladakh. (3½ by 3¾ inches.)

43. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing five *stūpas*, below them inscription of the *Yē dharmā* formula in ancient Tibetan characters. From Skara, near Leh. (3 by 2 inches.)

44. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing two small and one large *stūpa*, the latter of the ladder type. Inscription of the *Yē dharmā* formula in ancient Śāradā, circa 10th century. From Skara, near Leh. 2¾ by 2¾ inches.)

45. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing one *stūpa* of the ladder type. Inscription *Yē dharmā* formula in ancient Śāradā. From Skara, near Leh. (2½ by 2½ inches.)

46. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing one *stūpa*. Inscription very indistinct, probably the *Yē dharmā* formula. From Skara, near Leh. (2¼ by 2¼ inches.)

47. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing ten *stūpas*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in ancient Tibetan characters. From Skara, near Leh. (2½ × 2½ inches.)

48. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing one *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Śāradā characters. From Skara near Leh. (3¾ by 2½ inches.)

49. Tablet of unburnt clay, showing eleven *stūpas*. Inscription indistinct, probably the *Yē dharmā* formula. From Skara near Leh. (1¾ by 2 inches.)

50. Tablet of unburnt clay showing one *stūpa* of the ladder type. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Śāradā of about the 11th century. From rGyamthsa, near Leh. (1½ by 1½ inches.)

51. Tablet of unburnt red clay showing two small and one large *stūpa*, the latter of the ladder type and two lotus flowers. Inscription the *Yē dharmā* formula in Śāradā. From Basgo, Ladakh. (3 by 2½ inches.)

52. Ditto.

53. Tablet of unburnt clay showing two small and one large *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in ancient Tibetan characters. From rGya (?). (1¾ by 1¾ inches.)

54. Tablet of unburnt red clay showing one *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in ancient Nāgarī of about the 9th century. From rGya, Ladakh. (3¾ by 1½ inches.)

55. Tablet of unburnt red clay, showing two smaller and one larger *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in early Nāgarī of about the 9th century. From rGya. (1½ by 1½ inches.)

56. Tablet of unburnt clay, painted red, showing one *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in late Gupta. Half broken off. From Phuga, Rubshu. (2 by 1½ inches.)

57. Tablet of unburnt red clay showing three *stūpas*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in ancient Tibetan characters. Broken. From rGya, Ladakh. (1¾ by 1½ inches.)

57*a*. Tablet of unburnt clay, showiug effigy of *stūpa*. Inscription *Yē dharmā* in Indian characters of the 9th century. From Skara, near Leh. (2 by 1¾ inches.)

58. Ancient sherd of pottery from Alchi mkhar-gog with dark red designs. (4 by 2½ inches.)
59. Ditto. ditto. (3¼ by 1½ inches.)
60. Ditto. ditto. (2⅓ by 1½ inches.)
61. Ditto. ditto. (2¾ by 2¾ inches.)
62. Ditto. ditto. (2¾ by 1¾ inches.)
63. Ditto. ditto. (1¾ by 1½ inches.)
64. Ditto. ditto. (2½ by 1¾ inches.)
65. Ditto. ditto. (2¾ by 1¾ inches.)
66. Ditto. ditto. (2¼ by 1¼ inches.)
67. Ditto. ditto. (2 by 1½ inches.)
68. Ditto. ditto. (1⅛ by ¾ inch.)
69. Bronze button from ancient grave, Leh, spiral ornament. (2 by 2¼ inches.)
70. Bronze pendant from same place, circular ornament. (2¼ by 7¾ inches.)
71. Bronze buttons, four combined, from same place, circular ornament. (1⅛ by 1⅛ inches.)
72. Bronze seal (?) from same place, cross lines and dot ornament. (1⅝ by 1¼ inches.)
73. Two bronze beads, from same place. (¾ by ¼ inch.)
74. Bell-like pendant, from same place. (1 by ⅜ inch.)
75. Bone tube from Waka castle. (3 by ⅜ inch.)
76. Bronze button from ancient grave, Leh, broken, flower ornament (?) (1½ by 1½ inches.)
77. Bronze button, from same place, broken, star ornament. (1½ by 1⅛ inches.)
78. Coloured glass bead from grave at Leh.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND WOOD-PRINTS ACQUIRED BY DR. FRANCKE IN INDIAN TIBET.

I. LITERATURE.

(a) *Books obtained chiefly in Ladakh.*

1. Shar-rgan-gyi-glu-bzhugs-so, The Songs of the Shar-rgan festival, from Poo (*sPu*). Copied from a MS. at Poo by bsKal-bzang. 29 ps. 8°.

2. The same, translated into ordinary Tibetan, by bsKal-bzang.

3. Bod-rgya-nag-rgya-gar-rnams-kyi rgyal-rabs-bzhugs-so, History of Tibet, China, and India copied from the great *rGyal-rabs* of Khalatse by bZod-pa-phun-thsogs. 96 ps. foolscap.

4. Ka-dros-chos-sder (bKā-gros-chos-gter), a small tract in Skrt. and Tibetan, extracted from a mchod-rten at Chemre and sold to us. On p. 1, it is stated to be a śāstra (bstan-chos) composed by King Srong-btsan-sgam-po and two monks, *viz.*, Nam-Khai-snying-po, and Atsar (Ācārya) Nag-po, and sent to Nga-ris (Western Tibet). 14 × 3½ cm.

5. Photographic reproduction of No. Or. 6683, sheet 34 to 72 of L-MS. of the La-dvags-rgyal-rabs. From British Museum, London 22 × 16½ cm.

6. Bod-sa-gzhi-chag-rabs, Origin of the world, from the A-MS. of the La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, copied by Joseph Thse-brtan of Leh. 13 ps. foolscap.

7. La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, Chapter VIII, (from bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal to Thse-dpal-rnam-rgyal), copied from B-MS. in the possession of Tsandan Munshi, Leh, by Joseph Thse-brtan, Leh. 12 ps. foolscap.

8. La-dvags-rgyal-rabs, Chapter VIII, copied from C-MS. in the possession of Munshi dPal-rgyas, Leh, by Joseph Thse-brtan, Leh. 5 ps. foolscap.

9. Dzam-mu-ma-hā-rā-dzā-gu-lāb-sing-gi-dmag-mis-la-dvags-dang-bod-la-dmag-btang-bai-lo-rgyus-bzhugs-so, History of the Dogra war, copied from C-MS. of the La-dvags-rgyal-rabs in the possession of Munshi dPal-rgyas, Leh, by Joseph Thse-brtan, Leh. 7 ps. foolscap.

10. La-dvags-la-ma-hā-rā-ja-gu-lab-sing-gis-mngā-mdzad-pa-nas-phyin-gyi-lo-rgyus-bzhugs-so, History of Ladakh after the Dogra war, copied from C-MS. of the La-dvags-rgyal-rabs in the possession of Munshi dPal-rgyas, Leh, by Joseph Thse-brtan of Leh. 10 ps. foolscap.

11. bZang-Kar-chags-thsul-gyi-lo-rgyus, History of the origin of Zangs-dKar, copied from a MS in possession of the chiefs of sTista, by bZod-pa-bde-chen of Kyelang. One sheet of Tibetan paper, 62 by 58 cm. Writing on one side only.

12. gCig-tan-gyi-jo-rabs-ni, History of the chiefs of gCig-tan. The original being lost, the history was taken down according to the dictation of the present ex-chief of gCig-tan by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse. One sheet, 59 by 22¾ cm.

13. Kha-la-tse-pa-me-me-thse-bstan-gyis-bshad-pai-thā-dmag-gi-lo-rgyus-bzhugs-so, Joseph Thse-brtan's history of the Dogra war. Lithographic print from Leh Mission Press, 1903. 16 ps. 8°.

14. Chronicles of the chiefs of Kolong-Lahul, in Urdu, copied from the original in the possession of Chief Amar Chand of Kolong, by bZod-pa-bde-chen, Kyelang. Small book in octavo.

15. Genealogical tree of the chiefs of Kolong, Lahul, in Tibetan, copied from a one-sheet manuscript in the possession of Chief Amar Chand of Kolong, by bZod-pa-bde-chen of Kyelang. One sheet octavo with two additions.

16. Genealogical tree of the Chiefs of Barbog, Lahul, in Tibetan, copied from a one-sheet manuscript in possession of the Barbog chiefs by bZod-pa-bde-chen of Kyelang. One sheet, 15 by 19 cm.

17. gSèr-gyi-me-long-zhes-pai-rgyal-rabs-bzhugs-so, The chronicles of Tinan, in Tibetan, copied from a manuscript in possession of the chiefs of Tinan by bZod-pa-bde-chen of Kyelang. One sheet of Tibetan paper. 45 by 22½ cm.

18. Genealogical tree of the chiefs of Tinan, copied from a one-sheet manuscript in possession of the chiefs of Tinan by bZod-pa-bde-chen of Kyelang. One sheet, 26½ by 21½ cm.

19. gSar-gzugs-'agyur-thor-bu-mi-'adra-ba-yin, Introduction to the Tibeto-Mongolian alphabet, copied from a one-sheet block-print from Leh by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse, one-sheet foolscap.

20. Nyo-pas-sgo-la-btang-ces-kyi-glu-yin, Marriage-songs from Tagmacig, copied from an original MS. at Tagmacig by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse. 74 ps. 4°.

21. gSung-don-bzhin-yung-'agrung-dgon-gyi-phyag-rabs, Tibetan MS. "the mahātmya of Lama-yuru," one sheet of Tibetan paper, 24½ by 26 cm. Copied by bsTan-'adzin-dpal-'abyor of Leh.

22. Om-sba-sti-siddham-dpag-kyid-chos-khor-lha-sai-zhing-mkhams-'adir, etc., Tibetan MS. "the treaty between Lhasa and Bashahr." Copied by Lobzang of Poo, from a MS. in the hands of the rDzong-dpon of Tsaparang. One sheet of Tibetan paper, 57 by 44½ cm.

23. The same, copied by Hira of sNam-rgya from a MS. in his own possession, one sheet, 55½ by 33½ cm.

24. History of Rainchan Shah, from Azmi's History of Kashmir. Copied from a Persian MS. 4 ps. foolscap. English translation appended.

25. History of Rainchan Shah, from Malvi Haider Malik's History of Kashmir. Copied from a Persian MS., foolscap. English translation appended.

26. lTang-dmag, the war against lTang, copied from MS. containing the literary version of the Kesar-saga, in the possession of the bKa-blon at Changs-pa, by Joseph Thse-brtan of Leh.

(b) *A Collection of books acquired from Lahul.*

1. gSer-'od-dam-pa, Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, ancient MS. in eleventh century orthography, from the Ku-ku-zhi family of Kyelang. One complete volume, with wooden boards.

2. bsKā-brdzogs-pa-chen-po, MS. in Tibetan and Sanskrit, contents of a Tantric character. Complete in 63 sheets; circa 46 by 9½ cm.

3. bSon-gyi-spar-kha-dpungs-shig, Tibetan Manuscript, of Tantric character, on "mystical marks." Complete in 4 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

4. rGyol-po-skyas-'adebs-bzhugs-so, Tibetan MS. of a Tantric character, treating of 'agong-po, evil spirits; 9 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

5. Klu-gtor, Tibetan MS., about offerings to Nāgas; 4 leaves, 42 by 7½ cm.

6. sLob-dpon-padmai-gsungs-pai gYang-sgo-bsdam-pa, Tibetan MS., "the closed door of blessing," by Padma [sambhava]; 4 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

7. dGu-mig-lto-cos-kyi-bzlog-thabs, Tibetan MS. "A means to avoid the nine eyes (?)," (against the evil eye ?). A work presented to Padmasambhava by the fairy 'aGro-ba-bzang-mo; 9 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

8. 'aDri-moi mdos, sangs-rgyas-kyis-mdzad-pao, Tibetan MS. "Cross of defilement," composed by Buddha; 5 leaves, 43½ by 8 cm.

9. rGyal-po-chen-po-rnam-mthos-sras-kyis-gYang-'agugs-'adod-dgui-gter-mdzod, Tibetan MS. "Vairochaṇa's treasury for the nine desires;" 11 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

10. rGyal-po-chen-po-rnam-thos-sras-la-mchod-gtor-'abul-bai-rim-pa-dngos-grub-ky-ibang-mdzod, Tibetan MS., about offerings to Vairochaṇa. Written in black and red, with yellow lines. Bu-ston is mentioned in the colophon; he may be the author; 16 leaves, 38 by 8 cm.

11. Yi-ge-drug-pai-rig-sngags-chen-moi-sgrub-thabs-gser-gyi-'aphreng-ba, Tibetan block-print, "about the magical powers of the six syllables" (i. e. the Om-ma-ṇi-pa-dme-hūṁ); 3 leaves, 50 by 9 cm.

12. bSrung-ma-dpal-dgon-ma-ning-nag-poi-bskang-ba, Tibetan MS., "How to satisfy the glorious black eunuch, the guardian." On the last page, a certain Chos-'aphel-bstan-'adzin (perhaps the author) is mentioned; 9 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

13. bsTan-bsrung-rdo-rje-dgra-'adul-kyi-sgo-kha-dang-bskang-ba-bskul-bzlog-pa-bcad, Tibetan MS., "How to feed, satisfy, and repulse rDo-rje-dgra-'adul, the guardian of the teaching;" 3 leaves, 45 by 9½ cm.

14. rNams-sras-thse-rings-mai-rKang-phrin, Tibetan MS., "The gospel of rNams-sras-thse-ringsmak," a Tantric work. Several pages are torn and incomplete. 8 leaves, 46 by 9½ cm.

15. sLob-dpon-pa-dmai-'adzad-pai-bdud-kyi-zhal-'agyur-rgyad-pa, Tibetan MS. "The eighth diabolical manifestation (zhal-'agyur) of Padma [sambhava]." Written in dbu-med character. It belongs to the so-called gTer-ma or "hidden books." 9 leaves, 46 by 9¾ cm.

16. gNas-chen-dril-bu-ri-dang-ghandholai-gnas-yig-don-gsal-bzhugs-so, Tibetan wood-print, "the māhātmya of the Gandhola-temple in Lahul." 12 leaves, 29 by 9½ cm.

17. Ras-'aphags-aphags-pai-gnas-bshad-dang-mdon-rtogs-bcas-bzhugs-so, Tibetan wood-print, "the māhātmya of Ras-'aphags" (Triloknāth, Re-'aphagin Lahul). 8 leaves, 30 by 9½ cm.

18. Shes-rab-kyi-pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa, fragment of a Tibetan MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century, containing the Prajñāpāramitā, excavated from an ancient mchod-rten at Kyelang, by Rev. G. Hettasch. Two boxes full of large leaves, more or less complete. Kept at Simla.

19. Votive book, in fragments, Tibetan MS. of the eleventh or twelfth century. It refers to the dedication of the Prajñāpāramitā, mentioned under No. 18, and also to the cremation of an Urgyanpa lama. Excavated from an ancient mchod-rten at Kyelang by Rev. G. Hettasch. About 26 sheets have been preserved, more or less complete; 18 by 9 cm.

II. Folklore.

1. Ro-ngo-rub-can-ni-sgrungs-yin, Tales of the corpse Ngo-rub-can, collected in Purig by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse. (These tales remind us of the Vetālapañcaviṃśatikā); 21 ps. 4°.

2. Nyo-pai-chang-glu, The Drinking-songs of Khalatse. Taken down by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 10 ps. 4°.

3. La-dvags-dang-bu-rig-yul-so-soi-glui-spre-cha-yin, a collection of songs from Ladakh and Purig taken down by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 39 ps. 4°.

4. Various songs from Ladakh, taken down by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse, and others 52 ps. 8°.

5. La-dvags-kyi-glu, 14 songs from Ladakh. Writer unknown. 12 ps. 8°.

6. A collection of 28 historical songs from Ladakh, taken down by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 18 ps. 8°.

7. Ke-sar-gyi-gying-glu-lnga-yod, Five songs in praise of Kesar, taken down by Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 5 ps. 8°.

8. Tales from Lahul, in Bunan and Tibetan, appendix to "Die mythologischen und historischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler;" taken down by bZod-pa-bde-chen of Kyelang; 5 ps. 8°.

9. gTam-dpe-ni, a collection of Tibetan proverbs from rGya, Ladakh, collected by dGā-phun-thsogs of Kyelang; 26 ps. 8°.

10. Bag-ma-btang-za-na-nyo-pas-sgo-la-btang-cas-si-dpe-cha-yin, Marriage-songs of Khalatse, and called Lhasa-songs from Khalatse, taken down by Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 19+7 ps. 4°.

11. sBal-yul-gyi-glu-yin, Songs from Baltistan, taken down by Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 8 ps. 4°.

12. La-dvags-kyi-glu-kha-shas-bzhugs-so, 32 Historical Songs from Ladakh, written by a native of Leh; 12 ps. folio.

13. Phyi-dbang-gi-glu-kha-shas-bzhugs-so, Songs from Phyi-dbang. Taken down by a native of Phyi-dbang in Ladakh; 24 ps. 4°.

14. Phyi-dbang-gi-gling-glu-bzhugs-so, the Gling-glu of Phyi-dbang, written by Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 13 ps. 4°.

15. Thsod-pa-dang-glu-dang-gtam-dpe, a collection of riddles, songs, and proverbs from Khalatse collected by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 21 ps. 4°.

16. Pa-cha-chen-mo-dang-rgyal-po-chen-poi-sgrungs-yin, Fairy tales from Purig. Taken down by Munshi Ye-shes-rig-'adzin of Khalatse; 63 ps. 4°.

17. Folklore collected on the road, taken down mostly by bZod-pa-phun-thsogs, 11 + 4 ps. 8°.

18. Short description of mTho-lding, Guge, by Lobzang of Poo. One sheet with writing on one side.

19. A Tale of Human Sacrifices at Sarahan, Bashahr, taken down by Pindi Lal; 3 ps. 8°. In Urdu.

APPENDIX C.

NOTE ON RAWĀLSAR, MAṆḌĪ STATE.

On the 22nd January 1910, I visited Rawālsar with a guide, and on the road I met with several Tibetans, all from the western British parts of Tibet, who had come here on pilgrimage. At Rawālsar, high up on the hillside, there is a little lake, about half a mile in circumference, amidst a most glorious vegetation of palm trees and other foliage. The Tibetan name of the lake is *Pa-dma-can* "lotus-possessing." This name is mentioned by K. Marx in his "three documents," in connection with a passage in the *rGyal-rabs* which he translates "to the place where the water is fiery." This rendering is, however, misleading; for the Tibetan text which he thus translates *Chu-la-me-'abar* is really the name of another lake. We must not, therefore, suppose from this rendering that the water of the Rawālsar lake is hot. Quite a different lake situated in Nepal territory is called *Chula-me-'abar* and may possess hot springs. We received this information from a Tibetan pilgrim on his way to Rawālsar who gave us the following list of Tibetan places of pilgrimage in Nepal:—(1) *Bya-lung Ka-skor.* (2) *Chu-la-me-'abar.* (3) *rDo-la-me-'abar.* (4) *Tsan-dan Phag-mo.* (5) *Shing-ldan Phag-mo.* According to Professor Grünwedel[1] *Chubar*(*-Chula mebar*) is the place where Milaraspa died in A. D. 1122. He says that it is situated near Nalan on the Tibeto-Nepalese frontier.

The lake of Rawālsar has become famous on account of its connection with the Buddhist priest Padma-sambhava who is supposed to have dwelt here. Tibetan literature connects Padma-sambhava with Zahor, the Tibetan name of Maṇḍī; but it is not clear, whether the name *Zahor* refers to the Maṇḍī State in general or to Maṇḍi town. The Tibetans believe that his spirit still dwells in the tree on the little floating island of the lake. In their view it is his initiative which moves the island about, whilst other people attribute its movement to the wind. There are many wild ducks on the lake which enjoy the safety of the sacred spot, and the waternuts (*trapa natans*) are eagerly collected by the Tibetans, who carry them to their homes as objects of sanctity.

On the shore of the lake the Tibetans have a Lamaist temple which is asserted to have been recently renovated. It was rebuilt by the father of the present owner who belongs to a Kunawar family. This temple is furnished with one or two Nepalese bells which have long inscriptions. When we were at Rawālsar, Puntsog found a bell with an inscription in Nāgarī characters. The language seems to be Nepalese, but no one has as yet been able to read it. Miss Duncan, who was here in 1906, discovered a metal prayer wheel with a Tibetan inscription in two lines from which we learn that the man who rebuilt the temple is called Thse-ring-dor-rgyas, and that the name of the shrine is Shag-thub-chen-po.

There are, however, many Tibetan inscriptions carved on rocks round the lake. They are mostly invocations and besides the *Oṁ maṇi padme huṁ,* they contain endless repetitions of the following formulæ;

Oṁ a huṁ Vadzra guru Padma siddhi huṁ.

Oṁ Vagisvari muṁ.

Oṁ Vadzrasatva huṁ

and perhaps several others. The first of them is an invocation of the famous lama Padma-sambhava under a name by which he is also known in Lahul and Rubshu, and probably in other parts of Western Tibet. The second formula is an invocation of Mañjuśrī under the name of Vāgīśvara and the third is addressed to Vajra-sattva. It should be noted that the combination of the first two incantations is very frequent in Lahul. This is by no means extraordinary, for Padma-sambhava is closely connected with

[1] *Mythologie.*

the Tibetan emperor *Khri srong lde btsan* who invited him to Tibet and who is regarded as an incarnation of Mañjuśrī. But also the third invocation we find in Lahul combined with the former two; for instance on the rock at Yurnad near Kye-lang (Lahul) which was photographed by Dr. Vogel. Is it possible that Padma-sambhava who made ample use of the *vajra* (thunderbolt) was believed to be an incarnation of Vajra-sattva?

It is of great interest that the connection of the Buddhist teacher Padma-sambhava with Rawālsar is asserted not only by Tibetan Buddhists, but also by the Brāhmans of the *tirtha*. Dr. Vogel has the following note in his article on Trilōknāth[1] "Here (at Rawālsar) in an absolutely Hindū country we find Padma-sambhava, the founder of Buddhism in Tibet, worshipped not only by lamas who have their own *dgon-pa* here, but equally by Brāhmaṇs who call him Ṛishi Lomaśa and even possess a *Māhātmya*, in which the local legend is given in its Brahmanic version."

The Śiva temples make a very beautiful picture along the shore of the lake and are undoubtedly older than the present Lamaist *dgonpa*. The stone figures of the bull Nandi in front of them struck me as being particularly well modelled. The ancient dress of Maṇḍī Buddhists has been preserved in Lamaist representations of Padma-sambhava. The unusual kind of the Lama's head-dress is still known as *Zahor-ma*, Zahor being the Tibetan name of Maṇḍī. As regards the many Tibetan rock carvings on the shore of the lake, I find it impossible to assign a fixed date to them. The forms of characters employed certainly do not suggest their being contemporaneous with Padma-sambhava; but as many of them look very time-worn, they may have been carved within the last five hundred years.

One of the Tibetans I met at Rawālsar told me that he intended to travel straight to Amritsar, as this was another place connected with Padama-sambhava. I was astonished to hear such a statement, and resolved to make enquiries on the spot.

Let me now add a few notes on Maṇḍī, collected from Tibetan historical works. There can exist no reasonable doubt as regards the identification of the Tibetan *Zahor* with *Maṇḍī*; for on our visit to Rawālsar we met with numerous Tibetan pilgrims, who all said that they were travelling to Zahor, thereby indicating the Maṇḍī State, if not the town. In the biography of Padma-sambhava, and in other books referring to his time, Zahor is frequently mentioned as a place where this teacher (c. 750 A. D.) resided. The famous Buddhist teacher Santi Rakhshita, who went to Tibet, was born in Zahor. Again in the days of *Ral-pa-can* (C. 800 A. D.) we find the statement that during the reigns of his ancestors many religious books had been brought to Tibet from rGya (India or China), Li, Zahor and Kashmir. Zahor was then apparently a seat of Buddhist learning and it is even stated that under the same king Zahor was conquered by the Tibetans. But under his successor, the apostate King Langdarma, many religious books were brought to Zahor, among other places, to save them from destruction.

Among the Tibetans there still prevails a tradition regarding the existence of hidden books in Maṇḍī, and this tradition in all probability refers to the books above mentioned. Mr. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kulu, told me that the present Ṭhākur of Kolong, Lahoul, had once been told by a high lama from Nepal, where the books are still hidden. Unfortunately the Ṭhākur had entirely forgotten the name of the place. My enquiries on the spot were of no avail, as none of the lamas and Tibetan laymen could or would tell where the books were concealed. I can suggest only one way of finding out the truth (or otherwise) of the tradition. A reward in money might be offered to the Ṭhākurs of Kolong in order to induce them to make another attempt to find the old books. It will be remembered that the Ṭhākurs of Kolong found out among other things who were the murderers of Schlagintweit.

---

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXX, p. 39.

APPENDIX D.

GENEALOGY OF THE RAJAS OF BASHAHR.

Mr. H. A. Rose, I.C.S., while in charge of census operations in the Panjāb, procured a copy of the genealogical roll of the Rajas of Bashahr. It is a list of 120 names, the years of accession and death being added in each case according to "the era of Yudhishthira." As Dr. Francke has pointed out in the course of his journal (above p. 8) the use of the cognomen *Siṅgh* throughout the pedigree, renders its authenticity highly doubtful, except for the portion dealing with the last three or four centuries. Among the ruling houses of the Panjāb Hill States the cognomen in question does not seem to have come into use until the 16th century. In Chambā it replaced the appellation of *varman* and in Kuḷū that of *Pāl.*[1] If any further proof of the absolutely unreliable character of the earlier part of the list were wanted, I need only mention that the fifth Raja (supposed to have lived 153 years after Yudhishthira!) bears the half Persian name of Gulāb Singh. A name of this kind cannot, of course, have been in use in India previous to the Moslim conquest.

I wish, therefore, to reproduce here only the concluding twelve names of the genealogy, ending with Raja Shamsher Singh, the present ruler of the State, who is mentioned in Dr. Francke's account and portrayed in Plate IV, b. I cannot, of course, vouchsafe the accuracy of the dates assigned to each Raja, but it is noteworthy that Kēharī Singh, who is said to have reigned from A.D. 1639 to 1696, is the same who concluded in A.D. 1650 the treaty with Tibet of which Dr. Francke procured copies in the course of his tour (see above p. 24). I give in each case the names both according to the spelling of the list supplied to me and in their correct form.

Hari Siṅgh	acc.	1464	obiit	1512
Chhatar (Chhattar) Siṅgh	"	1512	"	1574
Bhoop (Bhūp) Siṅgh	"	1574	"	1588
Kalyan (Kalyāṇ) Siṅgh	"	1588	"	1639
Kehari (Kēharī from Skr. Kēśari) Siṅgh	"	1639	"	1696
Bije (from Skr. Vijaya) Siṅgh	"	1696	"	1719
Ode (Ude from Skr. Udaya) Siṅgh	"	1719	"	1767
Ram (Rām) Siṅgh	"	1767	"	1799
Roodhar (Rudar) Siṅgh	"	1799	"	1844
Oogar (Ugar) Siṅgh	"	1844	"	1878
Mahindar (Mahīndar or Mahēndar) Siṅgh	"	1878	"	1906
Shamsher Singh	"	1907		

[1] *Chamba State Gazetteer*, p. 84.

INDEX

J

K

K—*contd.*

V—*contd.*

W

Y

Z

ANTIQUITIES
OF
INDIAN TIBET

ANTIQUITIES OF INDIAN TIBET

In 2 Vols. Bound in One.

Volume-2

THE CHRONICLES OF LADAKH AND MINOR CHRONICLES

Texts and Translations, with Notes and Maps

A. H. FRANCKE

Edited with Foreword By
F. W. THOMAS

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
DELHI-110052

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, NEW IMPERIAL SERIES, VOL. L

Antiquities of Indian Tibet

BY

A. H. FRANCKE, Ph.D.,

OF THE MORAVIAN MISSION

PART (VOLUME) II

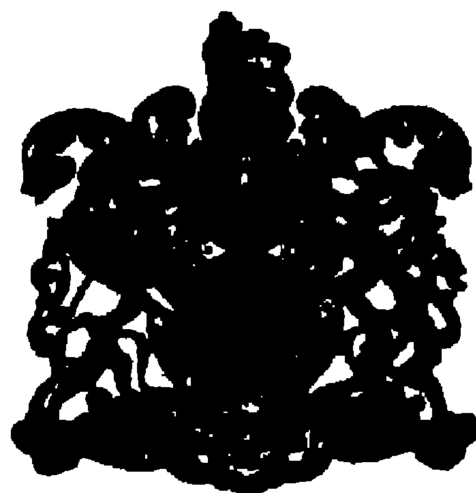
THE CHRONICLES OF LADAKH AND MINOR CHRONICLES,

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS, WITH NOTES AND MAPS

Edited with Foreword by

F. W. THOMAS, M.A., HON. PH.D. (Munich),

Honorary Correspondent of the Government of India, Archæological Department.



CALCUTTA

SUPERINTENDENT GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA

1926

FOREWORD.

The printing of Dr. Francke's work was commenced in 1913. It was practically suspended during the war years, and the difficult period which followed: and since its resumption in 1920 it has been retarded by several circumstances, among which may be mentioned the supply of Tibetan type and the author's residence in Germany, entailing a vast amount of correspondence. The work has undergone considerable revision both prior to being submitted to the press and subsequently.

As regards the difficulties of the texts, it may be said that the edition and translation have been rendered possible only by Dr. Francke's personal acquaintance with the language, peoples, and topography of Ladakh and the neighbouring territories, and by the help which he was able to obtain in the country itself. There remain many points of reading, rendering, and explanation in regard to which certainty has not been attained.

In general Dr. Francke has preserved the varieties of spelling which he found in his originals, and such varieties are usually reflected in the translations. Apology must, however, be made for some inconsistencies in the treatment of Indian terms occurring in the Tibetan: thus such words as *mahārāja*, *wazīr*, may have been so written where the Tibetan has *ma-ha-ra-dza*, *wa-zir*.[1]

The numerous deviations in the spelling of the same names may be classified as follows: *First*, there are the variations so common in the Tibetan spellings both of proper names and of ordinary words. *Secondly*, there are the divergent spellings of European writers, whether due to differences of date, or to systems of transliteration, or to individual idiosyncrasies: and an important group under this head consists of place-names which have assumed a certain fixity in maps, while another consists of names of rulers for which Cunningham's *Ladák* is the chief or sole authority. In general the principles followed have been (1) to preserve in all citations the spelling of the writer, (2) to maintain an uniform and, if possible, correct spelling wherever Dr. Francke is speaking in his own person, except that (3) licence has often been taken to refer to places under the name-forms familiar in the ordinary maps. In the special local maps prepared for this volume a correct orthography has been thought appropriate. It is to be hoped that in the future writers on Tibet will show respect for an old literary language by presenting Tibetan words in the form of an exact transliteration according to an

[1] It may be here mentioned that many of the words noted on pp. 145–6 as borrowed from Indian and European languages have been discussed by Dr. B. Laufer in his article "Loan-words in Tibetan", published in *T'oung-Pao*, vol. xvii (1916), pp. 449 sqq.

accepted system, regardless of pronunciation, which readers unacquainted with the language will in any case distort—in obedience, it would seem, to a perverse instinct misguiding all alike, whether *docti* or *indocti*, in the presence of unknown vocables.

Prior to the appearance of Cunningham's *Ladák* (London, 1854)—with which we should associate the likewise valuable work (*Western Himalaya and Tibet*, London, 1852) of his fellow-explorer, Dr. Thomas Thomson—information concerning Western Tibet was based almost exclusively upon the reports of travellers, Chinese travellers from the fourth to the ninth century A.D., Roman Catholic missionaries during the seventeenth and eighteenth, British travellers (Moorcroft, Henderson, Vigne) during the first part of the nineteenth. Some lists of kings were supplied by Csoma Cörösi, who lived in the country from 1823 to 1830, in Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, pp. 131–2; and a few isolated notices have been traced in the Sanskrit chronicles (*Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*) of Kashmir.

Cunningham's work was of great importance, furnishing not only a great deal of systematic information concerning the geography, topography, meteorology, and economics of the whole region, but also a description of the ethnology and common life, the government, the religion, the languages, and the history. He supplies genealogies of kings and successions of priests for the several districts, and details the substance of local chronicles and narratives. His remarkable historical and topographical insight enabled him to produce a work which is susceptible much more of amplification than of correction, and which will retain its value as an original source. Since his time the region has been extensively visited by officials,[1] explorers, mountaineers, scientists, travellers, and sportsmen; and Ladakh in particular has been found not beyond the reach of ordinary tourists. The most marked deficiency in our present knowledge of the whole territory affects its early history, which is not without importance, seeing that the trade route viâ Ladakh has from ancient times connected Kashmir and India with the life and politics of Central Asia. Dr. Francke's work, providing definite outlines for the later centuries, may furnish threads leading back to the beginnings.

F. W. THOMAS.

August, 1925.

[1] One Englishman, an ex-Corporal named Johnson, even held under the Kashmir Mahārāja the office of Wazīr of Ladakh (1871–1883). He left a very honourable reputation (see p. 142 of the present work).

CONTENTS.

MINOR CHRONICLES

MAPS

INTRODUCTION

The chronicles of Ladakh (*La-dvags*), which are here for the first time edited and translated in their full extent, comprise in their earlier parts the history of the ancient empire of Great Tibet and in their more recent parts that of the West Tibetan empire. But even in the chapters dealing with the history of Great Tibet special attention is shown to Western Tibet; and these chapters do not appear to be mere extracts from general Tibetan works of history. On the contrary, they appear to be an original production, which had its origin in the west of the country.

The first European to hear of the existence of a continuous historical narrative in Western Tibet was Csoma de Körös, who lived in Zaṅs-dkar and Upper Kunawar between A.D. 1820 and 1830. He says in a note appended to his list of Tibetan kings (Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 132) that there was a book at Leh containing the names of the kings who successively reigned in that principality (Ladakh). But Csoma was never able to see the book.

Csoma's statement was questioned by Sir Alexander Cunningham, who visited Ladakh in A.D. 1846–7. He says that from Dpal-gyi-mgon (tenth century) down to the end of the sixteenth century no historical records exist in Ladakh. This he explains in the following way:—'During the invasion of Ladakh by Ali-Mir, the Mohamedan chief of Skardo (sixteenth century), all the temples and monasteries of the country are said to have been destroyed, and their libraries thrown into the Indus.' Cunningham, however, managed to see historical books containing the history of Ladakh from c. A.D. 1580 down to the Dogra wars (A.D. 1834). These chapters were apparently translated for him into Urdu, and he wrote down in English what he was told. This method explains a number of blunders found in Cunningham's chapter 'Under Native Rulers'. But a comparison of his account with that of the chronicles, as we have them now, plainly proves that his information was drawn from original documents.

The first to bring a copy of such an original document to Europe was Hermann v. Schlagintweit, who visited Leh in 1856. It was a copy specially prepared for him, executed by three lamas, but not until valuable presents had been given to the ex-king, Hjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. This copy was published by Emil v. Schlagintweit, with a German translation, in *Abhandlungen der kgl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. x, 1866.

A copy of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, very similar to that of Schlagintweit, must have been in the hands of the Rev. H. A. Jäschke when he made his collections of Tibetan words for his Tibetan-English dictionary. Many of the words and passages

marked *Glr.* in his dictionary may be traced in the Tibetan text of Schlagintweit's edition. But Jäschke's rendering is often different from that of Schlagintweit.

Dr. K. Marx, Moravian missionary at Leh, soon saw the insufficiency of Schlagintweit's translation. At the same time he discovered at Leh two MSS. which contained fuller accounts of the times subsequent to A.D. 1620. He even induced a Ladakhi nobleman, Munshi Dpal-rgyas, to write the story of the Dogra war, as such an account did not yet exist. Basing on this new material, Dr. Marx proposed to edit a history of Ladakh (of the West Tibetan empire, beginning with King Ñi-ma-mgon in the tenth century) in three parts. The first part was to contain the history of Ladakh from Ñi-ma-mgon to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (beginning of the seventeenth century); the second part, the history from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal down to the Dogra wars (1834); and the third part, that of the Dogra wars. The first part of his work appeared in the J.A.S.B., 1891, consisting of text, translation, and notes, exactly as intended by the author, who had died a few weeks before its publication. Of the second part, the Tibetan text being lost, an English translation only, with a few notes, was published by Dr. K. Marx's brother, Professor G. Dalman. It appeared in the J.A.S.B., 1894. The third part, text according to *Ca* MS., with a translation by my wife, sister-in-law to Dr. K. Marx, appeared in J.A.S.B., 1902.

This was the state of things when Dr. Vogel, officiating Director-General of Archæology in India, asked me to bring out a complete edition of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. In spite of all the labour spent on this little work the edition of the text, as well as its translation, had still many shortcomings. Not only was the text incomplete and scattered over various journals in two languages, but also the translation in many parts left much to be desired.

My first aim was, naturally, to recover those MSS. which had been intended by Dr. Marx to serve as a basis for his second publication, viz. the history of Ladakh from *c.* A.D. 1620 to 1834. These MSS. were called by Dr. Marx *B* MS. and *C* MS. Judging from the description which Dr. Marx gives of the author of *C* MS., I came to the conclusion that he might be Munshi Dpal-rgyas of Leh. My conjecture proved right, and the Rev. G. Reichel of Leh was soon enabled to send me a copy of *C* MS., covering that particular period of history. Munshi Dpal-rgyas, however, was not satisfied with furnishing this little chapter. On the contrary, he offered me in addition his most recent and most complete copy of his history of the Dogra wars. An examination of this new account of the Dogra wars showed me the advisability of embodying it in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. Not to miss the meaning of a number of difficult passages in that chapter, I translated it at once into German. This German translation, together with a note on the relationship of the three different accounts of the Dogra war to one another, was published in the Z.D.M.G., vol. lxiv. All these different versions seem to come from Munshi Dpal-rgyas. It was more difficult to trace Dr. K. Marx's *B* MS. As a description of the person who owned it about twenty years ago had not been left by Dr. K. Marx, I tried to recover it by offering a prize to the person who should find it. The prize, amounting to 10 Rs. only,

was gained by the Christian schoolmaster at Leh, Joseph Tshe-brtan, who found the MS. in the possession of Tsandan-munshi at Leh. Of this MS. Joseph Tshe-brtan soon sent me a careful copy. Then I remembered having read in Dr. K. Marx's introduction that in several MSS. of the *Rgyal-rabs* a chapter on cosmology and cosmogony preceded the historical account of the chronicles. At the same time people told me of Munshi Dpal-rgyas' most recent historical activity, viz. his composition of a chapter on the history of Ladakh after 1842 A.D. Joseph Tshe-brtan provided me copies of all these productions, to which he added quite a new chapter, viz. Munshi Dpal-rgyas' chronological and taxation tables.

When I heard from Dr. L. D. Barnett that the British Museum was in possession of a MS. of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, I asked Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, then officiating Director-General of Archæology, India, to allow me to order a photographic copy of the same, to which he kindly agreed.

In the present publication the Tibetan text of the following chapters appears for the first time:—chapter ii, on cosmology; chapter viii, on the kings from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal down to the Dogra wars (*c.* 1625–1834 A.D.); chapter x, on the history of Ladakh after the Dogra wars; and chapter xi, containing chronological and taxation tables. With regard to chapter ix, the history of the Dogra wars, let me state that in the present publication the text of *Ca* MS. has been replaced by that of *Cc* MS., because the latter MS. contains not only a fuller, but also a more reliable account of those wars. Moreover, the text of the other chapters, which is mainly reproduced from former publications by Schlagintweit and Marx, has been carefully revised, and compared with that of the London MS.; and thus a number of doubtful readings have become clear.

As regards translations, the following chapters only contain entirely new material:—chapter ii, on cosmology; chapter x, on the history of Ladakh after the Dogra wars; and chapter xi, chronological and taxation tables. But here let me state that my revision of the former translations by Schlagintweit and Marx has in a great number of cases led to entirely new conceptions. And the present revised translation yields a richer harvest of historical facts than could be gathered from the former translations.

Let me now describe the five MSS. which have supplied the basis of the present text. I have not seen the original of a single MS.; but a comparison of the different copies with one another has shown me their reliability. Of the London MS. I had a photographic reproduction.

1. Schlagintweit's MS. (*S* MS.). The original MS. was the property of the ex-King of Ladakh, Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. This ex-king resided at Leh during Hermann v. Schlagintweit's visit to that town in 1856 A.D. At first he refused to produce his MS. at all; but, after valuable presents had been given to him, it was the ex-king himself who insisted on a copy of the MS. being prepared for Schlagintweit by three lamas. The text of this copy was appended by Emil v. Schlagintweit to the publication of his German translation of the *Rgyal-rabs*

mentioned above. Dr. K. Marx gives the following description of Schlagintweit's copy of the text (J.A.S.B., 1891, pp. 97–8):—'It apparently was written in *dbu-can* characters; consequently, in all those cases where certain *dbu-med* letters are apt to be confounded it may be taken for granted that, as compared with *dbu-med* MSS,, preference must be given to Schlagintweit's edition, as being founded on an *dbu-can* MS. On the other hand, any MS. specially prepared by a native of Ladakh for a foreigner is apt to be less reliable than others of independent origin, for the reason—which would especially be true regarding historical documents—that the copyist will have a tendency to slightly alter the text, in the interest of his master, religion, or country, suppressing such facts as may seem to be derogatory to their fame, and substituting for phrases liable to be misunderstood others of a less equivocal character. As to Schlagintweit's edition, it must be admitted that the lamas who wrote the copy for his brother did not give way to any such tendency until they reached the 6th line of folio 30*a*; be it that they wished to suppress certain facts contained in the sequel, or that they were of opinion that the "merit" of the presents extended no further: certain it is that beyond this point the text is merely a meaningless jumble of words, culled at random from the original, and put together in such a way that only a careful examination of the text by one who knew the language could reveal the fraud. These two and a half pages, therefore, which are supposed to embrace the history of about two centuries, are really not fit for translation, and the attempt can only conduce to results totally misleading. All the other parts of the MS. seem to have been done fairly well. There are mistakes in spelling, and here and there an omission or an addition of a word or phrase that did not belong to the original; but, on the whole, the MS. seems to have been better than many one sees here.' Let me add a few words to Dr. K. Marx's description of the last two and a half pages of *S* MS., embracing the history of Ladakh from Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal to the Dogra war. It is not necessary to believe that 'the merit' of Schlagintweit's presents extended no further, and that for this reason the royal MS. was not properly copied. I have come to the conviction that the royal MS. did not contain a better text. The royal MS. was one of those which close the history of Ladakh with Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign. Other MSS. of the same type are K. Marx's *A* MS. and the London MS. (*L* MS.). Although the history proper of *S* MS. and *L* MS. ended with Señ-ge-rnam-rgyal, a list of names of the more recent kings, together with a few historical notes, was added by a later hand. That King Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal actually did not possess a better text of the history of his country after *c.* 1620 A.D. becomes evident from the following incident:—when his son, ex-King Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal, on a recent visit to Khalatse, discovered that the Tiñ-ḫdzin-pa family was in possession of a *Rgyal-rabs* which contained full descriptions of the reigns of the last independent kings, he carried away all these chapters on recent history, returning to the family only the first part of the history.

2. *A* MS. Dr. K. Marx says with regard to it, '*A* MS. is a small book in 16mo, bound in leather and well kept. It contains, on 109 leaves, 1st, a cosmogony and cosmology in outline; 2nd, the genealogy of the Śākyas; 3rd, a history of the kings of Tibet (Yar-lung); 4th, a history of the kings of Ladakh down to King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Throughout it is most neatly written, with comparatively few mistakes. As it was not originally written for an outsider, but for the private use of its owner, its text may safely be supposed not to have been altered on purpose. The history of the kings of Ladakh down to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal fills twenty leaves.' It forms the basis of the Tibetan text of K. Marx's 'first document'.

3. *B* MS. Dr. K. Marx says, '*B* MS. is four loose leaves in folio, very old-looking, very much worn at the edges and corners, and torn in some places. It commences with the history of the second (Rnam-rgyal) dynasty of Ladakh kings, and gives a comparatively full account of the history of Ladakh down to the Dogra invasion. This MS. is very badly written, so much so that even Ladakhis find it difficult to read; still, in point of evidence it ranks next to *A*, and the information which it contains regarding the decline of the Ladakh empire (since Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal) is especially valuable.' When Dr. Marx died in 1891, it appears that the owner of this MS. claimed his property, and took it to his home. As Dr. Marx does not give any hints with regard to the owner's personality, it was rather difficult to recover the MS. As already stated, Joseph Tshe-brtan found it in the possession of Tsandan Munshi at Leh. He prepared a copy of it, which he sent me.

4. *C* MS. Dr. K. Marx says, '*C* MS consists of two parts. The first part was specially prepared by command of the wazir of Ladakh. Consequently all the vices inherent in such MSS., as hinted at above, are manifest in it. It consists of twenty-three folio leaves. It is very carelessly written, and the text is very incomplete. It is much inferior to either *A* or *B*. It is obvious in several places that alterations were introduced on purpose, and the principle underlying this practice can easily be discovered: it is to avoid, in the first place, the miraculous; secondly, anything that may be offensive to the Dogra reader; and thirdly, all that may throw an unfavourable light on the royal family. Still, there are preserved in it a few passages that are new, and they will be found introduced in their proper places, and specially marked *A* and *B*. This MS. covers the entire history of the kings of Tibet (*Yar-lung*) and of Ladakh till close upon the Dogra invasion. It also contains an interlinear translation into Urdu, but written in Tibetan (*dbu-med*) characters.'

'The second part of *C* MS. was prepared for me, at my special request, by the writer of the first part, who is the head of one of the ancient families that presided over important functions under the old régime. As I am not an official personage, I think I need not apprehend that he withheld the truth from me. In this portion he relates almost exclusively the events of the Dogra wars and the fall

of the Ladakh empire. As his own father was to some extent mixed up with these painful affairs, it is to him a kind of family history as well. The very fact that he tells it at all, and without any embellishing touches, goes far to prove his veracity in this case; and, as the whole narrative does not contain one word derogatory to the conquerors, but a long tale of ignominy and shame to the losing, i.e. his own, side, I think the character of the writer is fully established thereby.' This MS., the second part of *C* MS., 'consists of about six folio leaves. Its language is the modern Ladakh book-language, and this fact alone should render it particularly interesting to students of the Tibetan language.' As already stated, we have at present three different versions of the 'History of the Dogra Wars', which were probably all composed by Munshi Dpal-rgyas. These three different versions will in the following be distinguished by the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*. *Ca* MS., Munshi Dpal-rgyas' first attempt, is the version published in J.A.S.B., 1902, pp. 21 ff. A fragment only of a translation of *Cb* MS. by Dr. K. Marx is found in J.A.S.B., 1894, pp. 106–7. *Cc* MS., Munshi Dpal-rgyas' final edition, forms the basis of the present Tibetan text of the history of the Dogra war. Wherever a passage of the text is indicated as from *C* MS., without the addition of *a*, *b*, or *c*, it means that it was taken from a chapter of Munshi Dpal-rgyas' chronicle which either precedes or follows the history of the Dogra wars.

5. *L* MS. From a letter of Dr. L. D. Barnett of the British Museum I learnt that the British Museum was in possession of a copy of the *Rgyal-rabs* of Ladakh. It is No. 6683 of the MS. collection. As the Museum authorities are forbidden by Act of Parliament to let any MSS. go out of the Museum, I was advised to have this MS. photographed. *L* MS. is a little book, consisting of seventy-two leaves of black indigo-tinted paper, furnished with *dbu-can* writing in gold. The size of the book is 23½ × 8½ cm. There are five lines on every page. This MS. begins with an introductory hymn, after which follow, as I suppose, a cosmology and a genealogy of Buddha's family As these chapters are not of any historical interest, I asked Dr. L. D. Barnett not to have them photographed, and to let the photographer begin his work with the history of Gña-khri-btsan-po, on leaf No. 34. The text from leaf No. 34 to No. 70 closely agrees with Schlagintweit's copy of the *Rgyal-rabs*. On leaf No. 70, with the history of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the text proper comes to an end. But it is remarkable that the history of this king, as preserved in *L* MS., contains a few passages which are not found in any other MSS. at my disposal. These passages are, however, in agreement with Cunningham's account of the same reign (see his *Ladakh*). The remaining two leaves contain only a list of the kings following Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The last king mentioned is Ḥjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge, the father of the present ex-King Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal. Thus, *L* MS. is a specimen of those chronicles which were written at the end of King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign. They were probably called 'Biographies of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal'.

As stated by the early Tibetan writers of history, they made use of several historical books which were then current in Ladakh. In parts ii, iii, and iv, the following are mentioned:—

1. *Rnam-bśad-mṅon-paḫi-mdzod* (Abhidharma-kośa).
2. *Chos-ḫbyuṅ.*
3. *Rgyal-rabs-che-chuṅ-rnams.*
4. *Ḫjig-rten-gdags-pa.*
5. *Rgyal-rabs-spun-po-gsum-khug-blon-poḫi-rgyal-mtshan.*
6. *Gsaṅ-ba* or *Ḫbru-bdus* (Guhya-samāja ?).
7. *Daṅ-po-dbaṅ-byed-rim-paḫi-dgu-byuṅ.*
8. *Ḫkhor-lo-sna-bdun.*

Of these works No. 7 is still known in Ladakh, where it is called *Rim-dgu.* This work may possibly come to light again. As I understand, this book contains not exactly folklore, but popular legends, referring to the early reigns. The book called *Chos-ḫbyuṅ* is given in Csoma's list of historical books. To these eight works may be added the *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalita-vistara*), which book was utilized by the writer of part iii, the genealogy of the Sakyas. The little song, *Rgyal-rigs-bram-zehi-bu-mo-daṅ*, etc., was directly copied from that book.

The office of chronicler does not appear to have been continually occupied in Ladakh. We know only of the following occurrences: Under King Mu-khri-btsan-po (798–804 A.D.) a first history of Tibet was written. Then King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1625–45 A.D.) wrote a biography of his father, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. Finally, Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas, of Leh, has acted as chronicler of more recent times. It is, of course, very probable that between these three there worked a great number of chroniclers who have been forgotten. At present we cannot expect to find any more MSS. of the *Rgyal-rabs*, dating from King Mu-khri-btsan-po's times. Still, the early parts of the text of the royal MS. (*S* MS.) were possibly copied from an ancient MS. of the *Rgyal-rabs* of *c.* 800 A.D.

It is very probable that some of the early historians of Ladakh or Tibet took Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs* as their model. The *Vaṃśāvalī* of Chamba, for instance, as published by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in his *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, bears a strong resemblance to the older portions of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. Both productions begin with an introductory hymn, in which the book is called a necklace. The necklace is represented as being wound round the neck of the deity or saint to whom the book is dedicated. Then, both books contain a long list of names of mythological beings, the supposed supernatural ancestors of the race of kings, and, in a third part, the names of the actual human kings are given. The Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs*, even if they contained nothing but names, were written in metre, and such was also the case, probably, with the Tibetan productions. A last remnant of such a Tibetan metrical *Vaṃśāvalī* we may have in Schlagintweit's folios 13 and 14*a* (the seven heavenly thrones), where there are ten lines of metrical verse which contain in lines 1–6 only names, and in lines 7–10 a few notes on that group of kings.

In addition to the Indian *Vaṃśāvalīs*, Tibetan historiography may have been influenced in very early times by Chinese historiographers. Rockhill may be right when he compares the seven Tibetan *Khri* (heavenly throne) kings with the twelve celestial sovereigns of the Chinese Sanhwang; the six Tibetan *Legs* with the eleven terrestrial sovereigns of the Chinese; and the eight Tibetan *Lde* with the nine human sovereigns of the Chinese. Possibly the Tibetans were not at once furnished with sufficient names to satisfy a Chinese historian. Therefore they had to manufacture new names or classes of names, and insert them in their lists. This may account for the repeated beginning in the *Rgyal-rabs*, part iv, as we have it at present. Thus we find two kings of the name of Spu-rgyal. Of the palace of Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse, which was stated in the chronicles to have been in existence during the reign of the first king, we hear again, ten or eleven generations later, that it was then built as the first palace of the country. Then, although the country is described as having been in a high state of civilization under its first king, a first introduction of civilization is attributed also to several of his successors. From the Chinese the Tibetans probably learned history-writing in prose. In this connexion, however, we must not forget that the Tibetans are ethnically related to the Chinese. It is not impossible that both these nations had inherited their lists of mythological kings from their common ancestors. And this may account for the similarity between their lists of mythological kings.

But a really intelligent form of prose-writing was not acquired before the fifteenth century, when quite a new way of recording facts made its appearance. This last and best form of chronicling was probably learnt from the Muhammadan writers of the period.

The man who compiled the story of the kings of Yar-luṅ, *Rgyal-rabs*, part iv, did not derive his information only from chronicles in prose or verse, but also made use of the folklore of his time, and thereby added a new charm to his chapter of the history. Thus we find an old proverb placed at the beginning of the chapter and popular ditties, referring to the reigns of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal and Khri-sroṅ-lde-tsan. The first song in part iii is probably a verse from Buddhist literature which had become popular, whilst the second song was taken from the *Lalita-vistara*. It is interesting that in Dr. K. Marx's *B* MS. (part viii) also an ancient popular song is found, which it was the historian's endeavour to turn into prose. My attention was drawn to this interesting fact in the following way:—I told my Tibetan assistant, Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs of Khalatse, to read through the third chapter of Schlagintweit's text of the chronicles, to see if he could find poetical parts in it. He read it and said that he had not found anything, because the old song of Ali Mir, which was contained in Dr. K. Marx's *Rgyal-rabs*, was omitted in Schlagintweit's copy. He said that he had often heard people sing a song of Ali Mir. When I examined Marx's text, I could see at once that seven lines of the old song could be easily restored by making only very slight alterations in the text. It then runs as follows:—

kha-san-na-yis-rmi-lam-du
mtsho-nas-sen-ge-nar-gyis-mchons
rgyal-kha-tun-la-thim-par-mthon
de-dan-dus-mtshuns-bu-mo-hdi
sems-can-dan-ni-ldan-par-gyur
hdi-la-bu-zig-nes-par-skye
min-la-sen-ge-rnam-rgyal-thogs.

Then also, in the tale of the battle of Babsgo, Schlagintweit's MS., we find a little song of four lines included, as follows (with two corrections by myself):—

Rgyal-po-Bab-sgor-bzugs-sin
Kha-chul-dmag-dan-bcas
Sog-po-rnams-la-brgyab-pas
Sog-hbros-thabs-su-son.

Another song referring to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal is found in *C* MS., and the last chapter of the chronicle contains a few proverbial sayings.

The influence of prose productions of folklore (the Kesar-saga in particular) on the writing of history is, of course, very distinct in the early parts of the chronicle. Let me mention only the description of the seven heroes under Gun-sron-hdu-rje, which at once calls to mind the seven 'Agus of the Kesar-saga. But also passages like the description of Lha-dban-rnam-rgyal's three sons, who lived as late as the sixteenth century, look as if they had just been copied from the Kesar-saga.

This brings us to the question of the Bon religion, which religion is apparent in many parts of the *Rgyal-rabs.* Thus (1) in the chapter on cosmology we find a line of gods, preceding the gods of the four continents, which looks as if it might be of Bon-po origin. It begins with Nam-kyer-rgyal po, who is probably identical with Kyer-rdzon-sñan-po of the *Glin-chos* (religion of the Kesar-saga). (2) The tables of nations in the same chapter, which are not yet entirely intelligible, also look as if they had come down to us from early Bon-po times. (3) The ancient dynasties of kings from Gña-khri-btsan-po down to Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal, look as if they had been introduced wholesale from Bon-po mythology. As we know from the mythology of the Kesar-saga (*Glin-chos,* the most original type of the Bon religion), the world consists of three realms, viz. (*a*) heaven, the land of the gods; (*b*) the earth, the land of men; and (c) the underworld, the land of the *Nāgas* (*klu*). Now it is remarkable that all the five groups of mythological kings are connected with one or other of these three realms of mythology, as follows:—The seven heavenly *khri* (thrones) are connected with the land of the gods; the two *Bar-gyi-ldin,* the six *Sahi-legs,* and the eight *Sahi-lde* are connected with the earth; and the five *Smad-kyi-btsan* or *Klu-rgyal* (*Nāga-rājas*) belong to *Yog-klu,* the realm of the *Nāgas.* (4) Then the history of Sron-btsan-sgam-po with his two wives at once calls to mind the tale of King Kesar with his two wives, as I have repeatedly stated. And the influence of the Kesar-saga is felt also in other parts of the chronicle, as stated

above. Gesar's (Kesar's) name is found three times in the chronicle, viz. in parts i, ii, and vi. He is the revealer of historical knowledge.

Let me now review the text of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs.* It consists of ten parts, some of which have headings in Tibetan, whilst others have not.

Part I: Introductory Hymns. One hymn is found in *S* MS., another in *L* MS.

Part II: Cosmology and Cosmogony. Dr. K. Marx mentions such a chapter as occurring in *A* MS. The following text is based on a copy of this chapter provided by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh.

Part III: The Genealogy of the Śākyas. This chapter is found in *A* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. It is interesting that several of the mythological names contained in it are found also in inscriptions of Ladakh and in folklore. This shows how deeply rooted is the belief of the people that the kings of Ladakh are descended from the Śākya race. The following text is based on *S* MS. But *A* MS. might be adduced for comparison. The history from Rna-ba-can to Gautama Buddha is almost literally identical in *S* MS. and *A* MS.

Part IV: The Tibetan Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to 'Glaṅ-dar-ma, the Apostate. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'History of the First Spread of Buddhism'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The same times we find described in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical books and in Chinese works. The latter were translated by S. W. Bushell (JRAS., 1880). A most successful attempt to reconcile the Chinese with the Tibetan accounts was made by Herbert Müller in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtskunde*, Bd. xx. My chronology is based on the Chinese chronicles. The following text is based on *S* MS.; but *L* MS. has been adduced for comparison.

Part V: Glaṅ-dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'The Submerging of Buddha's Religion'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The same times are described in Central Tibetan, Mongolian, and Chinese historical works. Even Albīrūnī speaks of Long-dherman, Langdarma. The text of this chapter is based on *S* MS.; but *L* MS. has been adduced for comparison.

Part VI: The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty. This chapter is entitled in Tibetan 'The Story of the Later Spread of Buddha's Religion'. It is found in *A* MS., *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. The Chinese works do not contain any passages relating to those events. The Central Tibetan and Mongolian authors tell the tale down to King Dpal-gyi-mgon. Of later times they supply only occasional notes, as, for instance, the note on a census of Tibet and Ladakh under the Emperor Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century. The text of this chapter is based on *A* MS.; but *C* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison.

Part VII: The Kings of the Second Dynasty down to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. This is probably the 'Biography of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal' compiled by his son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, as stated in *S* MS. No Oriental would begin a biography with the birth of his hero. The hero's history is given at the end of a long narrative of his

ancestors. *A* MS., *S* MS., and *L* MS. are probably such biographies of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, furnished with the most elaborate groundwork. The text of this chapter is based on *A* MS.; but *C* MS., *S.* MS., *B* MS., and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison. Foreign historical works contain only occasional references to the events told in this chapter.

Part VIII: The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh. This chapter, which is not furnished with a Tibetan title, is found in *B* MS. and *C* MS. *S* MS. and *L* MS. supply only a few additions to the text. Foreign historical works contain only occasional references to the events told in this chapter. The following text is based on *B* MS.; but *C* MS. and in a lesser degree *S* MS. and *L* MS. have been adduced for comparison.

Part IX: The History of the Dogra War. Its Tibetan title is 'History of the War waged by Mahārāja Gulāb Siṅg's Soldiers against Ladakh and Tibet' It is found in *Ca* MS., *Cb* MS., and *Cc* MS. The same events are described by Tshe-brtan of Khalatse and Bastī-Rām. The text of this chapter is based on *Cc* MS.; but a few additions were made from *Ca* MS.

Part X: Ladakh after the Dogra War (1842–86 A.D.). This chapter was written by Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas of Leh, and his text was copied for the present publication by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh.

In an eleventh part Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas' Chronological and Taxation Tables will be found published.

The aim of the present publication is not to bring out a critical edition of a Tibetan work on history, but to present in a connected text all the historical facts contained in the various MSS. of the West Tibetan chronicles.

As after 1600 A.D. the various MSS. do not correspond with regard to their texts, it would be advisable on some later occasion to publish the texts of the different MSS. in full.

Where does the truth begin? I am convinced that all the early groups of kings (see Part IV) have nothing to do with history. They belong to Bon-po mythology. The first historical king is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po (600–50 A.D.). The Tibetan art of writing history begins with him. But, as the Tibetans probably could remember his forefathers up to his great-great-grandfather, the Kings Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan, Ḫbroṅ-sñan-lde-ru, Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs, and Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan may also be historical personages. Thus the first possibly historical king, Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan, may have lived about 120 years before Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, *c.* 480 A.D.

Let me now examine the general features of Ladakh historiography. The character of the chronicles is not the same during the different periods which they describe. The first three and a half chapters contain only legendary matter, taken from Buddhist as well as Bon-po mythology. Then follow one and a half chapters of real history (Part IV, second half; and Part V). They tell the tale of the empire of Great Tibet. Then we hear the tale of the West Tibetan empire, which in its most ancient parts (Part VI) can hardly be called a history; nor was it apparently meant

to be such. It was begun as a pedigree of the kings of Leh, whose chief intention was to prove their descent from the famous line of the ancient kings of Lhasa. Thus the first portion of this chapter, covering roughly the period from 900 to 1400 A.D., does not contain much beside mere names. About the year 1400 the account begins to become fuller. This may be due to the fact that the second dynasty branched off at about that time, and this new line of kings may have had a stronger instinct for history. Or it may be due to Muhammadan influences. At any rate, the accounts grow in fullness after 1400 A.D. Still, they leave much to be desired from a European point of view. The writers were lamas, and to them the greatest events during the reign of a king were his presents to lamas and monasteries, or his building of chortens (*mchod-rten*, stūpa) and *maṇi*-walls. Much ink has been expended on these events, which are of very little interest to the average European. On the other hand, the campaigns of the kings are treated with extraordinary brevity, and of their economical work we hear nothing at all. Only in the case of the last few kings are we able to form an idea of their characters, and of the tactics employed during the campaigns we hear practically nothing. The chronicler is quite satisfied with telling us the final result. Thus we see that all those points which go to make a history of a country serviceable are missing in these Western Tibetan records; and yet the naïve tone of the chroniclers has often a charm of its own.

An important question is this: do the Ladakhi historians tell the truth, or is their history entirely or partially fabricated matter? The best test of the veracity of a historical account is a comparison with other entirely independent documents. Only in comparatively few cases are we enabled to compare a Western Tibetan account of an event with that of a foreign country. Of greater importance in that respect are the many inscriptions on rock and stone which are scattered all over the country. I have made a special study of these records, and have come to the following conclusion: from the inscriptions it becomes evident that at any rate the kings of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty are historical realities, and their order of succession is the same on the records on stone as in the chronicles. Records containing the names of all of them have been found, from Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal down to Tshe-dpal-rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal. As far as contemporary history of other countries can be adduced by way of comparison, the chronicles do not contain anything that conflicts therewith. The test of the veracity of the account of the first dynasty is of a more insufficient nature. Records on stone relating to the time from *c.* 850 to 1400 A.D. are rarer than those of later times, and several of them do not contain the proper name of the sovereign. This much has so far come to light. King Ḫbum-lde's name is found on the rock at Mul-bhe, which contains an edict by him. The name of his son, *Blo-gros-[mchog-ldan]*, occurs in an inscription on the wall of the *Byams-pa-dmar-po* temple at Leh. An inscription at Tabo in Spi-ti mentions King Lha-chen-byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḫ (first half of the eleventh century) as a contemporary of the Gu-ge king Byaṅ-chub-ḫod and the famous Indian teacher Atiśa. Thus the testimony of the inscriptions which have become known up to the present does

not go very far with regard to the accuracy of the first part of the chronicles. Here folklore comes to our aid. It has preserved the names of two more kings of the first dynasty in two songs, the drift of which is not in opposition to what the chronicles say about them; these are the kings Ñi-ma-mgon and Jo-dpal. And the name of yet another king, or at least prince, of Western Tibet, Prince Rin-chen, is apparently attested by the chronicles of Kashmir. Certainly, we should be glad to be able to adduce more arguments to prove the accuracy of the account of the first dynasty. However, what can be adduced is in accordance with its statements, even with regard to chronology, and I think we have a right to accept also the account of the first West Tibetan dynasty as on the whole true and reliable.

In no case do the West Tibetan chronicles enable us to fix the time of the reign of a king exactly, and the Tibetan dates have to be used with much caution. The Tibetans, as well as the Chinese, have cycles of sixty years, which are differentiated by numbers. The first Tibetan cycle begins with the year 1024 A.D. (1026 according to Waddell). This great cycle of sixty years contains smaller cycles of twelve years each, the single years of which are named after twelve animals. To be able to distinguish between the same animal years within the cycle of sixty, the animals' names are coupled with the names of the Tibetan five elements. Thus, a date is complete if the following is given: (1) the number of the great cycle, (2) the animal of the little cycle, (3) the element. For instance, the water-ox year of the fourteenth cycle is the year 1853 A.D. But in most cases the date is not given completely enough to be of much use. In the most ancient dates only the animal's name is given. Some time between 1500 and 1600 the Ladakhis began to combine the animal's name with that of an element. Dates furnished also with the number of the cycle of sixty do not occur before the nineteenth century. Besides, I have come to the conclusion that the Ladakhi cycles are behind the Tibetan cycles by exactly twelve years. Compare the dates for the beginning of the Dogra war and for the discovery of the sapphire mine. But in the second half of the nineteenth century some lama authority introduced the Tibetan cycles. Thus we have no absolute certainty with regard to West Tibetan dates. As, however, several West Tibetan kings were contemporaries of other historical personages whose dates can be fixed, we are in a position to furnish all the Ladakhi kings with approximate dates. With regard to the second dynasty eventual mistakes can hardly amount to more than a decade. From the outset it must be understood that the reign of a certain king may have been longer or shorter than the period given in this chronicle; but it is probable that some years of his actual reign coincide with some of the years given here. The fixed dates, on which hinges the whole chronology given in this book, are the following:—Glaṅ-dar-ma, 816–42 A.D., according to the Chinese; Atiśa, 980–1053 A.D., according to the *Reḫu-mig*; Prince Rin-chen, *c.* 1320 A.D., according to the Kashmir chronicles; Tsoṅ-kha-pa, 1356–1418, according to the *Reḫu-mig*; the Turkoman invasion of Ladakh under Sultan Haidar, 1532 A.D., according to the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*; the siege of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D., according to various authorities; Desideri's visit to

Leh, under Ni-ma-rnam-rgyal, 1715 A.D.; Moorcroft's visit to Leh, under Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, 1820 A.D.; Dogra wars, 1834–42 A.D. The intervening periods are filled up by assigning about thirty years to each reign.

The most important foreign works which are of particular value for a history of Western Tibet are (1) the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (chronicles of Kashmir), by Kalhaṇa, for the Chinese and Kashmiri expeditions to Western Tibet in the eighth century; (2) the Annals of the Chinese Thang dynasty, for the same period; (3) the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (chronicles of Kashmir), by Jona-rāja, for the career of Prince Rin-chen in the beginning of the fourteenth century and the Kashmiri expeditions to Ladakh in the fifteenth century; (4) the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, for the Turkoman expedition to Ladakh in the sixteenth century; (5) Roman Catholic accounts of d'Andrada's mission to Tsaparang in Gu-ge in the seventeenth century; (6) Desideri's account of his journey to Lhasa and Leh, 1715; (7) the account of the Mughal historian, Mir-Izzet-Ullah, for details about the siege of Bab-sgo, *c.* 1650 A.D.; (8) Bernier's travels (Kashmir), for the relations of the Mughal emperors to Western Tibet in the seventeenth century; (9) Moorcroft's travels, for the times of the last independent king of Ladakh; (10) Central Tibetan and Mongolian works are of the greatest importance for the history of Western Tibet down to the tenth century. After that time they contain only casual notes on Western Tibet, as, for instance, on the census of Ladakh under Kublai-Khan.

Together with the chronicles of Ladakh I am publishing the chronicles and genealogical trees of several West Tibetan vassal chiefs and three short accounts of important events in Ladakhi history. They are found under 'Minor Chronicles'. The chronicles relate to the following provinces: Zaṅs-dkar, Bzaṅ-la, Gu-ge, Bu-rig (Cig-gtan, Śod, Mkhar-bu), Baltistan, Ko-loṅ of Lahul, Ti-nan of Lahul, and Bar-bog of Lahul. And the brief accounts tell the tale of the Dogra war (two versions) and of the trade between Ladakh and Kuḷū and narrate the services of several ministers and generals.

Besides the chronicles and genealogical trees, the following historical documents are also of great importance:—(1) Inscriptions on stone, etc. They will be treated in a special part. (2) Decrees on paper issued by certain kings. Up to the present I have discovered the following:—two decrees by Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, one by Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal II, one by Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, and one by Biddhi Singh of Kuḷū. As regards Kuḷū kings, a great number of letters by them in Ṭakrī, addressed to various chiefs of Lahul, have been collected by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant-Commissioner of Kuḷū. But it would not be difficult to collect similar documents in Ladakh. They are all of the greatest historical interest. (3) The *Māhātmyas* of monasteries. I have succeeded in seeing the following:—the *Chags-yig* of the Gyuṅ-druṅ (Lamayuru) monastery of Ladakh, and of the Gandhola and Trilokanātha monasteries of Lahul. The *Chags-yig* of the Likir monastery is contained in an inscription on a wall of the monastery. The *Māhātmyas* do not contain much historical, but a great deal of legendary matter.

With regard to names of kings, the Tibetans seem to have had the principle of not repeating the same name. If ever the same name occurs a second time, as in the case of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, we may be sure that the second king of such name was not heir-apparent, but a younger prince, previous to his accession to the throne.

My thanks are due to the following persons for having assisted in the translation of the chronicles:—To Mrs. S. Becker-Chapman, of Herrnhut, for having looked over my first rough copy of the English translation; to the two Tibetan Christians, Bzod-pa-phun-tshogs, of Khalatse, and Joseph Tshe-brtan, of Leh, for having assisted me to find the correct interpretation of several difficult Tibetan passages; and, most of all, to Dr. F. W. Thomas, of the India Office, for having revised the work before printing. Dr. Thomas has not only revised the English rendering, but has also cleared up many a difficult passage in the translation. I must not forget my predecessors, who cleared the way for the present edition. The greatest praise is due to the late Dr. K. Marx, of Leh, who showed for the first time that the *Rgyal-rabs* contains a coherent and intelligible account of the past, and is not a mere jumble of words.

LA-DVAGS-RGYAL-RABS

TIBETAN TEXT

ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་རབས་ནི།

I

(*L* MS.) ལེགས་བྱས་མཆོད་སྦྱིན་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་ཡི་བསོད་ནམས་འཕྲས།
དུས་གསུམ་མཐོང་བའི་ཡེ་ཤེས་འདྲེན་བྱེད་སྟོང་གིས་བཀྲུན།
ཞི་(ཕྱག་)ཁྲག་མེད་པ་སྟོབས་ཀྱི་མི་བསོད་སྐྱ་བརྒྱའི་ལན།
ནམ་མཁའི་རལ་པས་བསྐྱེད་པས་མཐུ་སྟོབས་དབང་པོས་མཛོད།།

(*S* MS.) མཚར་དུ་དངར་བའི་མཁྱེན་པའི་གེ་སར་
གདོན་དུའི་ལང་ཚོའི་ཕྱུགས་ཀྱུ་ཡིས།
ཆོས་ཀུན་དེ་དྭགས་མིག་ཅན་མ་ཡི་
སྙིང་ལ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རང་དབང་དུ།
འདུ་འཕྲལ་སྙོམས་གར་རི་མོའི་སྣང་བརྙན་
ཆོས་ཉིད་མེ་ལོང་གཙང་མའི་ངོས།
རྗེན་པར་འཆར་བའི་བྱེད་པོ་ཕྱར་ཕྱུར་
ལྷ་པ་མཉེན་པའི་རྒྱན་དུ་བཞུགས།།

II

(*A* MS.) བོད་ས་གཞི་ཆག་རབས་ནི།

|| སྔར་ཆོས་ཐམས་ཅད་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་རྣམ་པར་དག་ཅིང་། བརྗོད་པའི་ཡུལ་ལས་འདས་པ་ཡིན་དའང་། གང་ཟག་བརྒྱུད་སྨིན་པ་དང་། མ་སྨིན་པའི་དབང་གིས། ཀུན་རྫོབ་སྒྱུ་མའི་རྣམ་འཕྲུལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁྱབ་པ། སྟོད་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབྱིབས་དང་ཁ་དོག་སྣ་ཚོགས་སུ་སྣང་བ་བཀས་ཀྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ལགས་དའང་། མཛོད་ལས།

ཉི་ཟླ་བྱེ་བ་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་རྣམ་བྱེ་བའི།
གླིང་བཞིའི་བར་ཚལ་མེར་འཁྱམ་དཀྱིལ་པ་ལས།
འཁོར་ཕྱག་ཕྲམ་པོས་བསྐོར་བ་བསོད་པ་སྐྱེ།
ཕྲག་ཕྲམ(ཤཱ་ཀ་ཕྲམ་པ)་མིང་གི་རྣམ་གྲངས་རྣམས་སྣང་བཞུགས་

ཞེས་དང་། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་རྣམ་པར་སྣང་མཛད་གདངས་ཆེན་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཕྱག་གི་ལྷུང་བཟེད་ཀྱི་ནང་དུ་སྟོང་གསུམ་མི་མཇེད་འདི་ཡི་སྐྱར་ཆགས་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། བཤད་གྲང་མང་དུ་གདགས་ཀྱང་། མདོར་བཅུ་ན། ༧༠། ལོད་ཉན་བརྒྱུད་པ་ལས། མཁའ་ལ་རླུང་སྐྱེས། དེ་

ལ་རྒྱའི་ཐུང་པོ་རྙེད། དེ་ལ་ས་ཆེན་འདི་རྙེད། དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་རྙེད། སེམས་ཅན་ལས་ལ་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱུ་དེ་འདྲའི། ཞེས་པ། དེ་ལ་དང་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་སྟོང་པར་བསྐལ་པ་ཉི་ཤུར་སྟོངས་ནས་གནས་པའི་དུས་སུ། གཡོ་འགྱུལ་རླུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་མས་བརྟེན། དགའ་བདེ་ཆུ་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་ཀུན་བསྡུས། རྣགས་སྤྱོད་མེ་ཡི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་རྡོད་བབ། སྣང་བ་ནམ་མཁའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱིས་སྒོ་ཕྱེ། དབང་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི་དེ་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ལ་འཁོར་སྐྱོམས། ཁོངས་ཡངས་ལ་མཐའ་མེད་པའི་དཀྱུང་སྤྱོད་པོས་གཡས་བྱབ། དོན་མི་འགྱུར་བ་དབུས་ཀྱི་རི་རྒྱལ་ལྷུན་པོས་མནན། གླིང་བཞི་མཐའ་ནས་མི་ཉེར་བར་འབྱུང་བ་ལྔའི་གཏེར་བརྩེགས། ནམ་ཟླ་དང་དུས་ཚོད་བཞི་མི་འགྱུར་བ་ཞིང་པའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཞིས་ཚོད་བཟུང་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་དཔལ་བའི་བར་དུ་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།། དེ་ཡང་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་པའི་ཚོ་ལོ་བརྒྱ་ཞི་པའི་ཚོ་ན། དཔལ་བར་སེམས་ཅན་གཅིག་སྐྱེས་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། དེ་སྐད་བཤད་ཀྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ཆགས་པའི་ཡུན་ལ། བར་སྐབས་བཅུ་དགུ་འགོར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་གང་དང་། གང་གི་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ཚད་ཅི་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། གླིང་པའི་གླིང་བརྒྱད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རྣམ་བཤད་མངོན་པའི་མཛོད་ལས་ཤེས་པར་བྱའོ། དེ་ལྟར་ཕྱི་སྣོད་ཀྱི་འཇིག་རྟེན་མར་ནས་ཡར་ཆགས། ནང་བཅུད་ཀྱི་སེམས་[ཅན་]ཡར་ནས་མར་ལ་བབ་པའི་ཚུལ་ནི། འོད་གསལ་གྱི་ལྷ་ཚོ་དང་དབང་ཐང་དམན་པ། ལྷ་ནམ་ཀྱེར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡེ་མཁྱེན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱ་བ་ལགས་སྐད། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་སྲིད་པེར་ཆེན་པོ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་ནམ་པེར་ཆེན་པོ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་འོད་གསལ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་ཁར་གསལ། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་ཆར་བྱེད། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་བར་ལྷ་བདུན་ཚོགས། དེའི་བུ་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བུ་པ་ལ་བུ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེས་པའི། དངས་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་ལྷ་སྐར་ཆེན་དང་སྐར་ལ་རྟགས་གཉིས། ཤར་ལུས་འཕགས་པོར་བབས། དེའི་འོག་མ་འོད་ཆེན་དང་འོད་ལ་རྟགས་གཉིས། བྱང་སྒྲ་མི་སྙན་དུ་བབས། དེའི་འོག་མ་སྣང་བ་དང་སྣང་ལ་རྟགས་གཉིས། ནུབ་བ་གླང་སྤྱོད་ལ་བབས། དེའི་དངས་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་བེ་ཌཱུརྱ་སྔོན་མོའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་ཁྱབ་པ། སྟོང་འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་བའི་ལེ་ཙོ་ཙེ། ཟར་ལམ་བསྐོར་བའི་གླིང་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་ཅན་ཤིང་རྟའི་དབྱིབས་སུ་སྣང་བ། གླིང་གི་སྙིང་པོ་དུས་གསུམ་གྱི་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་འབྱུང་བའི་གནས། འདི་ཤེད་ཏུ་ཉམས་དགའ་བར་སྣང་ངོ་། ལྷ་ཤེད་ཅན་དང་ཤེད་ལ་རྟགས་གཉིས་བབས་སོ།།

དེའི་ཚེ་ན་མི་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་བཅུ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རང་ལུས་ལ་འོད་དང་ལྡན་པས། ཉིན་མཚན་གྱི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་པ། ལུས་ལ་ནད་མེད་པས། ཚེ་ཤེད་ཏུ་རིང་བ། ཁམས་ཀྱི་ཟས་ལ་མི་ལྟོས་པ་དང་། ཁམས་ཀྱི་གོས་ལ་མི་ལྟོས་པ་དང་། ཉོན་མོངས་པ་མེད་པ། རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་དང་ལྡན་པ། མངོན་པར་ཤེས་པ་དང་ལྡན་པ། ཕོ་མོའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད་པ། དགྲ་གཉེན་མེད་པ། ནོར་སོགས་མེད་པ། སྤྱོད་ལམ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལྷའི་ལུགས་སུ་ཡོད་དོ།།

དེའི་དུས་སུ་ལྷ་གཤེད་བྱའི་སྤྱི་བོར་ལྦྲ་བ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྡོལ་བས། མི་དཀར་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་སུ་བྱས། གྲོག་མ་ནས་མི་དམར་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་བྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་སུ་བྱས། སྙིང་ཀ་ནས་མི་གསེར་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྗེ་རིགས་སུ་བྱས། ཡོལ་མོང་ནས་མི་ནག་པོ་གཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་དམངས་རིགས་སུ་བྱས་སོ། དེ་ཚེ་རྒྱ་གར་བའི་མི་རིགས་ཡིན་ནོ། བུ་མོ་གཤེད་ལ་རྟགས་ལས་ཆད་པ་ནི། གྱེང་གི་སྙིང་དང་གནོད་སྦྱིན་གདོང་དམར་གཉིས་བྱུང་། གྱེང་གི་སྙིང་ལ་ཡང་བུ་གཉིས། བུ་མོ་རླུང་རྗེ་བམ་པ་དང་། བུ་བོ་ཐག་སྲིད་གཉིས། རླུང་རྗེ་བམ་གྱི་བུ་བརྒྱད་ནི། ཁ་ཆེ། བལ་ཡུལ། ཟ་ཧོར། ཨོ་རྒྱན། ཏ་ཟིག། ཁྲོམ་སེ་སར་འདོད་མ། ཉ་དམ། སོག་མི་གྲུ་གུ། རག་ཤི་ལ་སོགས་ཏའི་རིགས། མིའུ་རིགས་བཞིའི་ཞང་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། བུ་བོ་ཐག་སྲིད་ལ་བུ་གཉིས། བུ་མོ་ཟར་རྗེ་ཐོད་པ་དང་། བུ་བོ་སྤྲེའུ་སུ་ཉིད་དོ། སྤྲེའུ་སུ་ཉིད་ལ་འབོག་འཆོལ་གྱི་མི་རྫེ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། དེ་ལས་ཆད་པ་མཐའ་འཁོབ་དགུ་བཅུ་ཛ་གཉིས་སུ་ཆད་དོ། བུ་མོ་ཟང་རྗེ་ཐོད་པ་ལ་བུ་གཉིས། བུ་མོ་ཟང་མི་སྐྱིད་པ་དང་། བུ་བོ་འཕང་རྗེ་ལམ་དང་གཉིས། བུ་བོ་ལས་ཆད་པ་ཁྲིབ་(མཐའ་འཁོབ་)དྲུག་བཅུའི་མི་ལགས་སྐད། བུ་མོ་ཟང་མི་སྐྱིད་པ་ལ་བུ་བཞི། དངས་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་སྲུ་ཞང་ཤུང་གི་མེས་པོ་སྐྱིད་པ་ཟང་རྗེ། དེའི་འོག་མ་སེ་ཞ་ལྦྲའི་

སེམས་པོ་གླིང་སེར་མང་རྗེ། དེའི་འོག་མ་ཧོང་གསུམ་པའི་སེམས་པོ་རིང་རྗེ་ཙུ་ར། མང་ཆུང་ལྦོང་མོ་ཉག་གི་སེམས་པོ་སྤུ་རྗེ་སྤྱུག་པ་དང་བཞིའོ༎ བཞི་པོ་དེ་ལས་མི་རིགས་ཆས་ཆེར་ཕྱེས་སོ། སྤུ་རྗེ་སྤྱུག་པ་ལ་སྲས་བཞི་སྟེ། སྤུ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་མོག་ཏུ་དང་། སྣད་མ་རྗེ་དང་། ཕུར་ཐ་ཅེ་དང་། ཁམ་རྗེ་དང་བཞི་སྟེ། སྤུ་གསུམ་ཀྱི་མོག་ཏུ་ལ་ཐ་གསུམ། ཅེ་མི་དང་། རྗེ་དང་། རྗེ་མི་དང་གསུམ། སྣད་པ་(མ་)རྗེ་ལ་ཐ་ལྔ། ཁ་མོ་དང་། ཚོགས་མི་དང་། དགུ་རྗེ་དང་། ཟས་རྗེ་དང་། ཤང་རྗེ་བཙན་དང་ལྔ། ཕུར་ཐ་ཅེ་ལ་ཐ་ལྔ་སྟེ། ཡང་རྗེ་རིང་རྗེ་དང་། སྟོན་རྗེ་དང་། ཡ་ཡ་དང་། ཚོ་དཀར་རྗེ་དང་ལྔ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཡིན། བློན་རིགས་ལ། ལྦོང་པོ་ཚེ་ཡོངས་ཀྱུ་དང་། ལ་ཆེན་ལྦོང་དང་། དམ་ཆེན་ལྦོང་དང་། བོག་རྒྱུད་ལྦོང་དང་བཞིའོ། རྗེ་རིགས་ལ་བོག་རྒྱུད་ལྦོང་གིས་ཆུང་མ་བླངས་པས། བུ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་སྐྱེས། དེ་ལྦོང་ཙ་ཆེན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་དང་། ཉིས་ལྦོང་ལ་སོགས་པ་མི་རིགས་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཞིག་ཆད་དོ། དེ་ཡང་སྤྱིར་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ན། རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་ལྔ། མཐའ་འཁོབ་དྲུག་བཅུ་རྩ་གཉིས། ཡང་འཁོབ་དྲུག་བཅུ་འགོག་ཆོལ་གྱི་མི་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཕྲ་མོ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི། བོ་ཀྲོལ་གྱི་ལྟོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་ན་མཆིས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་དབུས་ནི་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ལྟོ་ཕྱོགས། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་སོགས་ཁའི་ལྟ་བ། རྒྱ་གར་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་ཅན་དེར། བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་མཛད་པ། ལྷོར་མོ་སྤུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་དཔེར་ཙམ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་ན། ལྷོར་མོ་སྤུར་རྒྱལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྒོ་ང་ལ་བཞིང་གནས་ཏེ་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ཀོག་པ་ལ་གནས་དུས་དེ་རི་བ་སྤུར་འཕོན་ཀྱི་རྩེ་ཀོག་ལ་གནས། . . . .

. . . .

བདུད་ཀྱི་ཟ་ཞིང་བརྒྱུད་ལ་སྦྱར། མེ་ཏོག་སྤྲུལ་པ་གདན་ཀྱི་མི་དེ་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག་ལ་སྐྱེས་ནས། མིང་མོག་ལ་སྦྱར། བདུད་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་འཕྲང་གི་མི་དེ། མེ་ཚྭ་སྡེ་ཕྲུའི་ཐལ་བ་ལ་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། ཚྭ་དེ་མའི་ཁ་བ་ལ་སྦྱར། མི་འཁམ་ཅི་ལ་བཞི་སྟེ། ང་སྤྱོད་པ་མེ་ཏོག་གི་འབྲས་བུ་བཟའ། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཁ་ཞག་འཐུང། རྟེན་བཙུགས་མཆོད་ཐོགས་གིད་པོ་རྣམས་དང་འགྲན་མོ་བྱེད། ནས་ཐུ་ཁ་དང་ཁུག་བཟའ། སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་བྱེས་པ་དབྱར་ལྷར་དོར་ལ་སྐྱེ། དབྱུག་ད་འཆི། མགོ་བཀོད་དེ་ཏུར་འགྲོ་ལྷ་མཆོག་ཀྱི་མགོ་བོ་ནམ་ས་རྟ་བཞིན། གླིང་ཆུང་ཚེ་ན་གནས་སོ༎

སྐྱེ་གནས་བཞི་ལ། ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་མངལ་ལས་སྐྱེས། ཤར་ལུས་འཕགས་པོ་རྫུས་སྐྱེས་ལས་སྐྱེས། ནུབ་བ་གླང་སྤྱོད་སྒོ་ང་ལས་སྐྱེས། བྱང་སྒྲ་མི་སྙན་བཙུ་དྲོད་སྐྱེས། མཚམས་ཀྱི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ནི། གས་མང་ཙ། ཐེམ་མང་ཏེར། ཏ་ཞེ་མོད། སྤྱུ་རྒྱལ་པོད་དང་བཞིའོ། ནང་གི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ནི། སྤྲ་ཤང་ཕྱུང། གདོང་གསུམ་པ། ལྡོང་མེ་ཉག། སེ་འ་ཝ་དང་བཞིའོ། ཁམ་པའི་མིའུ་རིགས་བཞི་ལ། རྗེད་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ནས་ཁལ། ལྡེབ་རིགས་ནས་ཁལ། ཚངས་པ་བྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་ནས་ཁལ། སྨིན་པ་དམང(དམངས)་རིགས་ནས་ཁལ། ཞེས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཞིག་ཆགས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། བཤད་ཡང་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི་དང་རིགས་ནས་ཁལ་བ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་ངོ༎

དུས་དེའི་ཚེ་བདུད་ཀྱི་བཞི་བརྒྱད་ཅེས་ཟ་བ་ཁ་དོག་དམར་སེར། རོ་སྣང་ཀྱི་འདྲ་བ་ཞིག་བྱུང་བས། དེ་ལྷ་གསེར་ཞུས་ཞངས་པས། ཞིམ་པོ་ཚོར་ནས། ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཟོས་པས། དེ་ལ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་འཐུངས་ནས་ཞུགས་པས། ལུས་ལྗི་བ། ཞི་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཁྱབ་སྐྱེ། ལུས་ཀྱི་འོད་ཉམས་པ་དང་། ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འགྲོ་མི་ནུས་པ་དང་། ཟུག་པར་གྱུར་ཏེ་ཟ་དང་ཟད་བྱེད་པའི་ཚེ། སྤྱི་མཐུན་གྱི་ལས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ཟད། གསེར་ཤར་ཀྱི་ལྷུ་རིང་ལ་ཉེ། མིའི་ལྟང་བ་མེ་མེལ་གྱི་ཉི་མ་བྱུང། དེ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་དུ་གསེར་དོག་གི་རྒྱ་རིང་ལ་མཚན་མོའི་ལྟང་བ་ཟླ་མེལ་གྱི་ཟླ་བ་བྱུང། གསེར་ཟིན་གྱི་རྒྱ་རིང་ལ་དགུ་མཆིས་པ་བྱུང། དེའི་ཚེ་ནས་དེ་ཡང་དུ་ཚོས་ཟ་རྣམས་འཐོག་དང་ལ། ཕྱང་ཏུ་ཚོས་པ་རྣམས་འཐོག་བཟང་བས། ང་ཡི་འཐོག་བཟང་ལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་འཐོག་ངན་ནོ། ཞེས་ང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཕྱད

མོངས་པ་རྣམས་རྩོམ་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་དག་ཀྱང་ང་རྒྱལ་དེའི་རྣམ་སྨིན་གྱིས་སའི་བཅུད་དེ་ནུས་པ་ཀུན་འདུ་སྟེ། ཟ་དང་ཟས་པས། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་སྐྱེ་མཐུན་གྱི་ལས་ཀྱིས་ས་ཆེན་པོ་འདིའི་སྟེང་དུ་སྦྲུ་ཀུའི་ཚལ་ཞེས་བྱ། རོ་སྙང་ཞིང་མ་རྨོས་པ་ལྷུ་བྱ། ཁ་དོག་ཀ་དམ་སྦྲུ་ཀའི་མེ་ཏོག་ལྷ་བྱ་ཅིག་བྱུང་ངོ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཟ་བ་དང་མྱང་བ་ནས། ཁྱད་སོད་བྱུར་བཞིན་བྱས་པས། དེ་ཡང་ནུབ་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེ་ནས་མི་རྣམས་ཚོགས་ནས། ཟ་དང་བྱེད་པ་ལ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྗེ་དང་སྐྱེ་མཐུན་གྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ལས་གྲུབ་པའི། མ་རྨོས་པའི་ལོ་ཏོག་འབྲས་སཱ་ལུའི་ཚལ་ཞེས་བྱ། ཤུན་དང་ཕུབ་མ་མེད་པ། ནང་དྲས་ན་ནང་སྐྱེ། ནུབ་དྲས་ན། ནུབ་སྐྱེས། འབྲས་སྙེ་མ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཕྲུལ་མ་ན་ཉའི་ཐེ་བཞི་བཞི་ཡོད་པ། ཏོག་པོ་རེ་རེ་ལ་སོར་བཞི་བཞི་ཡོད་པ། དེ་ལ་ཕུན་རིང་དུ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཚེ། ཟས་དེ་ཐྲ་མ་བས་རགས་པ་ཡིན་པས། བཤང་གཅི་དང་སྣབས་ཕྱུང་ལ་སོགས་བྱུང་བས། སྐྱེས་པ་དང་བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་དབང་པོ་དག་བྱུང་ངོ། དེ་དག་གིས་གཅིག་གིས་གཅིག་ལ། མིག་བྲ་ཚགས་སུ་བལྟས་པས། ལོག་པར་ཞུགས་ནས། དེ་སེམས་ཅན་གཞན་དག་མཐོང་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་གྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ལོག་པར་ཞུགས་སོ་ཞེས་ཟེར་ཞིང་། རྡོ་དང་སེག་མ་འཕེན་པར་བྱེད་པས། དེ་མི་མཐོང་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར། ང་ཚོ་ཁང་བུ་བརྩིགས་པས། ཁྱིམ་རྩིག་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེ་ཡང་ལྷ་མིའི་རྗེར་གྱུར་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ལ་གྲགས་པར་བྱེ་ན། གསུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་བཅུ་ཡོད། དེ་ལ་བསྡུས་པ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་བཤད་དེ། དག་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་རྗེ་དང་མ་དག་སེམས་ཅན་རྗེ། སངས་རྒྱས་རྗེ་ནི་སྐུ་གསུང་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད། སེམས་ཅན་རྗེ་ལ་རྣམ་པ་ལྔ་ར་བྱེ་ནས། སྟོང་གསུམ་དབང་བྱེད་སྐྱེ་ཞུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། རིགས་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྔ། དེ་ཡང་སྟོང་གསུམ་མི་མཇེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ། སྟོང་སྐྱེ་ཞུར་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚངས་པ་བྱིགས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་རིགས་བཞི་དང་། རིགས་ལྡན་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཤིན་རྗེ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དང་། འཛམ་གླིང་རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་བཀུར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བརྒྱུད་འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་བོ་སྐྱེས་ལ་སོགས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྕགས་དབང་སྒྱུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན། དེ་ཡང་དབུས་རི་རབ་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་སོག་ཁའི་ཕྲུ་བ། རྒྱ་གར་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་སྙིང་པོ་དེར། བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་འཁྲུངས་མཛད་པ། འཁོར་ལོས་སྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆེ་བ་དབེན་ཙམ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་ན། དེ་ཡང་མཁས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་འབྱུང་རྣམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་རབས་ཆེ་ཆུང་རྣམས་ལས་རྒྱལ་རིགས་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་དྲུག་བཅུ་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་ཀྱང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། མ་འདས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་སུ་འདུས། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་འདས་པ་ནི། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་རབ་འབྱམས་ལ་དབང་བྱེད་ཅིང་། སྲིད་པ་ལ་དབང་ཐོབ་ནས། འཇིག་རྟེན་རྟོགས་པའི་ཕྲུལ་ལས་འདས་པས་ན་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་ལྟ་བུའོ། འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་མ་འདས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྔ་སྟེ། བེམ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། རིགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ། བསྒྲགས་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ······ སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྔའོ། དེ་ཡང་བེམ་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྔ་ནི། རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཤིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། རླུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལྔའོ། དེ་ལ་དང་པོ་རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རི་རབ་ལྷུན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་ལྔ་ལས་གྲུབ་ཅིང་། སྟེང་ནས་འོག་ཏུ་དཔག་ཚད་འབུམ་ཕྲག་དྲུག་ཁྲི་ཡོད། སྟེང་ལྷ། བར་ལྷ་མིན། འོག་འཆི་བདག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སོ་ཐང་། ལོགས་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞིའི་བཞུགས་གནས། གཟའ་དང་རྒྱུ་སྐར་རྣམས་སྐོར་བར་བྱེད་པ་དེ་རིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཤིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་ཤིང་སྟེ། ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དགའ་བདེ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་། ཟས་ནོར་ཐམས་ཅད་དེ་ལས་འབྱུང་བས་ན་ཤིང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། འབྱུངས་ན་ཀླུ་ས་དང་མཆིན་པ་གང་ལ་ཡང་མི་གནོད། ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་གནས། ནོར་བུ་རིན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབྱུང་ས་ཡིན་པས་ན་ཆུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་བསྐལ་པའི་མེ་དཔུང་ཡིན་ཏེ། མེ་འབར་བའི་དུས་ན་བསམ་གཏན་གཉིས་མན་ཆད་བསྲེག་པར་བྱེད། ཐུར་དུ་འབར་བས། དམྱལ་བའི་ཁམས། གསེར་གྱི་ས་གཞི། ཆུ་དང་རླུང་གི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་བསྲེག་ཅིང་། དེ་ནས་ལྷུན་པོ་ཡང་འཇིག་ནུས་པ་དེ་ནི་མེའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། རླུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ནི་སྟོང་གསུམ་འཇིག་པ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རླུང་ཡིན་ཏེ། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་དབང་ཟུམ་ཅིང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་འདེར་གནས་ཏེ། དེའི་ཚམས

སུ་དཔག་ཚད་ས་ཡ་ཕྲག་འབུམ། རྒྱར་གྲངས་མེད་རླུང་གི་སྟོབས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་ཡང་འབྱུར་ལ་མི་འཇིག ། ཡོགས་ལ་མི་གཡོ་བས་ན་རླུང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཉིས་པ་རིགས་ཅན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ནི། མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་མིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། མི་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལ་ལྷ་སྟེ། ལྷ། ལྷ་མ་ཡིན། དུད་འགྲོ། དམྱལ་བ། ཡི་དགས་དང་ཀླུ་འདྲེ། དང་པོ་ལྷའི་དབང་པོ་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་ནི། གཞན་ལས་ཁྱད་པར་འཕགས་ཤིང་མིག་སྟོང་དང་ལྡན་པ། སྟོབས་དང་རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ། ཉེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞི། རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཀླུ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབང་བྱེད་ཅིང་། བསྲུང་བར་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ལྷ་བྲ་ཧི་ལྷའི་རྒྱལ་པོ། གཉིས་པ་ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐག་བཟང་རིས་ཡིན་ནི། རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བཞིའི་གོ་ཆ་ལུས་གོན་ནི་ ············· [ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་] ||

ཐམས་ཅད་གྲོས་བྱས་ནས། ད་ནི་འོ་སྐོལ་གྱི་ནང་ནས་མི་ལེགས་ཉེས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་འབྱེད་པ། བརྩོན་འགྲུས་དང་སྙིང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ། ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བྱམས་ཤིང་། སྤྱི་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེ་བ། སྤྱོད་པ་སྣ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང་། ཚོད་རིག་པ་ཅིག་ཞིང་དཔོན་དུ་སྐོ་དགོས། ཞེར་ནས། ཞིང་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་གྲོས་ཁས་ཕུལ་ནས། སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་བཀུར་བས། དེ་ལ་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བ་ཞེས་མཚན་གསོལ་ནས། སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད་དོ། དེ་ཡང་མཛོད་ལས་

ལེ་ལོས་བསོག་འཇོག་བྱས་ནས་ནི།
འདོད་ཆགས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་དཔོན་སྐྱབས།
ཞིང་དང་ས་ལུ་མ་བྱིན་པར།
ལེན་པ་རྣམས་ལས་སྐྱོབ་པར་བྱེད།

པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཟེར། རྗེ་རིགས་དང་། ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་དགུ་སྐྱོང་བའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དང་། ཤེས་རབ་ཉམས་སུ་བླང་སྟེ་གནས་པ་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་བླས་སོ། མཚན་ཡང་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་བྱའོ། དུས་སྐབས་འདི་ཙམ་ནས་མི་རིགས་བཞི་འམ་ལྔར་གྱུར་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ཡང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྣ་བདུན་ལས། སྔོན་ནི་འདི་དག་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ལས་དང་བྱ་བའི་ཁྱད་པར་ལས་རིགས་ནི་བཞི་འམ་ལྔར་གྱུར། ཞེས་པ་ལྟར་སེམས་ཅན་དེ་དག་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་། ཁྲིམས་དང་གཙང་སྦྲ་ལ་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་བྲམ་ཟེའི་རིགས་སུ་གྱུར་ཏོ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་ངོ་ཚ་ཤེས། ཤེས་རབ་ཆེ་བ་སྙིང་རྗེས་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་རྗེ་རིགས་ཞེས་བྱའོ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་འབབ་འཚོལ་དུ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་ངོ་ཚ་ཆུང་བ། སྡིག་པ་ལ་མི་འཛེམ་པ་རྒྱུན་དུ་སྣ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་དམང་རིགས་ཞེས་བྱའོ། དེ་དག་ལས་ཁྲེལ་དང་ངོ་ཚ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆུང་བ། མི་དགེ་བ་བཅུ་ལ་སོགས་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་ན་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྨད་པའི། དམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་པ་དང་འགལ་བར་བྱེད་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གདོལ་པའི་རིགས་ངན་ཞེས་བྱའོ། མི་རིགས་སོ་སོར་ཕྱེས་པའི་ཐོག་མ་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། ||

རྒྱལ་པོ་མང་བཀུར་བའི་སྲས་འོད་མཛེས། དེའི་རིང་ལ་གཟའ་དང་སྐར་མ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་བ། དེའི་རིང་ལ་འོད་དམར་པོ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་མཆོག དེའི་རིང་ལ་སྨྲ་སྐད་དང་ཐག་ཆ་བྱུང་། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་དགུ་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། དེའི་སྲས་གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས། དེའི་རིང་ལ་འབྲུག་གི་སྒྲ་བྱུང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལྷ་ལ་བསྐལ་པ་དང་པོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྱི་ལྡེ་ཟེར་རོ། གསོ་འཕགས་ལ་སྲས་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་འབྱུངས་པའི་རྒྱ་ལྷས་སྤྱི་བོར་ཁ་སྐྱེ་ཅིག་བྱུང་། དེ་རྡོལ་བའི་ནང་ནས་ཁྱེའུ་གཟུགས་བཟང་བ། མཛེས་པ། ལྷ་ན་སྡུག་པ། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་བྱམས་པ། མཚན་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཅིག་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་བོ་ལས་སྐྱེས་པས། སྤྱི་བོ་སྐྱེས་ཞེས་མིང་དུ་བཏགས་སོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་བདུན་དང་ལྡན་ཏེ། རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བདུན་ནི་འཁོར་ལོ་རིན་ཆེན། ནོར་བུ་རིན་ཆེན། བཙུན་མོ་རིན་ཆེན། བློན་པོ་རིན་ཆེན། གླང་པོ་རིན་ཆེན། རྟ་མཆོག་རིན་ཆེན། དམག་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་[དང་]རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བདུན་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་། དམག་དཔོན་རིན་ཆེན་གྱི་ཚབ་ཏུ་ཁྱིམ་བདག་རིན་ཆེན་ཞེས་སོ། འདིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རིན་ཆེན་སྣ་བདུན་དང་། ཟས་གོས་ཀྱི་ཆར་པ་བབ་

ཀྱེ། འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་དུ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་ལོན་དུས། གདོང་བྱིན་ལྷ་མེས་ཀྱིས་བསྐུལ་ནས། འཁོར་ལོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཟླ་སྤྲས། བཙུན་མོའི་འཁོར་དང་བཅས་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་སོང་ནས། མར་དང༌། ཏུག་དང༌། ཟུང་དང༌། [ཕྱོ་]རྒྱལ་ཆེན་བཞིའི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡྐྱ་དབང་འདོད་ཆེས་ཀྱིས་གདུངས་ཏེ། ཕྱག་བསྐུལ་བས་བརྒྱ་བྱིན་ཟླ་མ་དེ་ལ་ངན་སེམས་སྐྱེས་པས། བསོད་ནམས་ཟད་པས། ཕྱུག་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་ས་ལ་ལྷུང་ཀྱེ། གྲོངས་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་ལ་བརྟག་ཅིང། བཟོ་བོའི་གནས་དང་ལས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་ནག་མང་པོ་བྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། སྐྱེ་བོ་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལྷག་པ་གསལ་ནུ་ཀ་རྐེ་ལས་ཙཎྜ་ཞེས་བྱུང། མིང་མཚོས་པ་ཞེས་བྱའོ། གསེར་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་བཞི་ལ་དབང་ངོ། མཚོས་པའི་ལྷག་པ་གནོན་པར་ཀ་རྐེ་ལས་ཙཎྜ་ཞེས་བྱུང། མིང་ཉེ་མཚོས་ཞེས་བྱ་ཀྱེ། དངུལ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་གསུམ་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཉེར་མཚོས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་གསས་པར་ཀ་རྐེ་ལས་ཙཎྜ་ཞེས་བྱུང། མིང་མཚོས་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་ཀྱེ། ཟངས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་གཉིས་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། མཚོས་ཅན་གྱི་བརྒྱ་གནོན་པར་ཀ་རྐེ་ལས་ཙཎྜ་ཞེས་བྱུང། མིང་མཚོས་ལྡན་དུ་བཏགས། ལྕགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བ་གླིང་གཅིག་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བདུན་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། དེ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོ་སྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣ་ལྔ་ཟེར།།

མཚོས་ལྡན་གྱི་སྲས་རྒྱལ་བྱེད། དེའི་སྲས་མཚོས་དགའ། དའི་སྲས་མི་ཟློད་པ། དེའི་སྲས་བདང་བཟུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་དྲུག་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། དུས་ཚོད་དགེ་བ་རྣམས་དེའི་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་ངོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བདང་བཟུང་གི་དུས་སུ་སངས་རྒྱས་འཁོར་བ་འཇིག་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། བདང་བཟུང་གི་སྲས་ཕྱུགས་སྐྱོབས་གསེར་ཐུབ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་གདུང་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་དགུ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་བྱེད་ཆེན་པོའི་དུས་སུ། སངས་རྒྱས་གསེར་ཐུབ་ཏོར་ཅན་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་གདུང་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་སྟོང་དང་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་གཉིས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་མེ་སྡེ་ལྡན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱུང། དེའི་སྲུ་དང་ཚེ་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་འབུམ་ཚོར། རྒྱལ་རིགས་མངའ་ཐང་དུ་མ་ལ་དབང་བྱས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་བཞི་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱོབ་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་རབས་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བདུན་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བསོད་པ་བཀའ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་གསུམ་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། སངས་རྒྱས་འོག་པར་དང་སེལ་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། ཆོས་སྐྱོང་རྒྱུད་གསུངས། དེ་ནས་གདུང་རབས་འབུམ་དང་དྲུག་ཁྲི་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གྲགས་ཆེན་སྐྱེ་བྱུང། དེའི་དུས་སུ་ཚེ་ལོ་ཉི་ཁྲི་ཐུབ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་གསེར་ཐུབ་བྱོན། དེ་ནས་གདུང་རབས་འབུམ་དང་ཁྲི་ཚོ་ལྔ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀྲི་ཀྲི་ཞེས་བྱ་བྱུང། ཚེ་ལོ་ཁྲི་དང་ལྔ་སྟོང་ཐུབ། སངས་རྒྱས་འོད་སྲུང་སྟོན་པར་བྱོན། ཆོས་རྣལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱུད་གསུངས། ཀྲི་ཀྲིའི་སྲས་ལེགས་སྐྱོང། དེའི་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཐམ་པ་ནས། ཡུལ་གྲུ་འདིར་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣ་བ་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བྱུང།།

III

(*S* MS.) ཤེས་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ང་རོའི་ཏམ་སྒྲ་དབེ་རྒྱུད་ལས་ཉེ་བར་ཕྱུང་སྟེ། ཟླ་ན་མེད་པའི་ཐེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་བདུད་རྩི། ཟད་མི་ཤེས་པའི་འབྱུང་གནས་ཟ་མ་ཏོག། དབང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣར་དུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་གསང་མཛོད། དཔལ་མཻ་ཏྲིའི་མཚོས་ལྡན་དུ་སྒྱུར་བའི་བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོ། འདིའི་འདྲེན་མཆོག་སྟོབས་བཅུ་མངའ་བ། སྟོང་གི་མི་ལྷུང་འཕང་བའི་དཀུག་ན་ཆུ་ཤེལ། དབང་པོའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར། ཀ་གང་བ་ལྟ་བུར་མངོན་པར་འཕགས་ཤིང། མངའ་ཞིང་བཅིངས་པའི་རྨ་བས་པོ་ཆེའི་སྨྲུན་ལས་བྱེ་བརྒྱ། ཕྱག་དུ་ཕྱུང་བའི་བདེན་སྟོབས་ཉི་མ་མེད་པས། བད་དཀར་ལྟ་བུར་ཞུགས་པའི་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཛ་ལོ་ཆེ། སྲིད་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཕྱག་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པ་བུ་རམ་ཤིང་པ། འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དེ་ལྟ་དང་བཅས་པའི་འགྲོ་བའི་ལེགས་རྒྱན་རྐྱེན་མེད་པའི་འོད་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱལ་པའི་བར་བདེ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཚ་ལག་ས་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་འབྱུང་ཞིང་འཕེལ་བ་དང༌། བར་སྐབས་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཕྲེང་པོ་དེ་མངས་པའི་དོན་འབྲེལ་གྱི་རྟེན་

ལ་མངའ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་རག་ལུས་པས་ན། ནོ་སྐོལ་གྱི་སྔོན་པས་ཀྱང་རིགས་དང༌། ཡུལ་དང༌། དུས་དང༌། བརྒྱུད་དང༌། ནུབ་མེད་དེ་གཤེགས་པ་ལྟ་ལ་གཞིགས་ནས། ཐམས་གཙང་གི་སྲས་སྲ་བསྐྱམས་པར་མཛད་པས། ཐོག་མར་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུང་རབས་རྒྱུད་ཟད་བརྗོད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། འཕགས་པའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་ཐལ་ཆེ་བ་འཆི་མེད་ཀྱི་གནས་ནས་ཆད་པས། གཞལ་དུ་མེད་པའི་ཚེ་དང༌། འདོད་དགུ་ལ་ལོང་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་མཐའ་ཡས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་དུ་མ་ལ་དབང་འབྱོར་བའི་ཚེ། འབད་རྩོལ་གྱི་མཐུ་ལ་རག་མ་ལུས་པའི་བདུད་རྩི། སའི་བཅུད་དང༌། སའི་ཞག། སྦྲ་ཀུའི་ཚལ། མ་རྨོས་པའི་འབྲས་ས་ལུ་རྣམས་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱད་པས། ལྷ་ལས་ཆད་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཐལ་ཆེར་ལས་གཞན་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིང༌། མ་རྨོས་པའི་འབྲས་ཀྱང་རྣམ་པར་གཡེང་བའི། གཞན་དབང་དུ་གྱུར། ཁྱེད་པ་ལ་བརྟེན། སོ་ནམ་གྱི་བྱ་བ་ལ་བརྩམས་པས། ནད་ཚྭན་དུ་རྩོད་པ་དང༌། མཚོན་འཁྲུ་བ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་ལ། དྲང་པོའི་ཐིག་གིས་གཅོད་པའི་ཞལ་ལྕེ་བར། ཀུན་གྱིས་བཀུར་ཞིང་འདུད་པ་ལས་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྒྲ་བར་གྲགས་ཤིང༌། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་འོད་མཛེས། དགེ་བ། དགེ་མཆོག། གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས་ཏེ། སྔོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྔ་ལྟར་བརྗོད་ལ། གསོ་སྦྱོང་འཕགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་བྱུང་བའི་སྔ་ལྟས་སུ། སྤྱི་བོར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང༌། དེ་རྡོལ་བའི་ནང་ནས་ང་ལ་[ལས་]ནུ། དེའི་བརླ་གཡས་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་མཛེས་པ། དེའི་བརླ་གཡོན་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་ཉེ་མཛེས། དེའི་རྐང་པ་གཡས་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་མཛེས་ལྡན། དེའི་རྐང་པ་གཡོན་པར་ཤ་སྐྲན་ཞིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་ཉེ་མཛེས་ལྡན་ཏེ། འདི་ལྔ་ལ་འཁོར་ལོས་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྔར་གྲགས་ཤིང༌། བྱེ་མ་འབྲིས་རི་གླིང་བའི་དུས་གཅིག་གི་བར་ལ་དབང་བསྒྱུར་བས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྕགས་ཀྱི་ཁོར་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་བའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དག་ནས་རིམ་པར་བརྒྱུད་དེ་ཐམས་གཅད་ཡོད་ཚོད་དུ། ས་ཡ་ཅིག་འབུམ་གཉིས་ཁྲི་ཅིག་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་བཅུ་བའི་བར་བྱུང་བར་གྲགས་ལ། འཇིགས་རྟེན་གདགས་པར། རྒྱལ་པོ་འབུམ་ཕྲག་བརྒྱད་གསུམ་ཁྲི་བཞི་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞི་ཡོད་པར་བཤད་པའི་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀ་སྙིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་སྨྲ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་གཙུག་རྒྱན། གཞོན་ནུ་དཔལ་གྱིས་འདེབ་པར་མཛད་པར་མཛད་པ་ལས་གསལ་བར་མ་གསུངས་པས། སྔར་ནས་ཀྱང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལ་འདྲིས་པར་འདོད་པའི་བློ་ལྡན་དག་གིས་དཔྱད་པར་བྱའི། དེ་ཡང་སྟོན་པ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་གདུང་ལ་ཉི་མའི་གཉེན་དང་བུ་རམ་ཤིང་པ་ཤཱཀྱ་ཞེས་བརྗོད་པ་དེ། དེའི་བརྒྱུད་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་ཁ་ནས་ཡུལ་གྲུ་འཛིན་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣ་བ་ཅན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱུང༌། དེ་ལ་བུ་གཉིས་ཏེ། གོ་ཏ་མ་དང་བྷ་ར་དྭ་ཛ་དང་གཉིས། ཆེ་བ་གོ་ཏ་མ་དེ་ཆོས་དང་ཆོས་མ་ཡིན་པར་འདྲེས་པར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པ་མཐོང་ནས། བདག་ཀྱང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བཟུང་ནས་འདི་ལྟར་འགྱུར་སྙམ་ནས། ཐུགས་སྐྱོ་སྟེ། དྲང་སྲོང་མདོག་ནག་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ངོ༌། ཆུང་བ་བྷ་ར་དྭ་ཛས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་ཡུལ་དེ་ན་སྨད་འཚོང་མ་འགྲོ་བ་བཟང་མོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། སྐྱེས་བུ་གཡོ་ཅན་པདྨའི་རྩ་ལོག་དང་གཉིས་དགའ་མགུར་སྤྱོད་ཀྱིན་ཡོད་པ་ལ། དེའི་བར་ལ་ཚོང་པ་གཞན་ཞིག་དང་འདོད་ལོག་སྤྱད་པས། པདྨའི་རྩ་ལག(ལོག)་འཁྱིམ་ནས(ཁྱིམ་ནས)། བཟང་མོའི་མགོ་བཅད་ནས། ཁྲག་གིས་གོས་པའི་རལ་གྲི་དང་[བཟང་མོའི་མགོ་]གཉིས་གོ་ཏ་མའི་ཐུག་སྒོར་བཞག་པ་དང༌། ཆད་པ་གཅོད་པའི་མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྗེས་ནས་སྙེགས་པས། ཁྲག་གིས་གོས་པའི་རལ་གྲི་དང༌། བཟང་མོའི་མགོ་དེ་ན་ཡོད་པས། དེའི་ཆད་པ་གོ་ཏ་མ་ལ་ཕོག་ནས་གསལ་ཤིང་ལ་སྐྱོན་ཏོ། དེ་དྲང་སྲོང་མདོག་ནག་གིས་མངོན་པར་ཤེས་པས་མཐོང་ནས། གོ་ཏ་མའི་ཆ་བར་བྱེད་ནས། བུ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འདི་ལྟ་བུ་ཚོར་བའི་ལས་ཅི་བྱས་གསུངས་པ་དང༌། མཁན་པོ་ང་ལ་ཉེས་པ་ཅི་ཡང་མེད། ཉེས་པ་མེད་པའི་བདེན་ཚིག་གིས་མཁན་པོའི་ཞལ་གསེར་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར་ཅིག་སྨྲས་པས། དེ་མ་ཐག་དྲང་སྲོང་མདོག་ནག་པོ་དེ་གསེར་བཞིན་དུ་གྱུར་པས། དེ་ཕྱིན་ཆད་དྲང་སྲོང་གསེར་མདོག་ཅན་དུ་གྲགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དྲང་སྲོང་གིས་གོ་ཏ་མའི་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཆད་པར་གཟིགས་ནས་གོ་ཏ་མ་ལ། ཁྱོད་ཀྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་ས་བོན་ཞིག་ཐོང་གསུངས་པས། གོ་ཏ་མ་ན་རེ། བདག་སྡུག་བསྔལ་གྱིས་ཚོར་བས་གདུངས་ནས། གདུང་བརྒྱུད་བཞག་པར་ནུས་པ་མེད་ལགས་པས། སྤྲིན་དཔོན་གྱིས་སྦྲིད་བསྐུམ་པའི་བསིལ་བར་བྱས་པས། གོ་ཏ་མ་ལ་

ཚོགས་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞིར་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་བཞི་བཙས་ཏེ། མ་ག་དྷར་པ་ཎྜུ་ཆེན་པོའི་བུ་གཟུགས་ཅན་སྙིང་པོ། ཀོ་ས་ལར་ཚངས་སྦྱིན་གྱི་བུ་གསལ་རྒྱལ། བད་པ་ལར་དམག་བརྒྱ་པའི་བུ་ཤར་བ། འཕགས་རྒྱལ་དུ་ཟླ་སྐྱོང་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱི་བུ་ཀུམ་བུ་རབ་སྣང་ངོ་། གཞན་ཡང་ཡ་རབས་ཀྱི་རིགས་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་སོགས་བུ་མོ་བརྒྱད་བརྒྱ། མཛུན་པ་ལ་སོགས་བློན་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། ཉེའུ་ཞི་དང་། ཉེའུ་མོ་ཞི་དང་། བལ་གླང་ཞི་ཡང་སྐྱེས་སོ། བསྐྱེད་མོའི་ཚལ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་གཏེར་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡང་བྱུང་ངོ་། དབུས་སུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་ཤིང་སྐྱེས་པས། སྲས་ཀྱི་མིང་ལ་དོན་ཐམས་ཅད་གྲུབ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་བཏགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་བུ་དེ་ཆེར་སོང་བ་དང་། ཡི་གེ་དང་རྩིས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རིག་པའི་གནས་ལྔ་ལ་མཁས་ཤིང་། སྟོབས་དང་སྒྱུ་རྩལ་གྱིས་ལྷ་སྦྱིན་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བོ་གྲགས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཐུབ་པ་ཞེས་བཏགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་སྲས་ལ་བཙུན་མོ་བླང་བར་ཞུས་པས། གདོན་དུ་ན་རེ།

འདོད་པའི་དོན་ནི་བདག་གི་མཐའ་ཡས་རིག།
འཐབ་མོ་ཁོད་ཁྲམ་ཟ་ངན་སྡུག་བསྔལ་རྩ།
འཇིགས་བྱེད་དུག་གི་ལོ་མ་འདྲ་བ་སྟེ།
མེ་དང་འདྲ་ཉིད་རལ་གྲི་སོ་དང་འདྲ།

ཞེས་ཁྲིམ་གྱི་ཉེས་པ་མང་པོ་གསུང་ཞིང་། འོན་ཀྱང་བུ་མོ་འདི་འདྲ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་བླང་ངོ་། ཞེས་བུད་མེད་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡི་གེ་བྲི་སྟེ་ཕུལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཡི་གེ་འཛུན་ནས་འདོན་ལ་བཏང་སྟེ།

རྒྱལ་རིགས་བྲམ་ཟེའི་བུ་མོ་དང་།
རྗེ་རིགས་དམང་རིགས་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ།
གང་ལ་ཡོན་ཏན་འདི་ཡོད་པའི།
བུ་མོ་དེ་ནི་འདིར་རྩལ་ཞིག།
ང་ཡི་བུ་རིགས་[དེ]་དང་ནི།
རྩུས་པ་མངོན་པར་འཛིན་པ་ཡིན།
ཡོན་ཏན་བདེ་བའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་གནས།
དེ་ལ་འདི་ནི་ཡིད་དགའ་འོ༎

ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲམ་ཟེ་ལ་བཀུར་ཏེ་བཏང་བས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས་བཙལ་བས། རིམ་གྱིས་ས་ཚོ་མ་མཐོང་ནས། དེ་འཚམ་ཞིང་ཡོན་ཏན་དེ་བདག་ལ་ཡོད་ཅེའོ། དེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གསོལ་བ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ན་རེ། བུད་མེད་འདི་བརྫུན་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཡིད་ཆེས་མེད་པའི། ཞག་བདུན་ཙམ་ལ་བུ་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྡུས། གདོན་དུ་དོར་ཅི་འདོད་ཐམས་ཅད་སྦྱེར། ཞེས་བསྒྲགས་པ་དང་། བུ་མོ་ཐམས་ཅད་བྱུང་ནས། ལོ་ཕྱད་འགའ་ཞིག་ཟད་པའི་སྐབས་སུ། ས་ཚོ་མ་བསྐྱལ་ནས་འཛུམ་བྱས། བདག་གིས་ཅི་འདོང་པས། མ་དགེ། དེ་དག་ལ་ཡོ་བྱད་མེད་པར་མཛད་ཞུས་པས། གདོན་དུ་ཡང་འཛུམ་ཞིང་། ཕྱག་གི་སོར་དུབ་སྣང་བརྒྱ་སྟོང་རིན་པ་དེ་གནང་ངོ་། ས་ཚོ་མ་གདོན་དུ་ལ་བླངས་སོ། བཤད་ཡང་གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཙུན་མོ་བརྒྱ་ཕྲག་གི་ཁྲིད་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་སོ། དེ་ནས་གདོན་དུ་ལོ་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་དགུ་ལོན་དུས། གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་མངལ་ཕྱིན་སེམས་ཅན་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལ་སྐྱེ་ནས་[ན་]འཆིའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་བཟོད་ཐབས་མེད་པ་རྣམས་གཟིགས་ནས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ངོ་༎

དེ་ནས་དགུང་ལོ་གསུམ་བཅུ་སོ་ལྔ་ཞེས་པའི་ཚེ། ས་ག་ཟླ་བའི་ཚེས་བཅོ་ལྔ་ལ་བདུད་བཏུལ། དགུང་ལོ་མཉམ་པར་ཞག་སྒོ་དངས་མངོན་པར་རྫོགས་པར་སངས་རྒྱས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་མོ་ཀོ་ན་ལ་གྲགས་འཛིན་མ་ལ་ཁྱེའུ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། ཟླ་བ་ཡང་སྒྲ་གཅན་གྱིས་བཟུང་ནས། ཁྱེའུ་མིང་ཡང་སྒྲ་གཅན་འཛིན་ཞེས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཙང་ན་རེ། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས་ལོ་དྲུག་སོང་། གྲགས་འཛིན་མའི་བུ་འདི་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་བུ་མ་ཡིན་སྙམ་པ་དང་། གྲགས་འཛིན་མའི་ཡུས་པས་ངུས་ནས། ཁྱེའུ་དེ་རྡེང་གི་ས་བོང་ཞིག་གི་ཁར་བོར་ནས། གལ་ཏེ་འདི་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་བུ་ཡིན་ན། ཆུའི་སྟེང་དུ་ལྡིང་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཐུབ་པའི་བུ་མ་ཡིན་ན། ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་བྱིང་བར་གྱུར་ཅིག། ཅེས་རྗོད་པའི། ས་བོང་དེ་མིང་གི་འདབ་ལྟར་རྡེང་གི་གདིང(སྟེང ?)་ན་ཡོད་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟས་གཙང་གིས་གཟིགས་ནས། བོས་དང་བཅས་པ་ཆུའི་ནང་དུ་ཕྱུགས་ནས། བང་པར་བླང་སྟེ་གཅེས་པར་བསྐྱངས་སོ། དེ་ཡང་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་སྟེ་སྲིད་པའི་རྒྱུད་ཆད་དོ། སྤྱིར་མང་པོས་བཀུར་བ་ནས་སྒྲ་གཅན་འཛིན་ཡན་ཆད་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འབུམ་ལྷག་བཅུ་དང་དྲུག་ཁྲི་དྲུག་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་དང་བཅུ་གཅིག། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཡབ་སྲས་དང་བཅུ་གསུམ་བྱུང་ངོ་།།

IV

(*S* MS.) ༧༧། རིགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་སྟུ་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན་ཏེ། འདི་བཤད་ལུགས་མང་དུ་མ་མཆིས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་རབས་སྔུན་པོ་གསུམ་ཁག་བློན་པོའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན། གསང་བ་འམ་འབྲུ་བདུས་ལ་སོགས་པ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། བསྡུས་ན། གཉིས་ལེགས་སྐད།

བསྒྲིགས་པ། ལྷ་རབས་བོད་ལུགས་དང་།

གསང་བ། མི་རབས་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོ།།

གཞུང་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལུགས་ནས་དཔེར་ཙམ་ཞིག་བརྗོད་ན། འོ་སྐོལ་ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གི་ལྟེ་བ། ཡུལ་གྱི་དབུས། སའི་སྙིང་། གངས་རིའི་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་སྐོར་བའི་ར་བ། གངས་ཏི་སེ་ཤེལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་རྩ། མཚོ་མ་པང་གཡུའི་མཎྜལ་གྱི་འགྲམ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གསེར་བྱུང་ས། ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞིའི་མགོ། ཡུལ་བོད་ཀ་གླིང་དྲུག། རི་མགོ་ལས་གཙང་གནས་འདི་ལ། དང་པོ་དབང་བྱེད་རིམ་པའི་དགུ་འབྱུང་ཞེས་གདམ་བརྒྱུད་རྣམས་ལས་བཤད་དའང་། བོད་རྒྱལ་ལྔན་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་མནར་བའི་དུས་སུ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཡུལ་ཀ་ས་ལའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསལ་རྒྱལ་ལ། སྲས་ལྔ་མངའ་བའི་བར་པ་ཐུར་རྣ་མེ་རི་ཞེས་པ། མིག་བུ་ལྟར་ཡས་འབེབས་པ། རྐང་ལག་དང་པ་ལྟར་འབྲེལ་བ། སྨིན་མ་གཡུའི་སྨིན་མ་སྐྱེས་པ། བདུད་པོ་འཁོར་ཅིག་འཁྲུངས་པས། བྲམ་ཟེ་མཚན་མཁན་ལ་བསྟན་པས། བྲམ་ཟེ་ན་རེ། རྒྱལ་བུ་འདི་མཚན་དང་ལྡན། སྐུ་ཚོད(བསོད)་ཀྱང་མིན་ཏུ་ཆེ། ཡབ་མ་གྲོངས་སོང་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར། ཞེས་ལུང་བསྟན་པས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་ལ། ང་གསད་པ་འམ། ཡང་ན་སྤུན་ཟླ་གསད་ནས། ཁོ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར་སྙམ་ནས། བྱེར་སྤྲུགས་བསམ་པ་ལ། བྲམ་ཟེ་རྣམས་ན་རེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཁ་བ་ཅན་དུ་བསྐྱལ་ན། སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་པར་འགྱུར་ཞེས་ལུང་བསྟན་པས། རྐང་མགྱོགས་བཞིའི་གཉའ་བ་ལ་ཁྲི་བྱས་ནས། བྱང་གི་རི་དང་རགས་བརྒལ་ནས། བོད་ཡུལ་དབུས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་རི་གྱེད་མཐོའི་ཁ་ལ་བསྐྱལ་ནས་བཞག་གོ། འདི་ལ་བཤད་ལུགས་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་དུ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། མང་པོའི་བཀུར་བ་གོའུ་ཏ་མའི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་ཡིན་པ་དེ་འདྲ། དེ་ཞིངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་ནས། ཁྱེད་སུ་ཡིན་བྱས་པས། བཙན་པོ་ཡིན་ཟེར་གང་ནས་ཕྱོགས་བྱས་པས། སྐད་དེ་མ་ཤེས་ཏེ། ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་མཛུབ་མོ(འཛུམ་མོ)་བསྒྲེང་ངོ། དེ་ཞིངས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཡུལ་མི་ལ་གླུ་སྙམ་ཏེ། མི་མང་པོ་བྱིན་ནས་བསྟན་པས། རྒྱལ་ལྔན་བཅུ་གཉིས་པས། བཤད་ཞིང་། དཔལ་བརྗིད་ཆེ་བ། ཡིད་དུ་འོང་བར་མཐོང་ནས། ཀུན་མཐུན་པར། འོ་སྐོལ་རྗེ་མེད་ཀྱི། རྗེ་

ཞུར་(L MS. ཞེ་ཟ)་སྐྱུར་འཐེན་དགོས་ཟེར་ནས། བཙད་ཐུང་(L MS. བཙན་ཐུང)་དང་ཕྱམས་གཉིས། གཉའ་ར་ཚེ་དང་གཙོ་གཉིས། ཁ་རྒྱགས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འཐངས་ཚུམ་ཚུག་གིས་སྐྱུར་དྲངས། ར་སངས་དར་པ་དང་། ཐང་པོས་ཁོད་པ་ཅན། མེ་ཉག་གི་བཟེས་གཉེན་བློན་པོར་བསྐོས། དེ་མགོ་ནས་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོར་མངའ་གསོལ་ཏེ། མཆོད་ཡང་གཉའ་ཁྲི་གདོགས་པ་ལ། རྗེ་གཉའ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ་ཞེས་མཚན་གསོལ་ཏེ། རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུད་དམ་པ་ཡུལ་ཡར་ལུང་སོགས། སྐུ་མཁར་ཡི་དབང་ཕྱུག་རྩེའི་དང་ད་བཞུགས་ཏེ། མངའ་ཐང་དང་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་བརྒྱུད་མཛད། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་པས། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད། སྐུ་གསུང་སྐྱེ་བཞིན་སྐུ་གསུངས། སྟོད་སྨད་སྐྱེ་མི་བཞི་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞིས་དེ་ཕྱིའི་དགྲ་འདུལ། གཡུར་སྨད་སྐྱེ་བཞི་བཅུ་རྩ་བཞི་དེ་དང་གི་ཆ་ཁ་སྐྱོམས། སོ་ཁ་བཞིར་དེ་སོ་འཛུགས། ཁྲོམ་ཁ་(L MS. ཁྲོམ་ཁ)་བརྒྱད་ཀྱིས་དེ་སོ་ཁའི་དགྲ་འདུལ། རྫོང་རྫོར་ཁ་བ་སོ་(L MS. ཁབ་སོ)་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བང་མཛོད་འཁྱོངས། ཚོང་འདུས་བཅུ་གཉིས་ནས་ནོར་གྱི་དཔྱིད་འཕྲུལ། ལེགས་ཉེས་ཀྱི་ཁ་དགའ་དཔའ་མཛངས་ཀྱིས་མཁད་འབྱེད། དོངས་ཀྱི་ཚད་པའི་དན། གསོའི་ཁྲངས་ཕྱུབས། མཛངས་སྦྲ་ལྔའི་གསེར་གཡུ་དང་ཞིག་ཚོང་གིས་སྐོར། དཔའ་སྦྲ་ལྔས་སེང་གེ་དང་ཀུང་སྟག་གིས་བརྒྱད། མགྱོགས་སྦྲ་ལྔས་མཆིབས་(ཕྱིབས)(L MS. ཕྱིདས)་མཛད་ནས་རྒྱགས་ཟ་སྨྲ(L MS. སྨྲ)། རྗེའི་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་དེ་གངས་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་དང་འདྲ། མཛད་པ་ལས་སྒྲ་སོ་བང་ཅི་ཟ་ཟླ་གང་བརྩེགས། རྒྱ་འཕྲོག་དང་། བརྟུན་སྐྱུར་ཅེང་། ཚོང་དང་ཁེ་སྤྲུགས་ལ་མི་ལྟ། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་ཞིང་། མངའ་ཐང་ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱིད་པས། དེ་ལྟར་ཆོ་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཁྲངས་བརྟན་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེ་ཡི་སྲས་མུ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་དིང་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ (L MS. དེང་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ)།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་སོ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་མེ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་གདགས་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
དེ་ཡི་སྲས་སྲིབ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ།
(འདི་) བདུན་ལ་གནམ་གྱི་ཁྲི་བདུན་ཟེར།
དེ་ཡང་འཁོར་ལོ་སྡུ་བདུན་ལས།
ཁྲི་བདུན་བང་སོ་གནམ་ལ་བཏབ (L MS. དབང་པོ་གནམ་ལ་བཏབ)།
ལྷ་ཕྱག་རྡོ་མེད་འཇའ་ལྟར་ཡལ།

ཞེས་དེ་དག་ལ་དབུ་ལ་འོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་དག་ཡོད་པས། དགུང་ལོ་མང་དུ་བཞུགས་ཀྱང་། སྲས་འོག་མ་མཆིབས(ཕྱིབས)་ཁ་ཐུབ་ཙ་ན། ཡབ་སོང་མ་རྣམས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་འཇའ་ཡལ་བ་[ལྟར]་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།།

སྲིབས་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོའི་སྲས་གྲི་གུམ་བཙན་པོ། དེའི་སྲས་ཤ་ཁྲི་ཉ་ཁྲི་བྱ་ཁྲི་གསུམ། བྱ་ཁྲི་ལ་སྤུ་དེ་གུང་རྒྱལ(སྤུ་ལྡེ་གུང་རྒྱལ)་དུ་མཚན་གསོལ་ནས། ཡུལ་ཡར་ཀླུངས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མཁར་ཆེན་མོར་བཞུགས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་བོན་བྱུང་ངོ། གཞན་ཡང་མིང་བཟུགས་པའི་སྐྱིད་པོ་སོལ་བ། ཀོ་བ་ཞུ་བའི་སྐྱིད་པོ་ལ་སྦྱིན(སྦྱིན)་བྱུང་། ཕུགས་རྡོ་ཟངས་རྡོ་དངུལ་རྡོ་གསུམ་རྙེད་ནས།

སོལ་བས་རྡོ་གསུམ་ཞུས་ནས་
དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྕགས་གསུམ་རྙེད།

ཤིང་ལ་ཐུག་པ་ཕུར་ནས་
ཁྲོལ་དང་གཉའ་ཤིང་བཅོས།
མཐུན་གཉིས་གཉའ་དུ་སྦེབས་ནས་
ཐང་རྣམས་ཞིང་དུ་བཀོས།
རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཡུར་ལ་དྲངས་ནས་
རྩ་ལ་ཐམ་པ་འཛུགས།།

དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལས་ཐབས་མང་པོ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སྲས་ཁ་ཧྲོ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་ཨི་ཧྲོ་ལེགས༑ དེའི་སྲས་ . . . . . ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་སོ་སྲང་གི་དབང་ཕྱུག་རྩེ་བརྩིགས། སོ་སྲང་སྐུ་མཁར་རྩིགས་པའི་སྔ་སྒོམས་དེ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་སྲས་དེ་ཧྲོ་ལེགས། འདིའི་རིང་ལ་གླུ་དང་སྒོ་དར། དེའི་སྲས་གུ་རུ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་འཕྲོང་ཧྲེ་ལེགས། དེའི་སྲས་ཕོང་ཧྲོ་ལེགས། འདི་རྣམས་ལ་སའི་ལེགས་དྲུག་ཟེར།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཟིན་ལ་ཟིན་ལྡེ་དང་། ལྡེ་འཕྲུལ་གནམ་གཞུང་བཙན། ལྡེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཙན། སེ་སྣོལ་ལམ་ལྡེ། སེ་སྣོལ་པོ་ལྡེ། ལྡེ་ལམ། ལྡེ་སྣོལ་པོ། སྤྲིན་བཙན་ལྡེ། འདི་རྣམས་ནི་སའི་ལྡེ་བརྒྱད་དོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་ལོང་བཙན་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། ཡབ་ཡན་ཆད(*L* MS. མ་ཆད)་ཡུམ་ལྷ་མོ་དང་ཀླུ་མོ་ཡིན་ནོ། འདི་མན་ཆད་འབངས་དང་གཉེན་སྲས་དེ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་ལོང་བཙན་གྱི་སྣ་ཚོ་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་བཙན། འདིའི་རིང་ལ་སྨད(*L* MS. བསྨུངས)་དང་ལྡེམ་དང་། དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་ཐོག་རྗེ་ཐོག་བཙན། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་སྙེན(*L* MS. སྙན)་བཤལ་ཞེས་པ་འཕགས་པ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་དེས། དགུང་ལོ་དྲུག་བཅུ་རེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱངས་སྟེ། མ་བརྟགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་སོ་སྲང་ཆེན་པོ་ཨུམ་བུ་རྫངས་མཁར་ལ་བཞུགས་པའི་དུས་སུ། བོད་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་སྔ་ལྟས་ལ། གནམ་མཁའ་ནས་ཟ་མ་ཏོག་ཅིག་བབས་པས། ཟ་མ་ཏོག་བཀོད་པའི་མདོ་དང་། པང་ཀོང་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་པ། སྙིང་པོ་ཡི་གེ་དྲུག་པ། གསེར་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཕྱུ་གང་། ཙིན་ཏ་མ་ཎི་ཚ་ཚ་དང་། སྦུ་ཏའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་རྣམས་ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཟེར་ལ་འགྲོགས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སོ་སྲང་དུ་བབས་པས། སོན (*L* MS. སོད)་ནམ་ཆོས་བསམ་ཅི་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས། གསེར་སྐྱེམས་དང་གཡུ་ཕུད་ཀྱིས་མཆོད་པས། སྤྲིན་ལྡབས་བྱུང་སྟེ། དགུང་ལོ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཐུབ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་དམ་པའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བརྙེས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་སྙན་བཟུང་བཙན (*L* MS. ཁྲི་སྙན)། དེའི་རིང་ལ་འབྲོག་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་། ཞིང་གི་ཐུལ་སྟེབས་དང་།

མཚོ་ལ་ལྟར་ཀ་བྱས་ནས།
ཡུར་བར་རྫིང་བ་དང་།
ཐུ་ཆུ་ཞིང་དུ་སྐྱིལ་ནས།
མཚན་ཆུ་ཉིན་ལ་དྲང་།

ལ་སོགས་དེའི་དུས་སུ་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་སྲས་འབྲོང་སྙན་ལྡེ་རུ(*L* MS. འགྲོང་སྙན་ལྡེ་རུ)། དེའི་སྲས་སྟག་རི་སྙན་གཟིགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ་མཛོ་དང་དྲེའུ་སྲེ་བ། ནོར་གྱི་རིན་ཐང་གཅོད་པ། ཟེའི་རྒྱ་བ་ཆན་པོ་བྲ་བ་སོགས་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་སྲས་གནམ་རི་སྲོང་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ་རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྨན་དང་རྩིས་བྱུང་། རྒྱ་གར་དང་སྦྲ་ཀྲ་དུབ་ཕྱོགས། གཉའ་ཤུར་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཏུལ། ཐང་ནས་རྩེ་བརྟེན། སྐུ་མཁར་ཁྲི་བརྩིགས་འབུམ་གདུགས་ཐ་བ་བརྩིགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲུལ་པ་སྲོང་བཙན་སྒམ་པོ (L MS. སྲོང་བཙན་ཏམ་པོ) ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། མཐའ་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་སོ་སོ་ནས་སྐྱ་སྐྱེས་འབུལ་ཞིང་། འཕྲིན་ཡིག་བསྐུར་རོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་མཛད་པ[འི]་ཕྱག་རྗེས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་མཛད་ཀྱང་། ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལན་བཀུར་བ་ལ། བོད་ན་ཡི་གེ་མེད་པ་དང་། མེས་པོ་ཐོ་ཐོ་རི་སྙན་བཤལ་གྱི་མཆོད་གནས་སྙན་པོ(གཉན་པོ)་གསང་བ་ཡང་། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཡི་གེར་འདུག་པས། བོད་ཡིག་ཏུ་བྱ་སྟེ། བསྒྱུར་དགོས་པར་དགོངས་ནས། ཐོན་མི་ཨ་ནུའི་བུ་ལ་གསེར་སྤེ་གང་བསྐུར་ནས། ཡིག་འཁོར་བཅུ་དྲུག་དང་བཅས་ཏེ། ཁ་ཆེར་ཡི་གེར་སློབ་ཏུ་བཏང་ངོ་། དེ་དག་གིས་པཎྜི་ཏ་ལི་བྱིན་ལས་ཡི་གེ་བསླབས། པཎྜི་ཏ་སེང་གེ་སྒྲ་བསླབ་སྟེ (L MS. པཎྜི་ཏ་སེང་གེ་ལས་སྒྲ་བསླབ་སྟེ) ། བོད་སྐད་དང་བསྟུན་ནས། གསལ་བྱེད་ཉེ་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི། དྭག་རིངས་བཙོས་ནས། གསུམ་བཅུ་མཛད། གཞན་ཡང་ཁ་ཆེ་ན་ག་རའི་ཡི་གེ་དང་བསྟུན་ནས་བསྒྱུར་རོ། དེ་ནས་ཐོན་མི་བོད་དུ་བྱོན་པས་དུས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་རུ་བཙུན་མོ་ཚལ་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་དང་མཇལ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྒྲ་ལོབས་སམ། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ལ་བསྟོད་པ་ཞིག་གྱིས་ཟེར་གསུངས་པས། ཐོན་མིས།

གཞལ་རས་གསལ་ལ་ངར་མདངས(L MS. ངོ་མདངས)་གང་བ་བཟང་།

ཞེས་པའི་ཤློ་ཀ་ཞི་སྟེ། ཕུལ་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཉེས་ཏུ་མཉེས་ཏེ། བྱིན་གྱི་ཁོད་མར་རྡོའི(L MS. བྱིན་གྱིས་ཐོག་མར་རྡོའི)་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་སྟེ། སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་མདུན་དུ་ཡི་གེ་འདི་རྡོ་ལ་ཞི་སྟེ་བཞག་གོ། བོད་དུ་ཡི་གེ་དང་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང(ལ)་སྔ་བ་དེ་གཉིས་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་བལ་པོ་ནས་ཁྲོ་གཉེར་མའི་སྤྲུལ་པ། བལ་མོ་བཟའ་ཁྲི་བཙུན། བློན་པོ་ཐོན་མི་སམ་བྷོ་ཊས་གདན་དྲངས། དེའི་རྫོངས་ལ། ཇོ་བོ་མི་བསྐྱོད་རྡོ་རྗེ། བྱམས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ། ཙནྡན་གྱི་ཇོ་མོ་སྒྲོལ་མ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། རྒྱ་ནག་ནས་སྒྲོལ་མའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོ། བློན་པོ་རིག་པ་ཅན་གྱིས་གདན་དྲངས། དེའི་རྫོངས་ལ་ཇོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ། གཞན་ཡང་། འཛིག་རྟེན་ལུགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུས་ཚད། ནས་ཚད། མདོར་ན།

ཟས་ཀྱི་ཡོ་བྱད་ཚང་བ།
འོ་མ་ཞོ་རུ་བསྒྱུར་བ།
ཞོ་ལ་མར་དང་དར་ར།
ད་ར་ཕྱུར་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བ།
ཁམས་[ནི]་ཆང་དུ་བསྒྱུར་བ།
རང་ཐག་ཆུ་[ཡིས་]བསྐོར་[བ]།
ཐགས་ཁྲི་ཐགས་[པ་]དང་[དེ་]།

བཟོའི་རིག་པ་མང་དུ་བྱུང་ངོ་། གཞན་ཡང་། ལྷ་སར་ར་མོ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་བཞེངས། དམར་པོ་རི་དང་ལྕགས་པོ་རི་ལ་སོ་ཁང་བརྩིགས། རི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས་བར་ན། ལྕགས་ཐག་གིས་སྦྲེལ་བའི་ཟམ་བཙུགས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་མཁར་དགུ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་བརྩིགས་སོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཀུ་ས་ར་དང་། བལ་པོའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཤི་ལ་མཉྫུ་དང་། ཁ་ཆེའི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཏ་ཟ་ཏ (L MS. ཏ་བ་ཏ)་དང་ག་ཟུ་ཏ (L MS. ཀྲྀ་ཟུ་ཏ)་དང་། བྲམ་ཟེ་ལི་བྱིན་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་གི་སློབ་དཔོན་ཧྭ་ཤང་མ་ཧཱ་དེ་བ་རྣམས་སྤྱན་དྲངས། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་ཐོན་མི་དང་། དྷརྨ་གོ་ཤ་དང་། ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཆོས་ཅི་རིགས་སྒྱུར་ཅིང་། གཏད་

ལ་བབ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། ཤར་ཙ་མི་དང་མིང་མི། ལྷོ་གློ་བོ་དང་ཞང་ཞུང་། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ལ་སོགས་པ་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས་ནས། དམ་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་གཏོད་པ་ཞིག་གོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་མང་སྲོང་མང་བཙན།

དེའི་སྲས་གུང་བཙན (L MS. གུང་སྲོང་གུང་བཙན)།

དེའི་སྲས་གུང་སྲོང་འདུ་རྗེ (L MS. འདུ་སྲོང་འདུ་རྗེ)། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། མར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཆ། ལྷོའི་བལ་པོའི་མིང་ཁན (L MS. མིང་ཀུན)། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་ཡུ་གུག་དར་ཆེན། ཐུབ་ཕོ་མོ་ཆུན་རིངས། སྒྲོལ་ཉིའི་གསང་གི་ནང་སོང་། སྤྱང་ཀྱི་མི་དཀར་ཚན་ཅན་མདའ་ཞགས་ཏུ་བསྒྱུ་རྒྱ། རྒྱ་ནག་ཐ་དང་། སོན་ཏྲ་སལ (L MS. ཏོ་ཏྲ་སན)། ཟུར་ན། འཛར་སྟོད། རྒྱ་གླིང་ལ་སོགས་བླུང་དོ། གཉན་ཡང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེའི་མི་བདུན་བྱུང་སྟེ། ཞི་བདུན་ཕྱལ་ཅེན་གྱིས (L MS. ཞི་བདུན་ཕྱལ་ཀྱིས)་བག་མོངས་འདོམ་དགུ་ལ་མཚོངས(འཚོངས)་ཏུས། གསལ་སྣང་ཏུང་གྲགས་ཀྱིས་གཡག་སྟོད་ཀྱི་ཤང་པ་ནས་སྣུབ་ཏུས། ཨ་སོག་སྟོད་བཙན (L MS. སྟོད་བཙན)་གྱིས་འདི་སེང་གེ་ལྤག་སྒྲ་ནས་བཞུང་ཏུས། ཙོག་རོ་ཀླུ་གོང (L MS. ཀླུ་ཀོང)་གིས་མིང་སྐྲམ་འདོམ་དོ་ལ་མདའ་ཡིས་འཕེགས་ཏུས། འཁོམ་ལྤག་བཟང (L MS. སྤག་བཟང)་གིས་མཁར་སྒྲུ་ཆུས་འཐེབས་ཏུས། འགོས (L MS. མགོས)་གཡག་ཆུང་གིས་ཡ་བའི་སྒྱུར་ཟ་གསེར་གྱིས་བཀང་ནས་གླང་ལ་བསྐོར་ཏུས། ཁྲི་སྲོང་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ལས་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ནོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་ལྡེ་གཙུག་བརྟན་མེས་ཨག་ཚོམས་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། ལྷ་ས་ཁ་བྲག་དམར་བྲག་ཁར (L MS. ཁ་བྲག་དམར་བྲག་ཁར)་བཏབ། མདོ་སྨད་སྣང། གླིང་བཅུ་ཁྲི་རྩེ། བྲག་དམར་ཙ་ག་ཆ་མར་སྒོ། སང་སང་ཀ་མེད། ཀ་ཆུ་བད་ཆུམ (L MS. ཀ་ཆུ་པད་ཆུང)། བྲག་དམར་མགྲིན་བཟང (L MS. འགྲིན་བཟང)། ལ་སོགས་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས། བྲག་ཁ་ཚ་དགུ་མི་ཀ (L MS. བད་ཁ་དགུ་མི་ཀ)་དང་། སྐྱེས་རྣ་ཀུ་མ་ར་ལོ་ཙཱ་བས་ཏེ། མདོ་གསེར་འོད་དམ་པ་དང་། ལས་བརྒྱ་པ་གཉིས་བསྒྱུར། བི་ཙི་ཙནྡྲ་ཤྲི་སྨན་སྤྱད་དང (L MS. བི་ཅི་ཙནྡྲ་ཤྲི་སྨན་སྤྱད་དང)། ཅེས་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསྒྱུར་ནས། ཆོས་སྲོལ་ཆེན་པོ་བཙུགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་འཇམ་དཔལ་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་པ། ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱ་གར་ནས་མཁན་པོ་བོ་དྷི་ས་ཏྭ (བོ་དྷི་ས་ཏྭ)་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། ཁ་ཆེ་ཨ་ནན་ཏ་ལོ་ཙཱ་བས་ཏེ། དགེ་བ་བཅུ། ཁམས་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་བཤད་པས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྲིན་འཁྲུགས་པས། དམར་པོ་རི་ལ་ཐོག་བརྒྱབ། ཕང་ཐང་ཆུས་ཁྱེར། མི་ནད་ཕྱུགས་ནད་མང་པོ་བྱུང་བས། མཁན་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། ངས་ཆོས་བཤད་པ་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྲིན་མི་དགའ་བར་འདུག་པས། ལྷ་སྲིན་འདུལ་བ་ལ། ཨོ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས། སློབ་དཔོན་པདྨ་འབྱུང་གནས་སྤྱན་དྲོངས། ཁོ་སྐྱེལ་གསུམ་མདངས་རྒྱས་འོད་སྤྱང་གི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་རྩང་དུ། སློབ་དཔོན་ལམ་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན་གསུངས། སྔ་གསལ་སྣང་དང་། ཙོ་རེ (L MS. བཙོག་རོ)་ཞེས་གཉིས་བཏང་ནས། སློབ་དཔོན་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྲིན་ཐམས་ཅད་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་ཨོ་ཏནྟ་[པུ་]རིའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ་དཔེ་བྱས་ནས། བསམ་ཡས་མི་འགྱུར་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་མང་པོ་དང་། ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་མང་མི་བདུན་བྱུང་བ་སྐྱ་སྐོར་གསུམ་དང་ (L MS.)། གཡང་ཟླུགས་རྒྱུད་རྩེ་དང་པོ་གསུམ་དང་ (S MS.)། མདོར་ན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་མཆེད་གསུམ་གྱིས་བོད་ནག་པའི་གླིང་འདུ་བར། དམ་ཆོས་གཙང་ལ་མ་ནོར་བ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་དོ། འཕངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས་མར་ངབ་ཀུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡང་། ཤཱཀྱ་ཏོག་གི་རིཉྩ་དབུའི་གཙུག་ཏུ་ཁར་བའི་ཞིམས་མཛད་ནས། བསམ་ཡས་ལ་བཀོད་ར་དང་། འཆིང་བུ་ལ་སྒོམ་གྲྭ་བཙུགས། མོ་ཤང་རྒྱུང་ཚོགས (L MS. རྒྱུད་ཚོགས)་ཀྱི་སྐོང་ཞིར་སྐྱིད་པའི་འཁྱུང་གནས་དང་། ཚངས་པའི་འཁྱུང་གནས་གཉིས་བཞེངས། དེའི་དུས་སུ། སློབ་དཔོན་བདུན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་རིན་འབོད་ཀྱི་ཚོ་ཆ་གནང་བས། སློབ་པོ་དེ་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱིད་ཆ་དུས་མེད་པས། མི་གསོལ་བ་ར་རྒྱ་ཕྱུག་པས།

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་ཐེ་ཚོམ་དུ་གྱུར་ཏེ། མ་གསོལ། ནང་དུ་མཛེ་མི་ཡོང་བའི་ཕྱིར། ཀླུའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་དྲོས་ཞལ་ཆེན་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་ནས། རེ་རྗེ་སྒྲུབ་པས། ཞལ་ཆེན་ཁྱེའུ་ཞིག་ཏུ་སྤྲུལ་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གྲོགས་པོ་བཙལ་ནས། ཅི་འདོད་པའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་གཏེར་བར་ཁས་བླངས་པས། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཀླུ་དོ་ཆེན་མཛད་པས། ཐུགས་དམ་སྐོང་ངོ། དེ་ནས་སློབ་དཔོན་ཕྱི་ཐུབ་ཛ་ཡབ་ཏུ་བོད་པོ་འདུལ་དུ་བཤུད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ་བོད་ཐམས་ཅད་བདེ་ཞིང་སྐྱིད་པ། སྐྱེ་བོའི་ཚོགས་མང་བ། ལོ་ལེགས་པ། དུས་ཀྱི་ཕྲུག་པ་མེད་པ། མཐའ་བཞིའི་རྗེ་ཐམས་ཅད་མནན་ཏེ། ཤར་རྒྱ་ནག་དང་། ལྷོ་རྒྱ་གར། ནུབ་སྦལ་ཏི་དང་འབྲུ་ཞལ། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་སའི་ཆ་ཡོ་ཧོན་ཀྱས་དཀར་རྣམས་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་གཉིས་ཀ་མེད་ཏུ་བཙན་པར་མཛད་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། བོད་ཕྱུབས་མེད། དམ་པའི་ཆོས་དར་ཞིང་། རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས།

རྒྱལ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་དམ་པ་ཞི་བ་འཚོ།
ཐུགས་འཆང་ཟླ་མེད་དགེ་སྦྱོང་པདྨ་འབྱུང་།
མཁས་པའི་གཙུག་རྒྱན་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤི་ལ།
ཁྲི་སྲོང་ལྡེ་བཙན་ལྷག་པའི་བསམ་པ་ཅན།
བོད་ཡུལ་སྨན་པར་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན།
དམ་ཆོས་སྣང་བ་ཕྱོགས་མཐར་རྒྱས་མཛད་པ།
བཀའ་དྲིན་འཁོར་མེད་དམ་པ་བཞི་ཀ་ལ།
བོད་རྣམས་རྟག་ཏུ་གུས་པས་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།།

ཞེས་ཁ་ཏོན་ཡང་བྱས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་མུ་ཁྲི་བཙན་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་རྫོགས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། བསམ་ཡས་སུ་འདུལ་བ་མངོན་པ་མདོ་སྡེ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཆོད་པ་བཙུགས། ཆོས་ཕྱེད་པ་འཚོ་བ་ཟླ་ནས་སྦྱར། བོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱུག་ཕྱོགས་ལན་གསུམ་སྙོམས། རྒྱ་དང་གཉིས་ཀའི་ཆ་ནས། ཡབ་ལ་འདུད་པ་ཙམ་གྱིས་རང་མ་བྱུང་ཀྱང་། བཟང་མཛད། རྒྱ་དང་བོད་ས་སྨྲས་བྱས་ནས། བོད་དབང་བའི་རྒྱ་ཐམས་ཅད་རྩེ་མོ་བོད་དུ་ཕྱུགས་ནས་སྐྱེས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་སད་ན་ལེགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱ་སྟེའི་སྐར་ཆུང་རྡོ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས། པཎྜི་ཏ་ཀ་མ་ལ་ཤི་ལ་སོགས་གདན་དྲངས། (*L* MS.) གཉེགས་ཀླུ་ན་ཀུ་མ་རས། (*S* MS.) ཡོ་ཛྙཱ་བྱས་ཏེ། ཟུར་མེད་པའི་ཆོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར་རོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་གཙང་མ། རལ་པ་ཅན། གླང་དར་མ། བཙུན་མོ་ཆུང་བ་ཞིག་ལ་ལྷ་རྗེ་དང་། ལྷུན་གྲུབ་གཉིས་དང་ལྔ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། སྲས་ཆེ་བ་གཙང་མ་ཆོས་ལ་དགའ་སྟེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ནས། མི་ཆོས་ལ་གདམས་པས། བསྟན་བཅོས་མིག་ཀྱང་མཛད། དར་མ་ནི་སྡིག་ལ་དགའ་སྟེ། རྗེའི་འོས་མ་ཡིན། བར་པ་རལ་པ་ཅན་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གཏད་དོ། དེས་ཞུ་མང་(*L* MS. ཞུ་མ་)རྡོའི་ཕྱོང་ཁྲར་བཏབ་ནས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྒྱ་ཕིབས་གཡུ་སྔོན་ཅན་བཞེངས། སྔོན་ཆད་མེས་ཀྱི་རིང་ལ་རྒྱ་དང་ལི་དང་། ཟ་ཧོར་དང་། ཁ་ཆེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ནས་ཆོས་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར་བས། བརྡ་མི་འདྲ་བ་མང་པོ་འདུག་པས། ཆོས་སློབ་དཀའ་བ་ཡིན་གསུང་ནས། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་པཎྜི་ཏ་ཛི་ན་མི་ཏྲ། སུ་རེནྡྲ་བོ་དྷི། དཱ་ན་ཤཱི་ལ་ལ་སོགས་པ་གདན་དྲངས། བོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ཙཱ་བ་སྐ་བ་ཅོག་གཉིས་དང་། བན་དེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྡེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཐམས་ཅད་བསྐར་བཅད་ཀྱི། གདུད་ལ་བབ། ཟ་ད་ཕྱེ་བྲང་ལ་སོགས་པ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་མཐུན་པར་བཅས། རབ་བྱུང་རྣམས་རེ་རེ་ལ་འབངས་མི་ཁྱིམ་བདུན་བདུན་སྦལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དབུས་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། དབུའི་རལ་པ་གཡས་གཡོན་གྱི་སྟ་ལ་དར་ཕྱུགས་བཏགས་ནས།

རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་རེར་བཞུགས་བཅུག་པ་དང་། གཡས་གྲལ་གཡོན་གྲལ་དཀྱུང་གྲལ་དང་གསུམ། ཡོན་དན་ཅན་ལ་འདུས་ཕྱུང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། མར་ཕྱོགས་སོ་ཡོད་ཁན་གྱི་རི་བརྒྱུད་རར་དཀར་གྱི་ཡོལ་བ་འདྲ་བ་རྒྱ་ནག་པོ་ཐང་པའི་ས་མཚམས་ལ་བཏུག་སྟེ་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས། དེར་རྡོ་རིངས་བཙུག་སྟེ། འདི་མན་ཆད་དབང་བ་ཡིན། ཞེས་པའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲི་སྟེ་བཞག། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་བློ་དང་མོན། རྒྱ་གར། ཞེ། ཟ་ཧོར། གནྱའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལྷུགས་ཀྱི་པ་ཏ་གཏོང་ཚུན་ཆད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་སྟག་ཟིག་གེ་ས་མཚམས་འབྲུ་ཤལ་སོགས་དབང་དུ་བསྡུས། བྱང་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། ལྷོ་འཛམ་བུ་གླིང་གསུམ་གཉིས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ཅིང་། མཐའ་དམུས་ཀུན་ཏུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཞེངས་སོ། འདི་ཡན་ཆད་བསྟན་པ་སྔར་དར་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

V

(*S* MS.) དེ་ནས་མངའ་བདག་དར་མ་དབྱིག་དུར་བཙན་གྱི་སྐུའི་རིང་ལ། ཆོས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བསྣུབས་པ་ལ། བོད་ཡུལ་དུ་མངའ་བདག་རལ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་བཀྲི་ད་མང་པོ་སྤྱན་དྲང་བ་དང་། གསེར་གྲིམ་ཕུལ་བ་དང་། བོད་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བ་ལ། བྲ་སྟེགས་ཀྱི་ཕམ་ཟེ་བཞིན་མ་ཟེག་ནས། བོད་ཡུལ་ཕྱུང་བའི་ཕྱུང་འགོང་བཞིར་སྐྱེ་བར། སྨོན་ལམ་བཏབ་ནས། ཕྱིབས་པས་འདོད་པ་གྲུབ་སྟེ། མངའ་བདག་དར་མ་དབྱིག་དུར་བཙན་དང་། ཅོག་རོ་(*L* MS. ཅོག་སྒྲོ་)ལེགས་སྒྲ་དང་། དབས་དོ་རེ་སྟག་སྣ་དང་། འབལ་འཁོར་(*L* MS. འབངས་འཁོར་)ཞེས་ལེགས་པ་དང་བཞིའི་ཐུགས་ཡིད། ཕྱུང་འགོང་ནག་པོ་དང་། གནམ་ཐེའུ་དཀར་པོ་དང་། ས་ཐེའུ་ནག་པོ་དང་། བྱང་རྡོང་གིས་དེ་བཞིའི་གདོན་ཞུག་སྟེ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་ཀུན་བབ། ལྷ་ཁང་ཀུ་ཙ་དེ་རྩ་ལ་བཀལ་བ་ལ་སྨྱུལ་ཡང་མ་དུས་པས། ས་འོག་ཏུ་སྦས། ཐམས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་ཐེ་མའི་འོག་ཏུ་སྦས། ལྷ་ས་བསམ་ཡས་འཕྲུལ་སྣང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་བཅིག་སྟེ། ཞལ་བ་ཐུས་ཏེ། བཙུན་པ་ཆང་འཐུང་བའི་ཡི་གེ་བྲི་སྟེ། བཙུན་པའི་རྟགས་མ་བོར་བ། ལ་ལ་སྤྱུགས། ལ་ལ་བོས། ཕྱུས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཛ་ཁྱང་དང་། མདའ་གཞུ་དང་། ཁྲི་བཏད་སྟེ། ཤིངས་ལ་བཏང་བས། ལ་ལ་ཁྲན་པ་བཅོལ། བྱིས་ཆོས་བྱེད་པའི་སློལ་མ་བཙུགས། འབངས་རྣམས་ལའང་མ་གནོད་པའི་བཀའ་ཆད་ཕབ་པས། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་མགོ་ནས་བཤིག། མངའ་རིས་མཐའ་ནས་འགྲུས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་ཚེ་རྒྱ་ན་བོད་དབང་བའི་རི་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་བརྟེན། བོད་ནས་རྒྱ་ལ་འབབ་པའི་ཆུ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་རྨ་ཆུ་སྐྱད་(*L* MS. རྨ་ཆུ་སྐྱང་)ཟེ་བ་ཡར་ལ་ཞག་གསུམ་ལོག། དེ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལྟས་ངན་མང་པོ་བྱུང་ངོ།

དེ་ནས་རིང་ཞིག་ནས། ཡེར་བའི་(*L* MS. ཡེར་པའི་)ལྷ་རི་སྙིང་པོ་ལ། ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་སྒོམ་བྱེད་ཡོད་པས། ཚོར་ཏེ་བཙན་པོ་ལ་སྙིང་རྗེ་ཁྲད་པར་ཅན་སྐྱེས་ནས། དགོངས་སྐད། དེ་ལྟར་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བསྣུབས་པ་[ཡི]ན།།

VI

(*S* MS.) བསྟན་པ་ཕྱི་དར་གྱི་ཚུལ་ནི། སྔར་དར་མའི་ཐུས་ལོད་ཕྱུང་། ཁོང་གིས་ལྷ་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྡོ་རྗེ་ནས། སྨན་བླའི་མཆོད་ཐོག་ཕུལ་ནས། སྨོན་ལམ་བཏབ། སྨན་བླའི་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཀུང་འཛིན(ཞིང)། མེས་པོད་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ལྟར། ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་། ཆོས་རྩིགས་རིམ་དུ་བཞེངས་ཏེ། མངའ་རིས་ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་སོ། གཏན་ཡང་། ཟུར་རབ་གསལ་དང་། ཡོ་གེ་འབྱུང་དང་། དགེ་བ་རབ་གསལ་དང་། བླ་རབ་(*L* MS. སྨྲ་རབ་)སོགས་བཅུས་བསྐྱེད་པར་རྫོགས་ནས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་། རྒྱས་པར་བྱུང་ངོ། གཏན་ཡང་། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གནས་ཀྱི་སྐར་མ་ལྟ་བུ་བཞེངས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷེ་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་རིང་ལ། སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་སོགས་པ་གཙུག་ལག་[ཁང]་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས་སོ། འབུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་གསུང་རབ་ཀུང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་ནས། ཆོས་རྩིགས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བརྙང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

(A MS.) དེའི་སྲས་སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་དང་། ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་དཔལ་(L MS. ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བརྩེགས་པ་དཔལ་)དང་གཉིས། སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་དེ་བོད་ཁྲིད་(S MS. ཁྱིད་)ཡོང་ནི། འབལ་མ་བྲུག་བཙན། ཁང་མོ་ཉག་པ། ལྷ་ཀ་བརྡ་གསུམ་གྱིས་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ། (S and L MSS. དཔལ་མ་བྲུག་གར། ཁྱུང་དཔལ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་དང་། མེ་ཉག་པ་ལྷ་ཀ་བརྡ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བྱས་པའི་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ།) སྟོད་མངའ་རིས་སུ་བྱོན་པའི་ལམ་ཁར། ཉ་དང་སྒོང་གསོལ་དགོས་བྱུང་ནས། དེར་རས་ཀྱིས་བྱུར་ནས། ལྡངས་པས། ད་ལྟ་ཁ་གྱུར་རས་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལུགས་སུ་སོང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་ནས་ར་ལའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་ཐེབས། རྟའི་ལོ་ལ་ར་ལ་མཁར་དམར་རྩིགས། ལུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་རྩེ་མོ་རྒྱ་རི་(L and S MSS. རྩེ་སྒོ་རྒྱ་རི་)རྩིགས་ནས། དམ་ལག་གི་གཞུང་རྣམས་ལ་ཡུལ་དང་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་མང་པོ་བཏབ་དགོངས། མར་ཡུལ་ལ་གནོད་པ་མ་མཛད། དེའི་དུས་སུ་མར་ཡུལ་ལ་དྲུགས་སྟོད་གེ་སར་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་པས་འཛིན། སྨད་རྣམས་དང་དགའི་སིལ་བུར་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེའི་ཚེ་དགེ་བཤེས་བཙན་(L MS. དགེ་བཤེས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བཙན་)གྱིས་སྤུ་ཧྲངས་སུ་ཕུ་སྐྱེ། འབྲོ་ཟ་འཁོར་སྐྱོང་བཙུན་མོར་བྲུལ་བ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། སྲས་གསུམ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། སྐུ་མཁར་ཉི་ཟུངས་རྩིག་སྐྱེ། རྒྱལ་ས་བཏབ་ནས། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཆོས་བཞིན་དུ་བསྐྱངས་སོ།།

སྲས་གསུམ་ནི། ལྷ་ཆེན་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་དང་གསུམ་མོ། དེ་ནས་སྲས་གསུམ་ལ་མངའ་རིས་སོ་སོར་གནང་སྟེ། ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་ལ། མངའ་རིས་མར་ཡུལ། འབངས་གཞུ་ནག་ཅན། ཤར་རུ་ཐོག་ཕྱོགས་དང་། གསེར་ཁ་འགོག་ལད་ཀྱི་ལྡེ་མཆོག་དཀར་པོ། མཚམས་ཀྱི་ར་བ་དམར་པོ། ལྷམ་ལེ་ཡི་མིག་གི་ས་བོད་ལ་མགོ་བར། (L MS. གཡག་ལྡིར་) ནུབ་ཁ་ཆེའི་ལ་རྩ། ནོ་སྲུག་པ་ཅན་ཡན་ཆད། བྱང་གསེར་ཁ་(L MS. མགོན་པོ་)འགོག་པོ་ཚུན་ཆད་ཀྱི་ས་རྒྱ་ལ་གཏོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཡིན་ནོ།། བར་པ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན་ལ། གུ་གེ་སྤུ་ཧྲངས། རྩེ་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་གཙུག་མགོན་ལ། ཞངས་དཀར་སྒོ་གསུམ། སྤྱི་ཏི། སྤྱི་ལྕོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད།།

ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་གྱི་མགོན་གྱི་སྲས་འགྲོ་མགོན་དང་། ཆོས་མགོན་གཉིས།།

འགྲོ་མགོན་གྱི་སྲས། ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ།། (S MS. ཧླ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་ལྡེ་)

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ།། (S MS. ཧླ་ཆེན་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ)

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ། གླུ་འཁྱིལ་(L and S MSS. ཞི་ཀྱིར་)གྱི་དགོན་པ་བཏབ་ནས། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་བཙུགས། གདངས་རི་མཚོ་གསུམ་དུ། མང་དུས་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། ཉུང་དུས་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་རེ་སྐྱུབ་པ་མཛད་པ་ལ། འཚོ་བའི་ཡོ་བྱད་རྒྱུ་དུས་མེད་པར་ཕྱུན་རིང་དུ་མཛད་དོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཨུཏྤ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གཤམ་(L MS. ཤམ)གཉིས་ཀྱི་དམག་བསྡོངས་ནས། ཉུང་ཏི་ལ་བརྒྱབ། ཉུང་ཏིའི་རྒྱལ་པོས། ཏི་སེ་ནམ་ཁ་དང་། མ་ནམ་(L MS. མ་བང་)ནམ་སྐྱམས་བར་དུ། མཛོ་དང་ལུགས་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཁལ་དང་དབྱ་འབུལ་བའི་མདའ་བྱས་ནས། དུས་ད་ལྟའི་བར་དུ་འང་ཡོད་དོ། གཞན་ཡང་། གླི་བོ། ཟ་ཧྲངས་(L MS. ལྷོ་བོ་ཟ་རངས་)མན་ཆད། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ཟེ་ཐང་གི་ཡུལ། རྒྱ་ལ་མེ་འབར་ཚུན་ཆད། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ར་གན་འགྲེང་མེད(L MS. ར་གན་འབྲེང་ཞེང)། སྤུག་ཁ་ཚུར་མན་ཆད། བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀ་ཤྲུག་(L MS. ཀ་ཤུག་)ཡན་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ། (S MS. བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ཀ་ཤུག་ཡན་ཆོད་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུ་སྟེ།) ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཁལ་ཁལ་སོགས་འབུལ་ཞིང་། ནལ་ལྷ་ཙ་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་དོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ནག་ལུག། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རྒྱུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ལྷན་ལར་མཁར་རྩིགས། འབྲུག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཁ་ལ་རྩེ་རྩིགས་སོ (*L* MS. ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་མཁར་བརྩིགས་སོ) ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་དགེ་བྷེ་(*S* MS. ལྷ་ཆེན་དགེ་བྷེ་)དང་། དགེ་འབུམ || (*L* MS. དགེ་བ་འབུམ |)

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཇོ་ལྡོར ||

དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མགོན ||

(*S* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་རྒྱལ། (*A* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་རྒྱུད་དོ་རྗེ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་། ངན་སོང་སྦྱོང་བའི་རྒྱུད། རྒྱུད་འབུམ་ཚང་བ་གསེར་ལ་བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཇོ་དཔལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་ཆོས་ཁྲིམས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པར་མཛད་དོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་དངོས་གྲུབ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་བ་དབུས་གཙང་དུ་འགྲོ་བའི་སྲོལ་བཙུགས་ནས། ཡབ་མེས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་རྣམས[illegible]བསས་མཛད་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་དུ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྗེ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་མགོན་པོའི་ཞུང་དུ། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་ཕྱི་ཙུ་སྤུ་ཏིག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར་ཚར་གཉིས་དང་། གསང་སྔགས་ཀྱི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་བུ་རིན་ཆེན ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཤེས་རབ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་རིང་ལ། ས་བུའི་ནང་རྩེ་མོ་ཞེས་པའི་ཁ་ལ། སྦོང་ཁྱིར་སེང་གེ་སྒང་ཞེས་པ་རྩིགས་ནས། མར་ཡུལ་ས་བུ་སྒྲུང་མཁར་དུ་བཏགས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཁྲི་གཙུག་ལྡེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་སྤྱིལ་དུ་(*L* MS. སྤྱིས་ཏུ་)མཆོད་རྟེན་བརྒྱ་རྩ་བཞེངས། ས་བུ་ཏུ་བརྒྱ་རྩ་གཉིས་བཞེངས་སོ ||

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲགས་འབུམ་ལྡེ་དང་། གྲགས་པ་འབུམ་གཉིས། གྲགས་འབུམ་ལྡེས་སྤྱིལ་(*L* MS. སྤྱི་)ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ནས། རྒྱ་མ་བྲག་རྫིས་སུ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་(*L* MS. མང་པོ་)དམར་པོ་བཞེངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་བ་བྱམས་པ་མགོན་པོ་དགུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐུ་ཚད་དང་། གཡས་གཡོན་གཉིས་སུ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་ཕྱག་ན་རྡོ་རྗེ་གཉིས་ཐོག་ཚད་རེ་བཞེངས། ལོགས་བྲིས་རྣམས་ལ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འདུས་སྐུ་དང་། ཇིག་ཏེན་བརྟན་བཞུགས་དང་། རང་ཉིད་སེམས་པའི་ལྷ་རྣམས་ཚང་བ་དང་། ལྷ་ཁང་གསུམ་རྩིགས་མགོ་སྒྲིང་གི་དཔེ་རུ་བཞེངས། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་གསུངས་འབུམ་ཆེན་མོ་དང་། དཀོན་མཆོག་རྩེགས་པ་ལང་ཀར་གཤེགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཞེངས། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟེན་ལ་ཏེ་ཙ་གསེར་པོ། སྤྱིའི་ཡུལ་ལ་གནོད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པས། གཏམས་ནས། ཕྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་ཚུལ་ལ། ནང་ལྷ་ཁང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་ཡོད་པ་བཞེངས། མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་མིང་ཏེ་ཙ་(*L* MS. ཏེ་ཙ་)བཀྲ་ཤིས་འོད་འབར། གཞན་ཡང་། སྤྱིའི་མདོ་དེ་ན་ཏེ་ཙ་སྲུང་པོ་ཆེ་འདུ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་རི་མ་གི་ལ་དགེ་སློང་བའི་སྡེ་གཅིག་བཙུགས་ནས། མི་ཡང་། འཁྱོད་པ་མེད་གསུང་བ་ལ། སྙིགས་དུས་ཀྱི་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཙོང་ཁ་པ་ཆེན་པོ་བློ་བཟང་གྲགས་པས། རང་གི་ཤངས་ཁྲག་ལ་འབྱུང་བའི་ཚེ་དཔག་མེད། མཐེབ་ཚོགས་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ། ཐ་ཐལ་གཉིས་ལ་བསྐུར་ནས། ཡང་ན་གྲགས་པའི་མཚན་ཅན། ཡང་ན་ལྷའི་མཚན་ཅན་ཕྱག་ཏུ་ཕུལ་གསུང་བ་ལ། ཁོང་གཉིས་མར་ཡུལ་དུ་བསྐྱོད་ནས། ཕྱབ་ར་ན་གྲགས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ཁོང་གི་དྲུང་དུ་ཕྱིན་པས། ཐ་ཐལ་གཉིས་ལ་སྐུར་མེད་ཙམ་ཡང་མ་གཟིགས་པར། སྤྱིལ་དུ་ཡོངས། དེའི་ཐོ་རངས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞལ་ནས། དེ་རིང་ངའི་ཞལ་ཕྱ་བ་ལ། ཐ་ཐལ། སྟེ་ར(*L* MS. སྟེ་ར་ས) | མོན། ཏི་མི། སུ་ཡང་མ་བཀག་གསུང་བས། ཐ་ཐལ་གཉིས་བྱུང་བར། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཞེངས་ནས། ཐ་ཐལ་གཉིས་ལ་བསུ་བ་མཛད། ཐ་ཐལ་

གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཀུང་སྐུ་སྐྱེས་ཟུལ་བས། རྒྱལ་པོ་མིང་དུ་དབེས་ཏེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་དཔེས་ནས། དཔེ་ཟུབ་ཀྱི་དགོན་པ། མ་ཊིགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ། ཊིགས་ནས། དགེ་འདུན་གྱི་སྡེ་མང་པོ་བཙུགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་བློ་གྲོས་མཆོག་ལྡན། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་དུས་སུ། ཀུ་གེ་ནས་དཔུ་ཁབ་ཞིལ་པ། མ་ཡོའི་ཟུད་སྒྲིབས། ཁབ་ཆུང་དཀའ་ཙ། ལྷ་ཁབ་དཀར་པོས་གཙོ་བྱས་ཁབ་བཙོ་བརྒྱད། ནམ་མཁའ་ཁབ་ལྷུག་འཁོང་རྩེ་རིངས། ཀློག་དམར་མེ་གསོད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རལ་གྲི་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། བདུད་གྲི་དག་པོ། དམ་གྲི་གཞུང་བརྒྱད་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མགོ་བྱས་པའི་སྐྱིད་གྲི་བཅོ་ལྔ། ལྷ་གཡུ་འོད་ལྡན། ལྷ་གཡུ་དཀར་པོ་[གཉིས་ཀྱིས་]གཙོ་བྱས་གཡུ་བཅོ་ལྔ། སྒྲ་མ་ཧི་ཁྲི་སྐྱེངས། བཀྲ་ཤིས་འོད་ལྡན་སོགས་སྒྲ་ཉི་ཤུ། ཆིབས་རྟ་པོ་ལྔ་བཅུ། དང་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ། ཞོལ་པ་ཉི་ཤུ། ཁྲ་བོ་གསུམ་བཅུ། འབྲི་ཟལ་མོ་ཉི་ཤུ། གཡག་ཁམ་པ་ཉི་ཤུ། ཕྱུག་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ཁལ་དཔྱ་འབུལ་བ་མང་པོ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

VII

(*A* MS.) ལྷ་ཆེན་གྲགས་པ་འབུམ་གྱིས། རབ་བརྟན་ལྷ་རྩེ་དང་། གཏེ་ཡ་(*L* MS. ཏེ་ཡ་) སོགས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། རྒྱལ་ས་གཉིད་སྨད་ཊིགས།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བྷ་ར།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བྷ་གན། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་འཁྲུག་པ་ལ་མིང་དུ་དགའ་བ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པས། མེལ་པ་(*L* MS. མེས་པ་)དང་བསྡོངས་ནས། སྤྱིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གྲགས་འབུམ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་ཟུ་བློ་གྲོས་མཆོག་ལྡན། ཏུང་པ་ཁ་ལི། སྤྱན་བསྟན་དང་རྒྱས་རྣམས་(*L* MS. སྤྱན་བརྟན་རྣམས་) བས་ནས། མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས།།

དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ལྷ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས། ལྷ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་སྐུ་སྟོབས་དང་སྒྲ་རྩལ་མིང་དུ་ཆེ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ལ། ཆུང་བ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསོ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་པས། ཇོ་བོའི་སྤྱུན་བཏོན་ནས། གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར། བཙུན་མོ་དང་བཅས་ནས། ཞིངས་སྐྱེར་ཏུ་བཞག་གོ། དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཚོ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་མགོན་པོ། འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། སྲས་གསུམ་པོ་དེ་སྐུ་སྐྱིད་མིང་དུ་ཆེ་བས།

གཞན་གྱི་ལོ་སྐྱིད་པས།
ཁོང་གི་ཟླ་སྐྱིད་ཆེ།
གཞན་གྱི་ཟླ་སྐྱིད་པས།
ཁོང་གི་ཞག་སྐྱིད་ཆེ།

བར་བྱུང་ངོ་། དེའི་དུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་ཟླ་རིག་གྱེན་ཆད། ཧོ་མེད་མན་ཆད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། ཏ་ཟླ་བསམས་གྱིས་མི་ཁབ་པ་ཚོངས། སྐུ་མཁར་སྤྱིལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་མོ་དང་། ཙ་སྤྱི་འི་(*L* MS. ཙ་བི་)སྒོང་སྐྱེར་བརྟབ། ཧོར་གྱི་དམག་བྱུང་བ་ལ་འཐབ་པས། ཧོར་མང་པོ་བསད། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྩེ་མོར་མགོན་ཁང་བཞེངས་ནས། ཧོར་གྱི་རོ་སྨས་ཅན་མགོན་པོའི་ཞབས་འོག་ཏུ་མནན། (*B* MS.) གཞན་ཡང་། མགོན་ཁང་བཞེངས། མཐའ་དམག་བློག་པའི་གྲི་མནན། (*A* MS.) འབྲི་ཁུང་ནས་ཆོས་རྗེ་ལྡན་མ་ཞེས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དངོས་དེ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། སྒང་སྔོན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆོས་རྫོང་ཞེས་པའི་དགོན་པ་བཏབ། ཕྱུག་

ཡུལ་ནས་བཙུན་ཁྲལ་བཏབ་ནས། བསྐྱབ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཙུགས། དགོན་པ་མཐོང་བའི་ས་མཚམས་སུ་དར་ཆེན་འཕྱར་ནས། འདིའི་མདུན་དུ་རྐྱན་མ། རྡུན་མ། མདོར་ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐུ་མཁར་སྐུ་སྲོག་ལ་བསྙེས་པའི་མི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་། དེའི་མདུན་དུ་རྒྱུད་པ་ཙམ་བྱེས། གནག་ལས་ཐར་བར་མཛད་དོ། གཞན་ཡང་། འབྲི་ཁུང(*L* MS. འབྲི་གུང)། ས་སྐྱ། དགེ་ལྡན། ལྷ་ས། བསམ་ཡས་རྣམས་སུ་གདན་བཏུགས། གསེར་ཆབ། དར་ཆེན། མང་ཇ། བརྒྱ་འབུལ་སོགས་དང་། བཀའ་འགྱུར། བསྟན་འགྱུར། གཞན་ཡང་གླེགས་བམ་མང་པོ་དང་། མཆོད་རྟེན་མང་པོ་བཞེངས་སོ།།

དེ་ནས་སྨྲལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་ནས། སྐུ་ན་གཞོན་དུས་དམག་མཛད་པས། ཟར་(*L* MS. ཟང་)ངམ་རིངས་མན་ཆད། ཊློ་བོ་དང། ཟུ་རྦངས། གུ་གེ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་འཛུམ་ལང་། ཙང་དི་གཉིས། ནུབ་ཕྱོགས་ཁྲི་དཀར་དང་། ཁ་དཀར་(*L* MS. ཁབ་གར་)ཚུན་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས། བྱང་རྟོར་ལ་དམག་རྒྱབ་གསུང་པ་ལ། ནུབ་ར་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞུ་བ་ཕུལ་ནས། མ་མཛད། གཞན་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཇོ་ཀུན་(*S* MS.)དང་། ངན་མེད་པའི་བཀའ་བྱས་(*A* MS.)གཉེ་མ་ལ་ཕྲངས། མཁར་རྣམས་ལ་སྐུ་ཚབ་བཞག་ནས། མར་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དར་ཞིང་། རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། གུ་གེ་ནས་ཁྲལ་དང་དཔྱ་འབུལ་བ་ལ། ལོ་རེ་ལ་གསེར་ཞོ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ། (*S* MS.) དངུལ་དང་། ཚེར་མོ་བརྒྱ་དང། ཆིབས་གཅིག། (*A* MS.) ཙ་ཕོགས་ནས་གསེར་ཞོ་ཉི་བརྒྱ་དང་ཏུག་བཅུ། ཚེར་མོ་བརྒྱ། ཆིབས་གཅིག། བཙོས་ཀྱི་སྐུལ་པ་བཅུ། འཁར་ཨོ་ལྡོང་དང་། ཞིང་དར་ཆེན་དར་རྐྱང་རྣམས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཁྲལ་དཔྱ་ལ་སོགས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་འབུལ་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་བོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ། ལྷ་ས་དང་། གུ་གེའི་མཐོ་གླིང་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཐེག་ཚད་བྱས་ནས། སྡར་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སྐུང་པོའི་གདུང་ཡང་རྩེ་མོར་བཞག་པས། མི་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་མཐལ་ཁ། ཕྱག་མཆོད་པ། སྐོར་བ་སོགས་མི་འགྲོ་བ་འདུག་པས། (*S* MS.) འགྲོ་བ་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་དུ། (*A* MS.) ང་ངས་དེའི་ཚབ་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་བཞེངས་ནས། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་མེས་རབ་པ་ཅན་ལྷ་བུ་ཅིག་བྱེད་དགོས་དགོངས་པ་ལ། སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་ལས་ཟད་པས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་སྐུ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ། དེ་དང་རྒྱལ་ཕྲན་རྣམས་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལངས།།

དེ་ནས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ། ཟུ་རིག་གི་ཇོ་གཉིས་མ་མཐུན་ནས། ཚེ་རིང་མ་ལིག་མེར་པ་ཅིག་གི་དབང་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཁྲིད་པས། དུས་ཀྱི་འགྲིབ་དུས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་ཉམས་དུས་ལ་བབ་པས། ནང་སོང་(*S* MS. སྐར་དོ་)དམག་དཔོན་ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱི་དམག་རྡོལ་བ་དང་ཐུག། ཁོ་ཡིས་གཡོ་བྱས་ནས། ཞག་ཅི་འགྲོ་བྱས། དེ་དང་ལ་ཕུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཁ་བས་བཀག་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དམག་དང་བཅས་པ་གར་སོང་ལ་ཡལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་སྣལ་ཏེ་ཕྱུགས་ནས། གསུང་རབ་ཐམས་ཅད་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས། ལ་ལ་ཆང་ལ་བཀལ། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་བཤིག་ནས། རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཨ་ལི་མིར་ཁེར་དན་གྱི་སྲས་མོ་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་(*L* MS. རྒྱལ་ཀ་ཐུན་)ཞེས་པ་སྒྲོལ་མ་དཀར་མོའི་རྣམ་སྤྲུལ་པ་དེ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བཙུན་མོར་ཕུལ་ནས།

(*B* MS.) བཏུགས་པའི་རིང་པོ་མ་ལོན་པར།

ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱིས་རྨི་ལམ་དུ།

ཁོང་རང་གི་མཁར་ཡོག་གཙང་པོ་ལས་སེང་གེ་ཅིག་ཐོན་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ལ་[ཐིམ་]པར་མཐོང་བ་དང་། དུས་མཚུངས་རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ལ་སེམས་ཅན་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱིས་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཁྲི་སྟེང་དུ་བཏུགས་སུ་གསོལ། དམག་རྣམས་ལ་སྐྱོད་མོ་བྱས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུན་ཀྱང་རྒྱན་དུ་མས་བརྒྱན་ཏེ། ཨ་ལི་མིར་གྱིས་གསོལ་པ།

ཁ་སང་ང་ཡིས་རྨི་ལམ་དུ།
(མདུན)་མཚོ་ནས་སེང་གེ་(ཅིག་)ནར་གྱིས་མཆོངས་(ནས)།
རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུབ་ལ་ཐིམ་པར་མཐོང་།
དེ་དང་དུས་མཚུངས་བུ་མོ་འདི་(ལའང་)།
སེམས་ཅན་དང་[དེ]་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར།
འདི་ལ་བུ་ཞིག་ངེས་པར་སྐྱེ།
མིང་དུ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཐོགས།

ཞེར་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་བཅས་གནང་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། (*A* MS.) དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས་ཏེ། སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། ནོར་བུ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་སོ། དེའི་དུས་སུ། འཛམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཐུགས་དགོངས་ལ། དང་པོ་ངས་བུ་རིག་ཚེ་རིང་མ་ཞིག་གི་དབྱུང་ལ་དམག་ཁྲིད་པའི་ལན་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་བཞིག། ད་ངས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་དར་བའི་ཐབས་ཤིག་ཅི་བྱས་ནས། དར་བར་བྱ་དགོངས་པ་ལ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་མི་སྡེ་ལ་དར་ཁྱབ་པ་ཡིན་པས། ད་ངས་མི་སྡེ་ལ་ཁྲལ་ཐུད་སོགས་མེད་པ། བུ་བཞིན་བསྐྱང་དགོས་སྙམ་ནས། ཕྱག་ཕྱོགས་ལན་གསུམ་སྐོམས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིས་བུ་རིག་བྱེད་ཚར། ཐང་རྩེ་མན་ཆད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་ཁ་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་སློན་ཏུ་འཇིག་རྟེན་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་སྲས་མོ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས་པ་ལ། སྲས་དག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། བསྟན་འཛིན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས། གཞན་ཡང་། སྲས་འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དབུས་གཙང་དུ་ཇོ་བོ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་ཞུང་དུ། གསེར་ཆབ། གདན་བཞུགས། འབྲས་སྤུངས། ར་ལུང་རྣམས་སུ། གསེར། དངུལ། ཟ་དེག། བྱེ་རུ། སྤྲིན་ཤེལ། ཅབ་དར། མང་ཇ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བརྒྱ་འབུལ། དེ་རྣམས་སུ་དར་ཆེན་དང་། འབུག་པ་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་གདན་འདྲེན་པའི་སོ་ཉ་སོགས་ཀུང་བཏང་ངོ་། སྐུའི་རྒྱ་མར་རྒྱ་ཏོག་གསེར་གསུམ་དང་། དཀར་རྒྱུད་གསེར་འཕྲེང་སོགས། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས། རྒྱ་མ་ཐུག་རྗེས་སུ། སྤྲུལ་ཏེས་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས་པ་རྣམས་སྐར་དེའི་ཚབ་བཞེང་པའི་ཐུགས་བསམ་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བ་ཡོད་ཀུང་། སྐུ་ཚེ་ཐུང་བས། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འདི། ཆུང་ངུའི་དུས་ནས་སྐུ་སྟོབས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བས། རྟ་དང་། བང་དང་། མཆོང་དང་། མདའ་དང་། སྒྲོག་དང་། ཏ་སྐུ་དང་། སྐུ་རྩལ་ཐམས་ཅད་སློབ་ཀྱི་ཐབས་གཙང་སྲས་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལྷ་སྡེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་སྐུ་ར་གཉེན་ཏུ་ལ། ཀུ་གེ་ཁྲི་འགོག་ལ་དམག་མཛད་ནས། ཉི་སེའི་བུང་རྒྱབ་ཆུན་ཆོད་ལ་བརྒྱབ། ཏ། གཡག། ར། ལུག་ལ་སོགས་པ་ས་གཞི་བཀང་ནས་ཕྱིངས། དེའི་རྗེད་ཀུ་གེ་ནང་ལ་དམག་མཛད་ནས། ཤ་ལྷུང་དང་། ཏ་ཡེ་(*L* MS. ཏ་ཡས་)གཉིས་[ད]མར་ཟག་ལ་བཏང་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཡག་ལུག་གིས་ཁེངས། རྩེ་མོད་བདག་མོ་བསྐལ་བཟང་སྒྲོལ་མ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། རྒྱ་གར་(*L* MS. རྒྱ་དཀར་ནག)། ཨོ་རྒྱན། ཁ་ཆེ་སོགས་དང་། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་ཞལ་མཐོང་སུམ་དུ་གཟིགས་པའི་འཇའ་ལུས་གྲུབ་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་དེ་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། སྦས་སྐོར་གསེར་ཟངས་ཀྱི་ཐུགས་པ། དཀུང་ལོ་བརྒྱད་པའི་སྐུ་ཚད། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྣ་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲས་པ་དང་། (*C* MS.) གཙུ་ཏྲི་རྩའི་རྒྱན་སོགས་ཕྱལ། (*A* MS.) རྒྱ་གར་ཀར་དུབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ལྷ་ཐམས་ཅད་གདན་དྲངས་ནས། རྒྱུན་ཚོད་དགེ་སློང་ལྔ་བསྐྱལ་བ་གནས་བརྟན་སུ་བཙུགས་ནས། མཆོད་པ། མར་མེ་ཉིན་འབར་མཚན་འབར། རྒྱ་གོས་ཨ་མཚན་པ་མང་པོའི་ཐན། རྒྱལ་མཚན། དར་ཆེན་ལ་སོགས་པ་བཙུགས། གཞན་ཡང་། འཕགས་པ་རང་འབྱོར་གྱི་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་བ། པཎ་ཆེན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐུ་ཚུང་ཏུ། ཕྱམ་གྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། གསེར་

ཀྱི་འབུམ་ཚད་དང་། དངུལ་ཀྱི་འབུམ་ཚད་། སྲིན་མེལ་ཀུ་ཀྲུ་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ། དེ་བས་ལྷ་བ་བརྒྱ་ཙ། ཙི་ཏྲ་ཙ་མོ་ཞི་སྟོང་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ། སྦྱི་རིག་རྒྱ་ཕྲན་ཙམ་བརྒྱ་ཙ་དང་། གཉན་ལྷ་མོ་མང་པོ་དང་། (*B* MS.) (one word illegible) ལྷ་ས། ཁྲ་འབྲུག། བསམ་ཡས་སོགས་ལ་སྐྱོང་མཆོད། དགེ་འདུས་སེར། འབྲུག་ར་ལུང་། ས་སྐྱ། གཞན་ཡང་དགོན་སྡེ་ཆེ་ཕྲ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ། བརྒྱ་འབུལ་མང་སྐྱེལ་བཅས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་དང་། (*C* MS.) ཡུམ་ལེ། རྫོང་ཡུལ། ཁ་དག། གཙང་དམར། སྐྱུ་དམར་དང། མེ་ཏྲ། དར་ཟྭ། སོགས་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་གང་པོ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གསམ་དང་། མངའ་ཞབས་གང་ཡོད་ན། མཆོད་གཉིས། ས་ཁྱད་དུ་བསྐལ་པ་དམ་གདན་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་ཐུལ། (*A* MS.) ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཕྲུག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་དེ་ཉིད་ལ། དང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་ཁག་སོ་སོ་དམ་ས་ཁྱད་མཆོད་གཉིས་སོགས་རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་འབུལ་ནས། ཕྲུག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་གྱིས་(*S* MS.)དེ་མི་ཐང་རྣབ་བསམ་གླིང་དགོན། ལྷེ་བདེ་ཐེག་མཆོག་དགོན། ཡུམ་ལེ་བདེ་ཆེན་དགོན་བཅས་དགོན་ཆེན་གསུམ་གྱི་གཙོ་ཐུས། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དཔག་མེད། (*A* MS.) བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་སོགས་པའི་དགོན་སྡེ་རྣམས། ཡབ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། ཡུམ་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྔར་དང་། ཡུམ་གྱི་སྐུ་ཚེ་སྟོད་སྐབས་སུ། ཞེགས་པར་བསྒྲུབ་ནས། གདུང་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བསྟོད་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས། (*C* MS.) ཐུབ་བསྟན་ཆེན་པོ་ཕྲུག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་མཆོག་ཏུ། ཏ་༡༠༠། གཡག་༡༠༠། གླང་༡༠༠། ལུག་༡༠༠༠། ར་༡༠༠༠། དངུལ་༡༠༠༠། གསེར་ཞོ་༡༠༠། འབྲུ་ཁལ་༢༠༠༠། སྦྱི་རིག་གི་ཡེང་བ། ཙི་ཏྲའི་ཡེང་བ། གསུའི་ཡེང་བ། མེ་མདའ་༤༥། མདུང་༤༥། རལ་གྲི་༤༥། ཁབ་༡༥། གོས་ཆེན་ཡུག་༤༥། རྒྱན་ཁབ་ཁུག་༡༠། སེར་གླིང་ཡུག་༤༥། ཁ་བཏགས་ཡ་མེ་ཡུག་༤༥་བཅས་འབུལ་བ། བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཕུལ། དེ་ནས་བླ་ཆེན་དཔལ་མཁར་དགུ་ཐོག་ལོ་ངོ་གསུམ་དང་བཞེངས་བསྒྲུབས་ནས། དང་ཧྲེད་གསེར་དངུལ་ལ་རྒྱ་བཅས་མང་པོ། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་། ཕྱོགས་བས་པོ་དེ་མང་པོ་བཞེངས།། (*S* MS.) གཞན་ཡང་། ཐོག་ཚད་ཐུག་གི་སྐུ་གདུང་ཆོས་འཁོར་གསེར་ཟངས་ཅན། བློ་ཙ་མན་ཟང་གསུམ། ཟངས་མཁར་དུ་གཅིག་བཅས། རྡོམ་དུ། མ་ཧེ་དུང་བྲུར། སྟྲིས་འཛིན་ལ་དཀར་རྒྱུད་གསེར་ཡིད་གི་སྐུ་དང་། མེལ་ཐུབ་ཆེན་བཅོམ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྐྱེ་དགུ་ཡོངས་[ཀྱི་ཇོད་དུ] ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་བཞིན་མཛད་དོ།། (*B* MS.) རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་དགེ་བཅུའི་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱིས་འཚོ་ཞིང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་ཁམས་སུ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་འདྲ་བ་ལ། བླ་མ་སྟག་འདྲ་བ། མཆོད་ཡོན། ཉི་ཟླ། ཟུང་གཅིག། ཅེས་གྲགས་པས། ས་སྟེང་ཁྱབ་པར་གྱུར། དེ་ནས་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དགོངས་པ་ལ། ཡབ་ཆེན་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་མར་ཐང་ངམ་རིངས་ཚུན་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ཀྱང་། སྐུ་ཚེ་ཐུང་བས། ཡབ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལངས་འདུག། སྨར་ཡང་། ཐང་ངམ་རིངས་ཐུབ་དམག་ལ་ཆས་པས། ཁེ་རི་དཀར་མོར་ཚགས། དེ་ནས་སོད་ནས་མོ་ཉ་འགྱུར་ནས། སྤུར་གྱི་གཙོད་མཚམས་ན་དབུ་གཙང་སོ་ཚུན་མངའ་ཞབས་སུ་བསྡུས། ཁྱིད་ལོག་མེབས་སྐབས་སུ། ཡུམ་ཞེར་སྐུ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་སོ།། (*L* MS.) གཞན་ཡང་[རྒྱལ་པོ་དེས་]ལྷ་མོ་མང་པོ་དང་། གུར་གུམ་ཁལ་དང་། ཁྲད་རས། རས་དར་སོགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་མང་པོ་དང་། གཞུང་གི་ཉེད་དུ་སྟོང་ཕྲག་བརྒྱ་པ། མདོ་སྡེ་བསྐལ་བཟང་། ཐམས་ཅད་སྡེ་ལྔ་ཚར་ལྔ། བརྒྱ་སྟོང་གསེར་གསུམ་ཚར་གཉིས། ཕྲུག་ཚང་རས་ཆེན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཐར། མགུར་འབུམ་རྣམས་གསེར་དངུལ་བཟངས་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས། མ་ཧེ་དུང་བྲུར་སོགས་མང་དུ་མཛད་ཅིང་། དེ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་དང་སྟོང་འབུལ། གཞན་ཡང་ཕྱག་ཕྲ་[ལ་སོགས་པའི་དགོན་པ་]མ་བཏེགས་ལྷུན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་བཏེགས་ནས། བསྒྲུབ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་བཙུགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དུས་སུ་སྦལ་ཏིའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་གྱིས་བར་ཆ་མ་འདུན་གྱི་དམག་འཁྲིད་ནས། མཁར་བུ་ལ་འཐབ་མོ་མང་པོ་བྱེད་ནས། དོར་མང་པོ་བསད་ནས། དགྲ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཐོབ། ཕུ་རིག་ལ་དམག་རྒྱབ་ནས། ཚོ་བོ་བདག་པོ་ཁྲ་ནས། ཕུ་རིག་ཛ་ཐང་དང་བྱིས་ལོང་ཐབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། ཙ་ཧོར་གི་ཡང་པ་མང་བབ་ནས། ཙ་ཧོར་ཡང་ཐབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། དབུས་གཙང་ལ་དམག་མཛད་ནས། ཀླུ་རི་དང་གུར་གུར་སྐྱར་ཆག་ལ་བཏང་ནས། དབུས་གཙང་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྡེ་པ་

གཙང་བས་གསེར་དངུལ་ཟ་ལ་སོགས་པ་ཛེཙུ་འི་སྐུལ་མང་པོ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཕྱོགས་འགྱུ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དང་བཅས་ཕྱིར་ཕེབས་ཀྱི། སྟོ་མོ་སྒང་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བཙུག། ཟུ་རང་ཀུ་གེ་ཟངས་དཀར་སྤྱི་ཏི་ཟུ་རིག་ཡན་ཆོད། ཟར་ཀྱི་མར་ཡུམ་ལ་མན་ཆོད། ཅུ་ཤོག་དང་གསེར་ཁ་མན་ཆོད་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བསྡུས་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན།།

VIII

(*B* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཨིན་ཏ་བོ་དྷི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། བདེ་མཆོག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་སོ། བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐུར། (*S* MS.) གདོན་ཏུ་ཉིད་ན་དགེ་བཅུའི་དཔལ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ཅིང་། ཆབ་འབངས་རྣམས་ཆོས་བཞིན་བསྐྱངས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཇི་ལྟ་བཞིན་མཛད་ནས། གནན་དྲིང་མི་འཛོག་པ། དཔའ་བའི་རྟུལ་ཤོད་ཆེ་བ། (*B* MS.) ཨིན་ཏ་བོ་དྷི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྟག་སྣ་ཆོས་རྗེ་སྨུག་འཛིན་ཟུང་ཏུ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། སྟག་རས་ཀྱི་སློབ་མའི་གཙོ་བོར་གྱུར། དེ་མི་དང་ཐེག་མཆོག་བཞེང་དུས། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་བཞུགས། བསྟན་པ་གཅེས་པའི་བརྩོན་པའི་མཆོག་ཏུ་གྱུར། (*L* MS.) དཔོན་སློབ་སྟག་ཚང་གི་བཀའ་གདང་བཞིན། (*B* MS.) གུ་གེ་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། སྲས་ཆུང་བ་བདེ་མཆོག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སྤྱི་ཏི་དང་། ཟངས་དཀར་བཏད་ནས། མངའ་མཛད། དེ་ནས་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དབྱར་དུས་ཅུ་ཤོག་དང་། དགུན་ཤོག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཞུགས། ཟུ་རིག་ནས་[ད]མར་ཡུལ་(*L* MS. མར་ཡུམ་)ཕྱག་ལ་མངའ་མཛད། (*C* MS.) མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ། གུ་གེ། ཅུ་ཤོག། མང་ཡུལ། སྤྱི་ཏི། ཟངས་དཀར། ཟུ་རིགས། ཧེམ་བབ། སྐར་རྡོ། ཁེ་གར། ཟླ་ཀླི་ཡུལ་ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་འདུས་སོ། ཟུ་ལྡར་བསྐྱངས་ནས། བདེ་བར་གྱུར། (*B* MS.) ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། ཁེལ་ཕྱུབ་པའི་སྐུ་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་ཤོག་ཚད་གསུམ་བཞེངས། གདུང་རྟེན་ཤོག་ཚད་ལྔ་ཡོད་པ། བཅུ་གསུམ་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་། གདུགས་ཟ་ར་ཚོག་རྣམས་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། ཡུམ་གྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། (*C* MS.) ལྷོ་བར་རྫོང་འགོག་ཞི་ཐང་ལ། མ་ཎི་རིང་མོའི་རིང་ལ་སོམ་པ་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་ཡོད་པ། (*B* MS.) མགོ་མཇུག་གཉིས་ལ་གདུང་རྟེན་ཐང་ཆུབ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་རེ་བཞེངས། སློབ་མཁར་དུ་ཕྱབ་པའི་སྐུ་ཤོག་ཚད་གཉིས་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། ཡབ་ཀྱི་ཐུག་སྤྱོལ་ལྡར། ལྷུམ་ར། ཟངས་དཀར། བ་མགོ་(བབ་སྒོ)། གཏིང་སྒང་སོགས་ལ། མ་ཎི་ཟུང་འབུར་འདོན་པའི་དགེ་སློང་བརྒྱ་རྩ་རེ། ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཆག་མེད་མཛད། གཞན་ཡང་། རྒྱ་མ་ཕྱག་རྗེས་ལ། སློབ་ཏུ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ། (*C* MS. དངུལ་གྱི་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས)། ཤོག་ཚད་གཉིས་དང་། འདུ་ཁང་བཞེངས། དངུལ་གྱི་གདུང་རྟེན་ཤོག་ཚད་གཉིས། (*C* MS. ཤོག་ཚད་གསུམ)་བཞེངས།། གཞན་དེ་དུས་ལ། བློན་པོ་ཨྰ་ཀུ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དམག་འགོ་བྱས། ཙ་མོ་གླང་ལོ་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་དམག་རྒྱག་ནས། [མ]ཁར་ཟུ་ནས་པོ་མོ་མང་པོ་བཙོན་དུ་ཕྱིངས། དེ་ནས་ཀུ་དང་། སྟག་རྩེ་ཡང་བབ། མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་བཙུག། རྗེས་ལ་ཅིག་གདན་ཤ་དཀར་(*L* MS. ཤ་གར་)བཅག་ནས། སོད་པ་ས་རི་ལ་དམག་ཁྲིད། སོད་མཁར་དང་། ཞིང་གི་སྟོད་ཤོག་རྣམས་བསྡུས་ནས། ཡོག་སྟེ་[སོང་]བ། ཟུམ་འཐང་ལ་དམག་རྒྱབ་ནས་བབ། དེ་ནས་དཀར་རྩེ་ལ་དམག་རྒྱབ་ནས་བབ་སྟེ། ཇོ་ཁྲི་གྲུལ་ཏན་འཁྱིད་ཕྱིངས། མིང་པོ་སྟག་ཡོར་ཁ་བྲ་ཤུར་དམག་རྒྱབ་ནས། ཆོར་འབད་(ཆོས་འབད)། མགོ་རྩེ་མཁར་ཐབས། ཡུལ་རྣམས་ཏ་ཧུམ་ཁན་(ཏེ་ཏན་ཁན)་དང་ཤུལ་ཏན་ཁན་(*L* MS.)ཨ་ལེ་ཁན་(*B* MS.)གསུམ་ལ་བསྔོས་ནས་གནང་བ་ཡིན། སྐར་རྡོའི་ཇོ་དང་། སྒྲལ་ཏེ་ཐམས་ཅད་འདོད་གཅིག་གིས་ན་ཕྱུབས་སུ་ཕྱུས། ཁྲི་(ཁྲ?་)བྱས་རྫོང་དམག་འབུམ་ཚོ་གཉིས་པ་ས་རི་(ད)་ལ་བསྐྱིབས་པས། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་བློན་པོ་འབྲུག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། དམག་དཔུང་[མཁར་]དང་ནས་[ཐུང་བ]། ཡོད་པའི་རྫོང་དམག་དང་འཐབ་པས། རྫོང་མང་པོ་བསད། འབུར་དར་དང་། ཏ་རིབ་རྣམས་ཐོབ་ནས། དགྲ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་ལོ།།

དེའི་སྐབས་བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱལ་སར་བཞེངས། དེ་སྐབས་སུ། ལྷོ་འབྲུག་པ་དང་། བོད་པ་འཁྲུགས་པར། ལྷོ་འབྲུག་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབུ་བླ་ཡིན་པར། དེའི་རྒྱབ་ཙ་བྱ་བར་བོད་ལ་ཡི་གེ་བཏངས་པས། བོད་པས་རྟོག་དཔྱོད་བྱས་པར། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་དཔུང་སྐྱོར་དུ་འདིར་བྱུང་ན། མིང་དང་མཐུན་པར། སྐྱེ་བརྒྱགས་འགྲོ་བས། དེས་ཀྱང་སྐྱོར་དུ་དམག་རྒྱགས་དགོས་ཀྱི་གྲོས་འཆམས། སོག་པོ་དགའ་ལྡན་གྱི་གུ་ཁ། མིང་ལ་ཚེ་དབང་ཞེར་བ་དེ། རྗེས་སུ་བབ། གུ་ཤོག་བྱས་ནས། སོག་པོའི་རིགས་དང་། དམག་དོན་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་ཡོངས་པའི། ཐོག་མར་ཞྭ་དམར་གླིང་དུ་འཐབ་པའི། རྗེས་པ་བཞིན་སོག་དམག་བ་མགོ་བྲག་བསྐྱེབས། དེ་སྐབས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིད་སྐྲང་མཁར་དུ་བཞུགས། ལ་དྭགས་དམག་དཔོན་འདེད་དམག་ཁ་ཤས་བ་མགོའི་མཁར་བཟུང་། མོ་ཏོ་གསུམ་འཐབ་ཀྱང་། སོག་དམག་མ་ཐོག་པར། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ན་ལྷུབ་ལ་མོ་ཀྱ་བཏངས་པར། དེ་ནས་དཔུང་དམག་གཡོན་ཆེ་བ་ཐོན་ནས། བ་མགོའི་བྱ་རྒྱལ་ཐང་དུ་འཐབ་པས། བོད་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོར། ཁམ་དང་མདའ་གཞུ་མང་པོ་ཤུབ། དཔེ་བྱབ་བྱུག་རིམ་གྱིས་བཅག་པས། སོག་དམག་རྣམས་ཤོར་ནས། བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒང་དུ་བསྐྱེབས། དེར་མཁར་བཅས། མཐའ་ཕྱུགས་རི་བཙད། རྒྱ་ཡིས་མཐའ་ནས་བསྐོར། ནང་དུ་དམག་བཞིན་མི་ཚོགས་པ་བྱས་དེར་བསྡད། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པའི། ང་དུང་དམག་འབྱུང་བའི་དོགས་པའི། སྐྱེ་བ་གསུང་ནས་འབྲུག་པ་མི་འཕམ་དབང་པོ་ལ། བཟང་བསྐྱིག་པར་འཇེབ་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བཞིན། འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་གཉིད་སྐྲང་ཐུག་ཞེབས། དེ་མཉམ། གཞན་ཡང་བོད་པའི་མོ་ཀྱ་སོགས་བྱུང་ནས། (C MS.) ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡབ་མེས་རྣམས་ཀྱི་དབུ་བླ་ཚ་བའི་བླ་མ་སྐྱིད་ཤེས། སྐོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ཅི་གསུངས་གྱིན་སློག་མ་མཛད་པ། ཐོག་མར་ཉི་མ་མགོན་གྱི་སྲས་སོ་སོ་ལ་ཡུལ་ཁང་གནང་བ་ལྟར། ཆ་བཞག། (B MS.) བོད་ནང་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཆུལ་བྱེ་བ་སོགས་དེ། ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ཆོས་ལུགས་སོ་སོར། དགྲ་ཡིན་པས། ས་མཚམས་སུ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་མ་བདེ་ན། བོད་མི་བདེ་བ། བོད་པའི་ཡིད་ལ་དགོངས་ནས(གྲོངས་ནས?)། ད་བར་ཅི་ལྟར་སོང་ཀྱང་། ཐལ་ཆོད། རྗེས་སུ་ཕྱི་ནང་གི་ས་མཚམས་སྲུང་བར། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཞེས་གན་(འགན?)་ལེན་མཛད་དེ། སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ལ་དགོངས་ནས། མཐའ་དམག་མི་ཐེབ་པའི་ཐབས་སུ་[བྱེད་དགོས]॥ ཁ་ཆུལ་དགོས་བྱེད། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་གྱི་ལེ་ན་སོགས། ཡུལ་གཞན་ལ་འཚོང་མི་ཆོག་པ་དང་། ལེ་རྟེན་ཡང་ཆེ་རལ་ཉག་བརྒྱད་བཅུ་ལ་དངུལ་དམར་སྲང་གཉིས་རེ་བཏང་རྒྱུ་དང་། (C MS.) ལེ་རྟེན་ཆེ་རལ་ཉག་ ༨༠ ལ་རྟེན་དངུལ་གཅིག་རེ་གཏང་རྒྱུ། (B MS.) རྫོང་པའི་ཉག་ལ་བྱང་པས་འཆང་མི་ཆོག། བྱང་པའི་ལེ་ན་[ལ]་ས་རྡོ་ཆུ་སོགས་འདུག་ཞེད་ལོ་མེད་པ་དང་། རུ་ཐོག་དང་ལ་མཁར་འཚོང་བ་མ་གཏོགས། འགྲོ་མི་ཆོག་པ་བྱས། ལེ་ན་རྣམས། ཁ་ཆེ་(ཚོ)་འཚོང་པ་མི་བཞི་དཔེ་ཐུབ་ཏུ་བསྡད་ནས། ཀ[ཤ]་མིར་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་མཉམ་འཚོང་བྱས། ཁ་ཆུལ་འགྲོ་རྒྱ་བྱ་བ་མ་གཏོགས། ཁ་ཆུལ་ཁ་ཆེ་བྱང་ཐང་ལ་འགྲོ་མི་ཆོག། བྱང་ཐང་འགྲོ་བའི་ལ་དྭགས་ཁ་ཆེ་ཡིས། ཁ་ཆུལ་ལ་དང་ལེ་ན་འཁུར་དེ། འགྲོ་མི་ཆོག། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་བཞིན། མི་འཕམ་དབང་པོའི་བཀའ་ལས། ལྷ་སར་མཆོད་མེ་དང་སྨོན་ལམ་མཐུན་རྐྱེན་སྦྱར་ན། མེན་སེར(C MS. སྨན་ཚེར)་གནས་མཚོ་ལ། ལ་དྭགས་པས་དཀར་མེ་ཚོགས་མཆོད་འབུལ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ས་ཐུད་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གིས་བདག་མཛད། དེ་མེད་པར། མཚམས་བདེ་མཆོག་ལྷ་རི་ཆུ་ནས་བྱས། བོད་ནས་གཞུང་འཚོང་ཁལ་མ་ཉི་བརྒྱའི་ཚ་དང་བཅས་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་དང་། ཚ་པག་སྤུ་བཞི་འདི་ལ་དྭགས་མ་གཏོགས། གཞན་མཐའ་ལ་གཏོང་མི་ཆོག། གཞུང་འཚོང་ལོ་ལྟར་མ་ཡོང་ཚེ། ཐུར་གྱི་ཚད་དོན་ལ་མི་གནས་པ་བྱས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བོད་དུ་ལོ་ཕྱག་སྐྱབས་འཇུག་ཕུལ་རྒྱུ། (C MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ནས་བོད་ལ་རྟེན་དང་བཅས་ལོ་གསུམ་བར་དུ་གཏང་དགོས། (B MS.) གླ་ཁག་སོགས་ལ་རྒྱུས་སྦྱར་དེས་པ་མེད་ཀྱང་། གླ་བང་ཕྱག་མཛོད་ལ། གསེར་སྲང་ཉི་བཅུ། (C MS.) སྲང་ཉི་ཏོ (ཉི་ལ་༡༠)། (B MS.) དྲི་བཟང་བྲང་བཅུ། (ཐུར་ཐུམ)། རྟེར་ཤོག་འཇུབ(C MS. ཕྱག)་ཐུག། བས་སྐུ་འཇུབ་གཅིག་ཐལ་ནས། སྤྱོད་རིང་བར། སོགས་ཤོག་དང་། ལམ་ཐོག་དོས་ཁལ་གཉིས་བཅུ། (C MS.) ཏ་ཆོད་ཉེར་ལྔ། ཏ་ཐབ་ཆེན་བཅུ། (B MS.) ཏ་ཐུལ་བཅོ་ལྔ། ཆོད་པ་བཅུ།

ཏ་ཐབ་ཡོད་མི་གསུམ། དེར་ཏ་ལ་ཁ་རྒྱ་བཀག་མེད། འཕོག་རྡེ་འགོ་མེབ་༡ བསྒུགས་ཐབ་མཛོད་བཅས་ལ་ཁུར། ཏ་ཁལ་རྣམས་ཏ་ཐམ་ (C MS.) ཏ་རྫམ་སྒོག་དང་། སྒོང་རྒྱལ་སར་ཕྱིར་དང་། (B MS.) སོ་ཐུག་རེ་དང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་རེ་ (C MS.) མི་འབམ་དབང་པོར་ (B MS.) བསྐྱེབ་རྒྱ་བྱས་ཀྱང་། མི་འབམ་དབང་པོའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་མ་ཞུས་ཀྱང་། སྟེ་པ་གཙུང་ནས་མི་འབམ་དབང་པོ་ལ་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ཚབ། བོད་ན་རྫོང་ཁག་གསུམ་སྤྱལ་ཚེ། མངའ་རིས་ལ་སྐྱུར་མེད་ཞུས་པས། སྟེ་པ་གཙུང་ནས་གཉིས་ཁ་གསུམ་མི་འབམ་དབང་པོར་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། (C MS.) གཞན་ཅ་སྒོག་ཀུ་བེ་སོགས། ལྷ་སར་མཆོད་མེ་དང་། སྔོན་ལམ་ཐུན་རྒྱུན་ཏུ་སྤྲུར་ནས། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ཆལ་ན་ལྷབས་དམག་དཔུང་ཀུང་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་། ན་ལྷབ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མཛའ་བོའི་ཚུལ་བསྒྲུང་ནས། (B MS.) ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ལོ་གསུམ་བར་ལ་ཁ་ཆལ་ལ་བྲ་སྟེ་གཏོང་རྒྱ་མཉམ། ཏ་ཁྲ་པོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། སླ་རྩི་ལྡེ་པ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད། གཡག་གི་ཛ་མ་དཀར་པོ་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ (C MS. ལོ་རེ་ལ་ཐུག) ཕུལ་རྒྱ་བྱས། ཁ་ཆལ་ནས་ན་ཀུ་མ་ཏར་དེ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཛ་གིར་ཏུ་བྱུང་བའི་ཁལ་འབྲས་སྲིག་ལྔ་བརྒྱ། (C MS. ལོ་ལྟར་འབྲས་སྲིག་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་) ལོ་ལྟར་ཏུ་ཡོད་རྒྱུ་ཡོད་སོགས་བྱས་ནས། ཏུས་འབྲས་འདི་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སིང་པ་ལ་ཐལ་ཏུས་སུ། མིན་པ་མེད་པ་(མ)་སོང་། འཛམ་བདེ་འཛག་ཀུ་སྤྲུར་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཛད་དགོངས་བླ་ན་མ་མཆིས་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།། (S MS.) བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་འཛིན་སྐབས། སོག་པོ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཚང་། བྱ་མིག་ཅན་གྱིས་དམག་དྲངས།

རྒྱལ་པོ་བབ་སྐོར་བཙུགས་མིང་།
ཁ་ཆལ་(གྱི)་དམག་དང་བཅས།
སོག་པོ་[རྣམས་ལ་]བརྒྱབ་པས།
སོག་སྒོམ་ཐབས་སྒྲ་སོང་།

སླར་ཡང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྔར་བཞིན(ཞིང?)་དར་རྒྱས། དགེ་བདེའི་དཔལ་དམ་པར་གྱུར།།

(B MS.) དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ངག་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (L MS. ང་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ)། དབང་ཕྱུག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (L MS.) དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། (B MS.) དགའ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། སྐུ་ཆེད་བཞི་(ལྔ་)ལས། ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་མངའ་གསོལ་བའི། (S MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཐུགས་སྨོན་ལམ་ཆེན་པོས། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ལ་སོགས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་བཞིན་ཏུ་མང་ཏུ་བཞེངས། (B MS.) མེས་པོ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམ་ཐར་ཚུལ་བཞིན་འཚོང་བ་ཞིག་བྱེད་དགོས་གསུང་བ་བཞིན།

བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡར་སྐྱོད།
ངན་པ་སོགས་ཀུང་གཉའ་མནོན།

རྒྱལ་ཁམས་རྣམས་ཀུང་རང་རང་བློ་ལ་གང་མར་གྱིས་མཛད་པ་ཡེ་ནས་མི་གནང་ཞིང་། སྐུ་དྲག་སོགས་དང་བཀའ་གྲོས། ཕྱལ་ཕྱུལ་ནས། བློ་གྲོས་ལྡན་ཞིམ་ཚོགས་པ་ནན་པོར་བཞག་ནས། ཞིང་ཁང་གི་བཀའ་ཤོག་སོགས་གནང་དགོས་རྣམས་ཀུང་ཞུ་ངོ་དང་། ཁྲིམས་འཛིན་པའི་དབང་མ་བཏང་བར། སྐུ་དྲག་ནང་གསུམ་བྱས། ཉེན་གསུམ་དབང་ཏུ་བཞག ཐར་གྱི་འབྲུང་ཁུངས་ཀྱི་རྩིས་བཅད། ཕྱིས་སུ་བཟོད་བྱ་འབྲུང་རྒྱའི་ཆ་བ་སྤྲད་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཤོག་བཙན་པོ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

(C MS.) བཟང་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཡར་སྐྱོད།
ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་ལ་རྗེས་འཛག།

ནད་རབ་རྣམས་ལ་བཀུར་སྟི །
བླ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་མོས་པ །
ངན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་གཉའ་གནོན །
བཀའ་ཞིམས་[རྣམས་ལ]་གཙང་བ །
སྐུ་དྲག་(རྣམས་ལ)་ཉེ་རིང་མེད་པ །
འབངས་(རྣམས)་ལ་བུ་ལྟར་བརྩེ་བ །
ཕྱུགས་མི་རྣམས་ལ་བདག་རྐྱེན །
ཡར་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་མཆོད་པ །
མར་ངན་སོང་ལ་སྦྱིན་པ ॥

སོགས ། དུས་རྒྱུན་ཆད་མེད ། རྟེན་ཞིང་མཆོད་ཞིང་ལ་སོགས་པ་གྲངས་མེད་དང་ ། ལྷ་ས་བླ་ཆེན་ཁག་ལ་བརྒྱ་འབུལ་དང་ ། སྨོད་དུ་དང་ ། རང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་དགོན་ཁག ། སྤྱི་ལ་ཉེ་རིང་མེད ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་བདག་རྐྱེན ། ཕྱིས་སུ་བརྗོད་བྱ་ངན་པ་འབྱུང་བའི་སྐོང་པོའི་རྩ་བ་སྤྲོད་ནས་སྲུང ། ཚབས་སུ་བཟང་པོའི་བརྗོད་བྱ་གསར་དུ་བཙུགས ། (*B* MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཉིད་ཀྱིས ། ལྷ་ས་བསམ་ཡས་ཀྱི་བཅོམ་ཕྱིའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་གསེར་ཆབ ། དཀར་མེ ། བླ་མ་རིས་མེད་སྐྱབས་རྟེན ། དགེ་འདུན་སོགས་ལ་མང་སྐོལ ། རང་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ཆོས་སྡེ་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ ། བསྙེན་བཀུར་རིས་མེད ། གསེར་དངུལ་གྱི་རྒྱུ་ལས ། རང་མོས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་སྐུ ། གསུང་རབ ། ཐུ་དང་གི་མ་ཉི་རིང་མོ ། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་བཞེང་ རྒྱུའི་གཞུང་བར་རྒྱས(བར་རྒྱབ ?)་བསྐྱུས ། འཛམ་སྦུད་ བཟང་ གསུམ ། འཛམ་དབྱངས་བསྟོད་པ་གང་བློ་སློབ་ལམ ། ཤེས་ བྱ་ཁ་དབྱིངས ། གསེར་འོད་གཡང་སྐྱབས ། བཀའ་སྒྱུར་རོ་ཙོག ། ལེ་བདུན ། བར་བྱས་ལེགས་པར་བསྒྲུབ་ནས ། སྐྱ་སེར་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཆོས་སྦྱིན ། གསེར་དངུལ་ཟངས་གསུམ་གྱི་མ་ཎི་ཐེར་སྐོར ། (*C* MS.) ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཕྱུང་བར་སྣ་མང་བསྒྲུབ ། མང་ཡུལ་ནོ་ལྟར་ཆགས་པ་བདེ་བར་བྱུར ། (*B* MS.) གཉན་ཡང་ ། མངའ་འབངས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་འཁྲུགས་སྐྱོང་དགྲ་ཛག་རྐུན་གསུམ་མེད་པར ། མ་གཅིག་གི་བུ་བཞིན ། བདེ་བའི་དཔལ་ལ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདིའི་བཙུན་མོ་ལ་སྲས་ལྷ་ཆེན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་ནས ། ཡུམ་སྐུ་འདས ། དེ་ནས་བུ་ རིག་ནས་ཞི་ཞི་ཁ་ཐུན་ཕྱུ་བའི ། སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་ ། གཅེས་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་མོ་བཅས་སྤུན་གཉིས་འཁྲུངས ॥

དེ་ནས་ བདེ་ སྐྱིད་ རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལྷོ་མོ[ན]་ཐང་(*C* MS. ལྷོ་མོན་ ཐང་)ནས་ཉེ་ཟླ་དབང་མོ་བཙུན་མོར་ཞུས་ནས ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐུར ། སྲས་ས་སྐྱིད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་ནས ། མ་མཐུན་པར་བཅད་ནས ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ལྷོ་རུ་ལོག་ཐེབས ། (*C* MS.) དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཀུན་འཛོམ་ཞུས ། སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བལྟམས ། (*B* MS.) ཕྱིས་སུ་བཙུན་མོ་གཉན་ཞིག་ཞུས་པ་ལ ། སྲས་ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་(*L* MS.) རབ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་(*B* MS.)འཁྲུངས ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འདི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་ ། བླ་མ་མཛད ། དེ་ མིན ། གཉེད་སྒང་མཁར་དུ་བཞུགས ། ཞེས་སྐུ་དྲག་ནད་མང་སོགས་ཀྱིས་ཞུས་པས ། ཡབ་ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་དུ་སོང་ ། སྲས་བདེ་སྐྱིད་[གི་ཡུམ་]་ཟླ་མོ་ཤི་བའི་ ། ཞི་ཞི་ཁ་ ཐུན་ཀྱིས་གཅེས་པར་བསྐྱངས་ ། དེད་ཀྱི་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ་གསུང་ལ་བཀའ་མི་ཉན ། གཞུང་བཅང་ ། དེ་ནས་མ་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཁ་དབང་གིས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་མོ་ཏོག་ལ་ནས ། བུ་རིག་ཞོངས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད ། ཐལ་བྱེ་དངུལ་མདོག་མཁར་ལ་ཐམ་ཀ་བཀྱབ ། ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་བུ་མོ་ཞིག་བཙུན་མོར་བྱུལ་ཡང་ ། སྲས་མེད་དོ ། གཅེས་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་མོ་འདི་ཀས་ ཇ་ལྷུར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་འདུན་མར་གླངས ། ཐ་མི་སྐད་ཆོས་མི་གཅིག་པར ། མ་གདང་ ། ཕྱུག་ཀྱང་ ། ཐུའི་ཞིམས་བདག་མ་མ་ཞིན་མེར་[ཏེ] ། རྒྱལ་མོ་མ་གནས་པར་

བཏངས། ནང་སོ་དགའ་ཚེལ་གྱི[ས]་གཙོ་བཅས་ཞབས་ཕྱི་བཏང་། ཉི་མ་མི་མཐོང་འདུག་ཟེར་ཞིང་། བུ་མོ་ཅིས་ཀྱང་འཚོང་དགོས་ཞེས་དམག་བཏང་། ཀཤ་ཏ་ཝཱར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་མོ་གཉིས་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཛའ་བའི་བུ་མོ་ཁྱེར་ཚེ། རང་ཡང་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་འགྲོ་ཟེརས། དཔོན་འཁོར་དག་བསྐུས་འོངས་པས། འདི་ནས་ཟླ་ཟླ་ཁ་དུན་གྱིས། ཀཤ་ཏ་ཝཱར་རྒྱལ་པོ་འོང་ཚེ། ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱིས་མ་བསད་ན། ང་ཡི་བུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲིད་ལ་གནོད་དོ་ཞེས་སྨས་བསླབ་ཡོད་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཞབས་ཕྱས་ལ་དྭགས་མི་ཞིག་འདི་ནས་སོང་བ། གཙོ་བོ་རྣམས་རྒྱུས་མེད་པར། ཀཤ་ཏ་ཝཱར་དང་པ་ལྡར་གྱི་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་ཟམ་པ་ཞིག་ལ། ཞབས་ཕྱི་ཕྲ་བའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆུ་ལ་བསྐྱུར། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་ཐམས་ཅད་གཏམ་ངན་གྱིས་ཁྱབ་ཅས། དེ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་། སྲས་ཚེ་བ་ས་སྐྱོང་མཁར་གྱི་བདག་འཛིན་ཡིན་ཀྱང་། མ་སྒྲོ་སོ་སོ་སྟབས་ཀྱིས་ཙུའི་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་མ་ཡིས་གཡོ་ཅས། ཉེ་མི་བླ་མ་མཛད་བཅུག །

ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐྱངས་སོ། ཨ་ཁུ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་ཁ་ཆུལ་ཚོང་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་ཀྱི་མི་སེར་ལ། འཛམ་རྡུང་དབང་འཕྲོག་མཛད་ནས། (*C* MS.) ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ (*B* MS.) མ་ཐུབ་པར། ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁྲུགས་ནས། བོད་ལ་ཐ་དམག་འཐོན་པའི་རྒྱ་ཞེས་གནས་ཚུལ་རྒྱལ་བ་རིན་ཆེན་ལ་ཞུས་པར། དེ་བཞིན་ཡིན་ཚེ། ནང་གྲིག་བྱེད་མི་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་པ་བླ་མ་སུ་ལ་བཀའ་བབ་ཡོད་པའི་དགོངས་གསོལ་མཛད་སྐབས། ཁམ་ནས་བཀའ་ཤོག་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་ནོར་བུ། བལ་ཡུལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེན་པོའི་ ཞིག་གསོང་སྐྱོ་བར་ཕེབས་སྐབས་དང་། དུས་མཚུངས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པས་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར་བཀའ་བཀོད་ཀྱིས། ལ་དྭགས་ཕྱི་གྲིག་ལ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ལས་བཀའ་ཡོད་པས། འགྲོ་དགོས། ཞེས་པར། དེ་བཞིན་རྒྱལ་བའི་བཀའ་ལ་མངོན་པར་བསྐོར་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཕེབ་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས། སྨར་དུ་ཕེབས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བློན་པོ་བཅས་གསུང་ཤོག་ཐོབ། གཟིམས་དཔོན་དུ་ཟངས་དཀར་གྱང་དཀར་བློན་པོ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན། སྐྱབས་མགོན་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོར་ཕེབ་བསྐུལ་ཞུ་ཕུལ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་གཤམ་གྱི་གནས་ཚུལ་རྣམས་ཞུས། དེ་ནས་སྨར་དཔོན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་བཅས་ལྷམ་ལེ་དགོན་དུ་ཕེབས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བློན་བཅས་ཞལ་འཛོམ་དང་། བུ་རིག་རྒྱལ་བློན་རྣམས་རིམ་པར་ཕེབས། ཐ་ཁྲ་མཛད་པའི་དབུ་ཚུགས། དེ་ནས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོའི་བཀའ་དང་དམ་གནས། ཐ་ཁྲ་གཅོད་མཚམས་ནི། ལ་དྭགས་མཁར་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཙམ་བསྐྱུམ་ཡང་། ཆེ་བ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། དེ་རྗེས་རྣམས་དཔེ་ཐུབ་ཁྲི་རྩེ་སོགས་ལ་བླ་མ་མཛད་པ་མ་གཏོགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མི་བཞུགས། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཐ་མཚམས་སོང་གཤིས། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྔར་ལུགས་བཞིན་དང་། ཉེ་ནས་སྐུ་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་དངོས་ཡིན་པ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་སྲིད་ཆེད་མེད་པའི་ངང་འཛུམ། དེ་མེད། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གཅིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་མི་དགོས་པ་མཛད། །

(*L* MS.) དེའི་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (*B* MS.) རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བསྐོས། (*S* MS.) ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། མི་འཇིགས་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཆེ་བ་ཡིས་ལ་དྭགས་དང་། ཆུང་བས་བཟངས་ཁར་གྱི་སྲིད་འཛིན། (*B* MS.) ཕུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཡུམ་སྲས་ཟློལ་མཁར་གྱི་ཕྱག་རྫས་ལ་མཉམ་བགོས་མཛད་ཅིང་། བསྡུམ་ནས། ཞི་རྩེ་མཁར་ (གསེར་ཞི་མཁར)་ལ་བཞུགས། ས་སྐྱོང་དེ་མི་རིག་པ་འཛིན་པའི་ཚས་སུ་བཞུགས་པའི། རྒྱལ་མོ་ཀུན་འཛོམ་ལ་སྲས་སྐྱབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་སྲས་མི་འཁམ་ཚེ་དབང་[འཕྱེད་ལས]་འཁྲུངས་པ་ལ། མོ་སྦྱིད་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས། གཞན་སྲས་མིག་འཁྲུངས་པ། སྨན་དཔྱད་ལ་ཤིན་ཏུ་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་ནས། ལྷ་སར་གཤེགས། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་ཡོད་པ། བོད་རྫོང་ཁང་གསར་གྱི་བཙུན་མོར་ཕྱིར། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་ཚེ་ནས་འཚོ། བུ་རིག་ལ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། དེ་རྗེས་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཟིན། ཐ་ཁྲ་དང་གས་རྒྱ་སྐུ་ཐུག་ཚོང་མ་དང་ཏན་གསུམ་ཚོང་མ་བཅས་ནས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བདེ་ལ་བཀོད། ཞལ་ངོ་དང་བསྒྲིག་རྗེ། བླ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཞེལ་མཁར་དུ་ཕེབས། དེ་ཚེ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ད་ལྷུབ་ཀྱི་སོ་ཉ་ཞིག་ཡོང་ནས། ཨ་ཕེ་ཆེན་མོའི་ནང་ནས་ཆུ་ཐོན་དགོས། ཞུ་བར་བཙམས་པ་དང་། དེ་སྐབས་མོ་ཉའི་མཐའ་བྱུག་སྐབས་སུ། དཔལ་ཉེས་སང་གི་ཧ་ཞེ་གཏུང་

གུལ་མི་ཙམ་ཡོད་ལ་ལྷུན་པར། བྱིན་གྱིས་བརླབས་པས། ཡོ་ཉ་ཡང་དང་དེ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་རིག་འཛིན་ཆེན་པོས་བྲ་ཁ་སྨིལ་མཁར་ལ་བྱིན། སྨལ་བྱེ་མཁར་ལ་གཅིག བཟངས་དཀར་ལ་གཅིག ཉེ་མི་དགོན་པར་གཅིག བཅས་གནང་ནས། བོད་དུ་ཐེབས། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བཟང་ལ་མཁར་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་ཞུས་པར། དེ་སྐབས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་ལ་བདུད་ཞུགས། ཞབས་གྲུས་ངན་པའི་ཁ་དབང་སོང་ནས། (C MS.) ཚང་རའི་སྒྲེ་མོ། (B MS.) སྒྲེ་མོ་རྒྱལ་བུ་བ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། བཟང་ལའི་རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་བཞིན་བཟང་ལར་ལོག་ཐེབས་ནས། བཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཙུན་མོ་མཛད། ཐུག་ལས་སོགས་སྲིད་མེད་པའི་ཡ་མཚན་དང་། ཆིབས་པ་ཉི་བི་ཆག་ཟླ་བརྒྱ་རེ་ལ་ཆིབས་དཔོན་དང་། གཟིམས་ཉིད་སོགས་འགྲོས་ཆེ་བ། ཉི་བི་ཆག་གི་ཞབས་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། གསང་སོགས་ལ་རྩི་བ་ཞག་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ནས། ཞལ་ངོ་དང་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟ་བུའི་གནང་མ་གནང་མ་ཐེག་པ་བྱས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་འབབ་ལོག་སྡེ་དབང་ལན་གསུམ་བྱུང་བར། (C MS.) དེ་ནས་སྐུ་དྲག་འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ལྟར་མི་མཛད་པའི་ཞུ་བ་ཕུལ་ཀྱང་། གསན་དགོངས་མ་བྱུང་བར་ཉེན། ཐབས་མེད་ལ། དམག་མང་དམྱུང་ནས། མཁར་ལ་ཚང་ནས། སྒྲེ་མོ་བཏོན་ནས་བཙོན་དུ་བཏང་། ཧོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་གོ་ས་ནས་ཕབས་ནས། བཙོན་དུ་བཏང་། (B MS.) ཟུ་རིག་སོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྒྲེ་ཀིམ་དབང་མོ། (སྒྲེ་ཁྲིམ་དབང་མོ) (C MS. བི་ཀིམ་དབང་མོ)་ཞེས་པ་བཙུན་མོར་ཞུས། དེ་ལ་སྲས་མོ་གསུམ་དང་། སྲས་གཉིས། ཆེ་བའི་མཚན་ལ་ལྷ་ཆེན་མི་འགྱུར་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། ཆུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆུང་བ་ཁ་ཏུན་ཚེ་རིང་ལ་སྲས་གཅིག་བལྟམས། མཚན་ལ་འཇིགས་མེད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གསོལ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་སྐུ་གཤེགས། དེ་མི་སྐུབས་མགོན་རྒྱལ་སྲས་དང་། སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་བཀའ་གྲོས་བྱས།

རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཟུ་རིག་པས་ཀླུམ་མཁར་ནས་འདུན་མ་ཞུས། དེ་སྲིད་ལ་དབང་བསྐུར། (C MS.) དེ་སྐབས་བོད་ནས་འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་ཀུན་གཟིགས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སྣང་བ་ཐེབས་ནས། ཉེ་མི་དགོན་དུ་བཞུགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ནས་འབུལ་མཚན། རྟ་༥༠། འབྲི་༥༠། ར་ལུག་༡༠༠༠། རྫིལ་ཁ་༤༥། ན་ནག་ཁའི་དངུལ་༢༠༠༠། གསེར་ཞོ་༡༠༠། བྱི་རུ་འཕྲེང་བ་༡། ཀིམ་ཁྲབ་ཡུག་༡༥། སག་ལ་དམར་པོ་བ་སྒྲ་༡། [གསེར་པོ་བ་སྒྲ་༡]། ཀམ་རག་ཡུག་༤༥། མ་ཀྲུ་ར་ཡུག་༤༥་བཅས་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འབུལ་བ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་འབུལ་ལོ། (B MS.) རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཆུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཉེ་མིར་རབ་བྱུང་བྱབ། ཁ་ཏུན་ཚེ་རིང་གི་སྲས་ཁྲི་རྩེ་རུ་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་པས་ཀླུམ་མཁར་ལ་བག་མར་གནང་། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་ལ་བག་མར་སྩལ། ནོ་ནོ་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་བཀའ་བློན་དུ་བསྐོས། སྲས་མོ་གཅིག་གཟིམས་ཆུང་ལ་བཞུགས་སྐྱེ་གཤེགས། རྒྱལ་པོ་[ཚེ་བརྟན་]རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་བཞིན་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་མིན་ཏུ་མཚར་ཞིང་། (C MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ནི་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ། རལ་གྲི་མདུང་[མདའ་]གསུམ་ལ་མཁས་པ། (B MS.) མཁྱེན་ཟབ་པ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་རྩིས། བར་སེའི(C MS. བར་རྩེའི)་ཡི་གེ་སྐད་དང་། ཁ་ཆེའི་སྐད། (C MS.) ཡར་ཁེན་སྐད་ (B MS.) སོགས་སྐད་རིགས་མཐའ་དག་མཁས་པ། (C MS.) ཆོས་ལ་མཁས་པ། རྒྱལ་ཆོས་ལ་མཁས། དགྲ་ལས་དཔའ་བ། མི་སེར་ལ་བྱམས་སྙིང་ཆེ་བ། རང་གནན་མེད་པ་སྙུན་གྱིས་གཞིགས་པ། སྤྱོད་ནས་མི་སེར་ཐོག་ནས་འབབ་ཁྲངས་མེད་པ། མང་ཅུང་ཚོད་ཚོད་ཀྱིས་ལེན་པ་ཞ་གནོགས་མེད་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ནི་སྔོན་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་རྣམས་ལས་ལྷག་པ་ཞིག་ཡོང་ངེས་ཡོད། (B MS) ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ་དམིགས་ཏེ། ཀྱི་རུའི(C MS. ཀྱིའུ)་མཆུག་ཏུ་མ་ཀ་བཟང་ཆེན་མོ། (C MS.)སྒོམ་པ་༢༥༠། རིང་ལ། (B MS.) འགོ་མཆུག་གཉིས་ལ་བྱང་ཆུབ་དང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཆོད་རྟེན་ཆེ་བ་གཉིས་བཅས་བཞེངས། (C MS.) སྐུ་མཁར་དངུལ་གྱི་གདུང་རྟེན་ཐོག་སོ་གཉིས་པ་ཞིག་བཞེངས། (B MS.) རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་སྲིད་ཀྱི་མཛད་པ་སོགས་ལ་མིན་ཏུ་མཁས་མིང་། བ་ཊོལ་གྱི་དགྲ་སྡེ་རྣམས་ཞིལ་གྱིས་གནོན་པའི་བསོད་ནམས་བསགས། ཟུ་ཚ་བ་མེད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་སྐབས་ཡུལ་དུ་འབྲུམ་བུའི་

ནད་འབྱུང་བར། མི་སྡེའི་བསོད་ནམས་ཀྱི་མཐུ་དམན་པས། དགུང་ལོ་ཉེར་བཞི་དང་ཀར་ཤར་སྐུ་གཤེགས། དེ་དུས་འབྲུག་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་དེ་མི་ད་བཞུགས་པ། (*C* MS.) རྒྱལ་པོའི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བ་གྲུབ།།

(*B* MS.) དེ་ནས་དེ་མི་ཚེ་དཔལ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྕ་བ་ལོག་ཏུ་བཅུག་སྟེ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་བསྐོས། (*S* MS.) ཆེ་བ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དེ་སྐུ་ཚེ་མ་བརྟན་པའི། ཆུང་བ་ཚེ་དཔལ་མི་འགྱུར་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་[ལ་མངའ་གསོལ]། (*B* MS.) སྐུ་འདས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་བར་ལ་སྲས་མོ་ཞིག་བལྟམས། རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་དང་བར་ལ་སྲས་མོ་སྒྲོལ་ཆུང་དང་། རྒྱལ་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་[རྣམ་རྒྱལ་]འཁྲུངས། བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་མཁྱེན་གོ་ཐབ་པས། མཐའ་ས་མཚམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་དང་མཛའ་མཐུན་ལེགས་ལས་ཀྱིས་བར་ཚུན་ཡིག་སྐྱེལ་དོར་གྱི་སྐྱེལ་རེས་མཛད། མ་གཅིག་གི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བདེ་འཇགས་དགེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མཛད་དོ། དེ་ནས་བར་སྐབས་ཤིག་ནས་བྱུང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཐུགས་ལ་(*C* MS. བདུད)་གནོད་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་བསླུ་སྟེ། སྐུ་མདུན་གྱི་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ཐུར་མེད་གསར་པ་རྒྱུད་དང་བཀའ་མོལ་གྱི། ཡུལ་འདིར་ཞེད་ལོག་ཁང་ལོག་གི། མནའ་ག་ད་ལ་མི་རྩི་ཞིང་། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་སོགས་ཀྱང་མི་དོར་ཕྱི་ངོ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་སོང་། (*C* MS.; རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ཐུགས་རམ་འཐོན་རེང་བར། གར་འགྲོ་མ་བཅུག། ཐེ་མོ་བརྒྱབ་ནས་བོར་བ་དང་། (*B* MS.) མཁར་གྱི་ནང་འཁོར་རྣམས་མཚན་མོ་གཉིད་ཉལ་དབང་མེད་པར། ཞག་ལྟར་གམ་རྒྱ་ལེན། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ཡང་མཚན་གང་མི་མནལ། སང་གི་ཉི་དྲོས་ཁར་གཟིམ་ནས་བཞེངས། ཐུ་བར་ཕྱག་བསིལ་སྐབས། ཕྱག་ཆ་གུང་དྲོ་ཆ་ཐུམ (*C* MS. ཆ་ཁར)་བཅུ་གཉིས (*C* MS. བཅུ་གཉིས་སམ་༡༢)་རེ་དང་། དེ་གུང་ས་ཀྱིས་འདག་ཆལ་གྱི་རིམ་པ་དང་པོ་ནས་བཅུ་གཉིས་པར་རྩེ་གུང་ས་བསྐོད་དེ། ཕྱག་རྣམས་ཆ་བཀལ་སོང་། ཕྱོགས་བར་ཚུན་སྐྱོར་སྐབས། མཚན་མོ་ཤ་སྨན་(ཤ་སྨུག་)ལ་སྒྲོན་མེ་སྦྲ་འབར་འདེགས་ཏེ་གཤེགས། ཐུར་ཀྱི་ལས་ཁུང་གི་མི་དང་མི་བསྟུན། བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་ཕྱག་ཐེ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་དང་སྒོ་པ་མགོན་པོ་སོགས་ངོ་གསར་རྣམས་དང་གསུང་གྲོས་མཛད་པ་ལ། སྐུ་དྲག་རིགས་ལ་ཐུགས་ཡིད་མི་སྙོན། ཟངས་དཀར་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཕུ་རིག་གི་བཀའ་བློན་སོགས་ལ་དྭགས་སུ་བཙོན་དུ་བཞག། སྐུ་མདུན་གྱི་ཞབས་ཕྱི་གསར་རིགས་མཁར་དཔོན་དུ་གཏང་ནས། ཐུར་སློལ་བཟང་པོ་མལ་ཆེར་ཞིག།། འདི་སྐབས་སུ་ཅུང་ཏེ་དཀར་ཞྭ་རྒྱུད་དེ་བ་ཛ་ས་རིབ་དང་ཚེ་༡་ས་རིབ་གཉིས་དོར་མང་པོ་དང་བཅས་སྒྲི་ཚ་བསྒྲིབས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དྲག་སོགས་ལ་དོར་སྐུ་ཁྲད་མཚར་མང་པོ་སྐྱུར། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛལ་དགོས་ཟེར་བ་ལ། མིའི་ངན་ཅི་ཡོད་མི་ཤེས་ཟེར། ཐམས་ཅད་གསུང་བགྲོས་ནས། མཛལ་མ་བཅུག་པར། སྐྱ་བ་ཁ་ཤས་བཀག། ཕྱིས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛལ་ཏེ། ཕྱག་གི་ཆད་པ་མེ་མདའ་གཙོས་ཆ་ལག་རིགས་མི་གཅིག་པ་མང་པོ་ཕུལ། ཁོ་འདིས་ཕྱུ་བར། ཁྱེད་རང་བཀའ་བློན་ལས་བྱེད་འབངས་སོགས་ཀྱི་བྱེད་ཐུགས་དང་། ཉིད་རང་གི་བློ་གྲོས་སོགས་ནང་ལྟར། ཡུལ་འདི་གཞན་ཞིག་གིས་འཛིན་པ་ཡིན་འདུག། འདིར་དེར་ལ་སྐྱབ་ཞིག་བཏེག་སྡེ་བཞག་ན། དམ་མཇུག་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ལ་མང་ཕྱོགས་ཡོང་ཚུལ་ཕྱུས་པར། རྒྱལ་བློན་བཀའ་གྲོས་བྱས་ནས། སྐྱབ་ཏེགས་ན། གནོད་པ་ཅི་ཡོད་མི་ཤེས། ཞེས་ནས་ཏེག་མ་བཅུག། དེ་ནས་ཁོ་ཡིས་ཡི་གེ་དང་སྐྱེམ་ཞིག་བཅས་ཕུལ་ཏེ། འདིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་ལ་སྨན་ཞིག། ཐུགས་བར་གསོས་ཡོང་ཞེས་ནས། དཔར་དཀྲུན་ཐོག་གཉིས་བསྡུར་དེ་ལོག་བྱེད། ཕྱི་གླིང་ས་དེབ་འཁྱོད་པའི་ཐོག་མ་འདི་གཉིས་ཡིན།། དེ་ནས་ཅུང་ཏེ་དམག་སྤྱི་ཉིད་བརྒྱབ་ནས། ཡུལ་སོགས་བཤིག་སྟེ། ནོར་ཡོད་དཀྲུ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། ལོག་བྱེད། དམག་ལན་འཇལ་དགོས་ཞུས་ལན་དུ། ཁྱོད་རང་རྣམས་གོ་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན་ནོ། ཆད་པ་བཏངས། དེ་རྗེས་ཡང་ཅུང་ཏེ་དང་དཀར་ཞྭའི་ཁ་ཏུ་གཉིས་གྲོས་དག་གིས། ཟངས་དཀར་[དཔལ་འདུམ་མཁར]་གཞུང་འཁོར་རྣམས་བཅས་བཅོམ་སྟེ། སྐུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་རྣམས་བཤིག། ཏ་གཡག་རྒྱུ་ནོར་རྣམས་ཕྱོག་སྟེ་ལོག་བྱེད། དེ་རྗེས་པ་ཛར་གྱི་ར་དྷན་མེར་ཁན་གྱིས་དམག་བརྒྱབ་སྟེ། ཡ་དིང་ནས་དཔལ་འདུམ་བར་གྱི་ཡུལ་རྣམས་བཤིག། དཀར་ཞྭ་དང་གཞུང་འཁོར་ཆུའི་བར་ཚན་དུ་འཐབས། རྗེས་སུ་བཟང་བསྒྲིགས་ནས་ལོག་སོང་། ཡང་རྒྱལ་པོས། ཁྱེད་རང་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གོ་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན། ཞེས་ཆད་པ་བཅད། དེ་རྗེས་ཕོ་ཏོ་གཅིག་དང་དུ་མན་ཏེ་ལྷ་རན་པའི་དམག་ཡོང་ནས། ཟངས་

དཀར་སྐྱོང་ཟུང་རིང་ཐུག་བཀྱིག། ཡུལ་རྣམས་མེ་ལ་བསྲེགས། དོར་ཟླུགས་རྣམས་ཙམ་བརྟེན་འཁེར་ཏེ་ལོག་སོང་༎ རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཏོག་འཇིབ་མ་མཛད་པར། སྐུ་མཐུན་གྱི་ཕྱག་རྟགས་ཡོད་རིགས་[གཏན་]གྱི་དབང་དུ་སོང་། དེ་སྐབས་སུ་ཕྱག་རྟགས་བླ་མེད་བྱུང་། དེ་རྗེས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཕྱག་རྗེས་སུ་ཏོག་ཏུ་སྐུ་མཁར་གསར་བསྐྲུན་མཛད། སྤྱིའི་དཀར་ཟླ་ཟླ་བསྡད་དུས་མཁར་དང་ཁ་ཏུན་བན་སོགས། རྒྱལ་མོ་[དོལ]་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ལ་འདུན་མ་ཞུ་རྒྱུར་ཞི་ཉ་པོད་ལ་བརྫངས་ཏེ། ཆེ་བ་ལྷ་[རྒྱ་རི་]ལ་ཕུབ། དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བཞུགས་ཡུལ་བྱེར། སྤྱིའི་སྐུར་རས་གཟིགས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ལྷག་པར་སྐུ་མཁར་ས་མ་བརྩིགས། ཕྱིས་སུ་ལྷ་རྒྱ་རིའི་ཁབ་མོ་དེ་ཆེད་དབང་འཇིགས་མེས་ཞུ་རྒྱ་མ་བྱུང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ཐུགས་དམ་གྱི་རྟེན་དུ། ཕྱག་རྡོར་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་སྐུ་དང་མཉམ་ལ། དངུལ་གྱི་མཆོད་ཡན་ཚོད་གསེར་ཟངས་ལ་བཞེངས། དངུལ་གྱི་སྐུ་གདུང་ཟ་ར་ཚག་གསེར་ལ་ཕུས་པ། རིན་ཆེན་དུ་མའི་ཕྲམ་བརྒྱན། ཐོག་ཚད་གཅིག་བཞེངས༎ ཐུགས་ཐུག(ཆ་ཐུག)་ལོར་སྤྱིའི་ཐེག་ཆེན་གོང་མར་ཀུ་ཟ་བ་ཟླ་འོད་འབར་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་དངུལ་དོ་ཚད་བཅུ་གསུམ་ལ་བཞེངས། མེལ་ཟུ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཚེ་དཔག་མེད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དོ་ཚད་བདུན་གྱིས་བཞེངས། ཏོག་མཁར་དུ་དོ་ཚད་དགུ་རྗེ་བཙུན་གྲོལ་[དཀར]་གྱི་སྐུ་བརྟན་བཞེངས༎ དེ་ནས་[ཆ་གླང་ལོར]་ཡང་(ཡོང་?)འཛིན་བླ་བ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲུབ་པ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་འདི་ནི་མིའི་སྐུ་ཐབས་འཁྲུལ་བ་རྡོ་རྗེའི་སྐུའི་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡིན་པའི་ངོ་འཛིན་མཛད་པར་རྟེན། བཞུགས་ས་དེ་མི་ཐེག་མཆོག་གཉིས་སུ་མཛད། སྐུ་དབང་བཙན་པོ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་བཀའ་ལ་ཡང་རྩེ་དཀའ་བ་བྱུང་། རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་ཟ་རིག་ལྷུམ་ར་ལ་རྣགས་ལ་སྐྱོད་པ་ལ། གཉེ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མི་བཞུགས། གར་འཕེབ་མཉམ་དུ་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀུང་ཐེབས་ཕྱུ་རྗེ་ཁྱེརས། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ལ་ཐུགས་གཡེངས་བྱེར་ཉིད་མཆེད་གར་དང་གླུའི་ཟུས་གདའ་བ་ཕུས། རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ལ་མི་རྩི་བར། རྒྱལ་མོ་རང་ཕྱག་མཛོད་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཕྱུག་གི་མང་ཤུས་ལ་གནས། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་མཆོག་[སྒྲུབ་]ཀུང་དེ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཐུགས་གཡོ༎ དེ་ནས་རྫོང་ཟུབང་རྒྱལ་བློན་ཚང་མས་གདུང་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་དུ་བཙུན་མོ་ཁབ་ཏུ་ཞེས་དགོས་གསོལ་ཀུང་། མ་བཞེས་པར་དེ་མིར་བཞུགས་རྒྱ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་གཞན་ཁབ་མ་བྱུང་སྐབས། རིག་པ་འཛིན་པས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཆོས་སྲིད་གཉིས་སུ་མཛད་དགོས། རྒྱལ་བློན་ནང་གཙོ་དགོད་ཁག་བར་ཚན་གྱི་ཕྱག་མཛོད་སྐྱབ་དབང་(ལ་?)[ཨ]་ཙ་ཧྲ་སོགས་ཀྱི་ཞུ་ངོར་རྟེན། བཀའ་བློན་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཁབ་མོ་ཚུང་བ་བསྐལ་བཟང་སྒྲོལ་མ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། ལོ་ངོ་གཅིག་མ་ལོན་པར། བཙུན་མོ་མངའ་དང་ལྡན་པར་གྱུར་ཏོ། དེ་རྗེས་པ་སྐུམ་མཁར་ནས་བཙུན་མོ་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་སྐྱིད་དང་། ཚོ་ར་ཁ་ཏུན་བཅས་ལོ་གཅིག་ནང་བཙུན་མོ་གསུམ་ཁབ་ཏུ་བཞེས། དེ་རྗེས་(ཆ་རྟ)་མེད་རྟ་ལོ་ལ་ཤིང་དམག་ཐོན། (S MS.) ཁབ་མཆོག་གི་སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་དེའི་དུས། ཤིང་དམག་རང་གི་བློན་པོ་དང་གཅིག་བཅས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རྣམས་ཐོགས༎

IX

(Cc MS.) ཛམ་བུ་མ་ཧྭ་ཏྲ་ཛ་ཀུ་ལྦབ་སེངྒེ་གི་དམག་མིས་ལ་དྭགས་དང་བོད་ལ་དམག་བཏང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ།

དེ་རྗེས་སར་ཀར་མ་ཧ་ར་ཛ་ཀུ་ལྦབ་སིང་གི་ཝ་ཟིར་ཟོ་ར་ཝར (Ca MS. ཀུ་ལོ་རི་པ་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་)། དམག་འགོ་དེ་ཟབ་སིང་དང་། མི་ཡན་སིང་། མི་ཡ་ནོ་ཧ། བ་སྟི་རམ། ཨབ་དར་ཞེ་ཟར། མིར་ཟ་ར་ཕུལ་ཞེག། དམག་མི་གསོད་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་མན་ལྔ་བའི་ཚ་སྐྱེལ། དེ་དུས་ས་ཕུད་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་ཕྱུག་མ་ཟ་གཉིས་སུ་ཚ་དཀར་རྩེ་མཁར་དཔོན་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་གིས་ཚོད་ནས། སྤྱིལ་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གནས་ཞུལ་ཕུལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ནས་ཏོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དམག་འགོ་ཕས། དམག་མང་སྦྲག་ནས་བཏང་། ས་ཕུད་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དབང་ཕྱུག་མ་ཟ་གཉིས་ནས་སུ་ཚ་དཀར་རྩེའི་དམག་མི་ཉི་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་བསྐུས། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཀུང་སྐྱེལ། ཉི་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་འབྲས་

མོ་བཏང་ནས། ཉེན་མ་ཐུབ། ཁོ་རང་བ་བུ་གཉིས་འཐབ་མོ་དང་ཕྱེ། ཧོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་དམག་དང་བཅས་ལང་གར་རྩེར(ལང་མཁར་རྩེར)་སྐྱེལ། འཐབ་རེས་ཆེ་བ་གསུམ་པའི་བར་བཏངས། ཟད་ཆུད་རྒྱལ་ཕམ་མེད་པར་འདྲ་འདྲ་རང་སོང་། ཉི་མ་གཅིག་གཉིས་བར་ཁ་བ་ཡང་མང་ཤུང་རེ་བབས། ལྷ་ཞིར་ནས། ཀས་དུ་ལྷུར་པ་ཚོང་པ་ལ་སུ་མན་ཧུ་རྡེ་ཧྲེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཙེར། སེར་ཀར་ན་ཟར་སྟོང་གཅིག་གཏང་ན། ཕྱིར་ལོག་འགྲོ་ངེས་ཞེར་ནས་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ཧོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་གྱིས་སྤྲེལ་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཕྱ་ཇ་དང་། དངུལ་༡༠༠༠་ན་ཟར་ཕྱག་རྗེ་གཞིགས་ན། ཁོ་བོ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་འགྲོ་བའི། དངུལ་ཕྱག་རྗེ་བཞིགས་དགོས། དེ་ནས་ཕྱགས་རྗེ་མ་བཞིགས་ན། འདིར་དམག་མི་རེའི་ཕྲོག་ནས་ཛ་ཐ་རྒྱ་རེ་བསྡུ་ངེས་ཞུས་ནས། ཐུལ་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སོགས་ཀྱང་། རྒྱལ་མོའི་ཞི་ཞི་མ་གསན། ཧོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་ཁོ་རང་མགོ་མ་ཚོད་པ་ཡིན། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། ལྷུམ་ར་བཀའ་བློན་གཉིས་སོང་ནས། ལྷ་ཞིར་མགོ་འཁོང་དགོས་ཞེར་ནས། རྒྱབ་དབྱུང་ཉིན་མཚན་བཅས་བཏང་། དེ་ནས་ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀྱང་། ལང་མཁར་རྩེར་སྐྱེལ་བའི། ཉི་མ་རྗེས་མ་ལ་ཉིན་ཤར་ནས། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཡོལ་བར་འཐབ་རེས་ཆེ་བ་བཏངས། བར་དངོས་སེ་བ་མང་བ་འཆི། དེ་ནས་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཐབ་རེས་མེད་པ་འདུག དེའི་རྗེས་མ་ཉི་མ་ཟླ་ཚོ་ནས་འཐབ། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཐལ་ཙམ་ལ། ཧོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྡོ་རྗེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དབྱུང་གཡས་སུ་མེ་མདའ་ཕོག དེ་དང་མི་ཡ་ནེ་ནབ་སེང་གི་འཁུར་པ་དམག་སྐར་ཉེར་ལྷ་ཙམ་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བློན་བསྐོར་ཀྱང་། ལག་གཡོན་ཏུ་གྲི་འཁྱུར་ཏེ། ས་སོང་ཞིག་གི་ཁར་འདུག་ནས། ཉི་ཚར་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ཡོང་མ་བཏུབ། རོ་ཧྲི་ལ་གཅིག་གིས་མེ་མདའ་སྐྱུད་པས། བཀའ་བློན་འཆི། དེ་ནས་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཀྱང་དམག་དང་བཅས་རེ་ཁྲོད་ཅིག་ཏུ་རང་(སྤུང་)ནས། འཐབ། སེ་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ་ཙམ་འཆི། ཉི་མ་མ་སྐྱུད་ཙམ་ལ། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལག་གཡས་ཚིགས་སུ་མེ་མདའ་ཕོག ལྷུམ་ར་བློན་པོ་དང་འཁྱུར་མེད་དམག་བཅས་ཕྱི་འཁོར་ཀྱིས་སོང་། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ཐ་ཤུང(ཐ་རུང)ཚོང་ཚོང་རྒྱུར་ལྷ་གསུམ་ཤུས། གཞན་ཡང་ཐབས་མེད་པར། དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་ཨབ་སག(ལྐམ་སྐྱག)་ན་དངུལ་བརྒྱ་འབུམ་ཅིག་ཡོད་པ། ཐ་ཤུང་ཙར་བཏང་ནས། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཙར་མགོ་སྐྱ་བར་བཏང་། ལྷ་ཞིར་ནས་ཀྱང་ཡ་ཤ་ཐུས། མིག་སྐྱུང་ལྷུར་པོར་བ་མཛོད། ལྷུམ་ར་བློན་པོ་དམག་མང་བཅས་རྒྱ་བར་ཁ་ཐོན་ནས། ལ་ཤུང་བསིལ་མོ་རྒྱུད་སྐོར། ཧོ་ཧོ་འཁྱུར་མེད་ཀྱང་རྗེས་སུ་ལྷ་ཞིར་སར(ཙར)་སྐྱེལ། ཐུལ་ཕྱི་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཏ་མགྲིན་ཐ་རེག་སྐོར་པ་མི་༥༠༠་སྐོར་འཁྱིད་ནས། ཞིང་པོ་སྣ་འཁྱགས(སྣ་ཁྲང)་ན་ཡོད་པ། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཀྱང་རྟུན་མེད་ཏུ་མར་རེ་ལམ་བྱུང་འོང་བས། ལམ་ཐོག་ཏུ་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཏ་མགྲིན་དམག་དང་བཅས་འཐབ། སེ་པ་ལྔ་བཅུ་དྲུག་བཅུ་བར་བསད། ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱི་ཕལ་ཀྱི་ལ་མེ་མདའ་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཕོག མི་རང་ལ་སྐྱོན་མ་སོང་། ཐུག་མཇོད་དེ་ཡང་བྱེ། དེའི་ཉིན་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཐབ་ཆག་འཆི་ཞེད་ཐ་ཐུབ། ལྷ་ཞིར་དམག་མང་མཐོང་བས། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཏ་མགྲིན་མཚན་ལ་སྐོར། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ལ་དམག་བཏང་མི་མེད་པ། དཀར་སྐྱིལ་རྒྱུད་པས་ཀྲུམ་ཏུ་སྐྱེལ། པས་ཀྲུམ་མཁར་བཅག ཇོ་བབས། རྒྱ་དོར་ཡོད་ཚོད་སེ་པ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཀས་དུ་ལྷུར་ལ་བཀལ། བང་ཁ་ཡིས་གཙོ་བྱས། གཤམ་མ་དམག་མི་ཁྲུམ་བརྒྱ་བཅས་སོང་ལ་ནས་ཐོན། སེ་པ་བརྒྱ་པོ་ལ་བརྡས་ནས། སྣ་ཏུ་ར་མདོན། སེ་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ཤུས་པ་བསད། དོར་ཡོད་ཚོད་འཐོག་ནས། སྐར་རྡོར་སྐོར། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིར་རེམ་པས་བ་སྐྱོ་སྐྱེལ། སྤྲེལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡང་བེབས་ནས། སད་ཚད་མཐིལ་ཕྱུང་བྱས། ཐམས་ཅད་སྤྲེལ་རྒྱལ་སར་བེབས། ཉི་མ་བདུན་འདུགས། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་འཛུགས་སུ་ཐུལ། མཁར་དཔོན་སེ་པ་སོགས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཞག ལོ་དེ་ལ་སེར་ཀར་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མི་སྟོང་ཐག་ལྔ་ཆག་མེད་ཐུལ་རྒྱ་བྱས། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་།།

རྗེས་སུ་བང་ཁ་པ་དང་བསོད་ནམས་དབང་ཕྱུག་གྲགས་མགོན་ཐོན་ནས། ལྷ་ཞིར་རྗེས་ལ་དམག་གཏང་རྒྱུའི་གྲབས་ངན་བྱས་པར། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་མི་དགའ་བ་དམ་དྲུ་སེ་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཤག་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ལ་ནག་ཞིག་བཏང་ནས། ཡི་གེ་རང་འདུམ་ལྷ་ཞིར་ལག་སྤྲེལ་བ་དང་། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཟངས་དཀར་སོད་ནས། སྤྲེལ་སྤྱེལ། རྒྱལ་པོ་མཁར་ནས་ཐབ། ཧོག་ཏུ་སོགས་གྲི་མར་རྩ་མེད་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱས། ཟ་གེར་ཀྱིར་

མོ་༡༡༥༩་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༡་༢/༧་བཏང་ནས་བཞུགས་བརྒྱ། སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་ལྷུམ་རྩེ་རྒྱུད་ནས། རྫང་ཅོ་སྤྱི་ཏིར་མོར་ནས་རྒྱུད། (*Ca* MS.) རྒྱ་བ་གཅིག་གཉིས་དེར་བཞུགས་ནས། མཆོག་སྤྲུལ་གྲོངས་(*Cc* MS.) རྒྱལ་ཚབས་སུ་ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་བསྐོས། ཀ་ར(དཀར་ས)་རྩ་ཀི་ལ་བརྒྱབ། མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དྭར་ལ་བཞག། ལོ་རེ་དང་སེར་ཀར་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༠༠༠་རེ་ཕུལ་རྒྱ་བྱས། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཞིང་སྤྱན(ཞིང་ཅན)་རྒྱུད་འོག་ནས་སོང་། (*C* MS.) ཐ་ལ་ཐེབས། ཞི་ཞི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ལ་དེ་ལ་སྲས་མིག་ཕྲུངས། མཚན་དུ་(*Cc* MS.) འཇིག་མེད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སེང་གེ་མི་འགྱུར་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་བྱས། (*C* MS.) ཡང་ཞི་ཞི་གཅིག་ལ་ (*Cc* MS.) མང་སྨོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བསྟན་སྐྱུང་གཡུལ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས། ཁོང་ལའང་གོ་མར་ལྗ་མེད་སོགས་བཅས་ཛ་གིར་ཀྱིར་མོ་༥༠༧་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༤་༡/༧ གི་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་ངོ་ལྔ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས།།

ལོ་ཙུག་ངོར་ལྷ་ཞིར་དང་ཁྲིར་འོག་ཟངས་དཀར་དུ་སྐྱེལ། སྐྱེལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གདན་བསྒྱུ་བ་ལ་ཐེབས། ཕེ་ཕེ་ཏིང་དུ་ལྷ་ཞིར་དང་མཇལ། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཐུགས་མཉེན་ཏུ་མཉེས། ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན་གཉིས་ཞག་གཅིག་རྟིང་དུ་ཐེབས། ཟངས་དཀར་བི་བི་སྟིང(ཕེ་ཕེ་ཏིང)་དུ་མཇལ། ན་ཟར་མ་ལེན། ཐུགས་སྨོ་ལྷུར་མཛད་ནས། ཐམས་ཅད་སྐྱེལ་དུ་ཐེབས་པ་དང་། ར་ཛ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ། ལོ་ངོ་ལྔ་ཡི་འབབ་མ་ཚང་ཟེར་ནས། སྐྱིད་བདག་ནས་ཀྱིར་མོ་༥༠༠༠༠། བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན་ཀྱིར་མོ་༢༠༠༠༠། རྒྱ་བ་ཇོ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༥༠༠༠། གཞན་ཡང་ལས་ཁྲིད་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཆད་པ་མང་པོ་བཅད། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐོས། ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱི་དམག་ཚམ་ཡོད་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བློན་རྣམས་དང་བཅས་སྤྲུལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་དུ་དམག་ལ་སྐྱོད། མཁར་མང་ཇོ་ལམ་རྒྱས་བྱས། སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་བཅག། ཇོ་ཨག་མར་ཁན་ཐབས། སྤྲུལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་མངའ་ཁོངས་བསྡུས་ནས། ཁྲིར་འོག་སྐྱེལ་ཐེབས། ཀླུ་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྤྲུལ་ཏི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐོར་པ་བསྡམས་ནས་གྲོངས། ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོས་སྤྱུར་ཏོག་ཏུ་གདན་ཕྱུས། དགོངས་རྫོགས་རྣམས་གྲུབ། དེ་རྗེས་འཇིག་མེད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་སེང་གེ་མི་འགྱུར་ཀུན་དགའ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་རྒྱལ་པོར་བསྐོས། ཞི་མངའ་གསོལ། ལྷ་ཞིར་དང་བཞེང་ནས། དབུ་ཕྲུས། ཀིམ་ཁབ་རྫོ་ག་༡། ཞེ་ཅར་གཉིས་སྤྲེལ་༡། མལ་མལ་ཕྲུག་༡། གསེར་གྱི་ཐུག་གདུབ་ཐུང་༡་བཅས་ཕུལ་ནས།

ཉིད་དང་ཡབ་ཀྱིས་ཉིད་དང་སྐྱུར་ནས་མོར།
ཉིད་དང་ང་ཡི་དུས་སུ་ཚར།
ང་ནས་ཀྱང་ཉིད་དང་རྒྱལ་ཉིད་དང་མངའ་གསོལ།

སྤྱི་སེར་ཀར་ལ་ལོ་རེ་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༨༠༠༠། དེ་མིན། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཁོངས་ཀྱི་ཡོང་འགོ་ཐེ་ཡོང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ལ་ཡིད་གསུང་།།

དེ་ནས་ཚེར་མ་རྒྱངས། ཡར་ཁེན་དང་ཐུང་ཐང་གཉིས་ལ་དམག་གཏང་བའི་གྲབས་དང་། ཡར་ཁེན་ཐག་རིང་། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་ལ་དམག་གཏང་བ་ལ་འཆམ་ནས། ལྷ་ཞིར་དམག་དཔོན་དམག་མི་ཙམ་ཡོད། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ནོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམས། བ་སྐྱིའི་བཀའ་བློན། གོ་ལམ་ཁན། ཐུག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ། བློན་པོ་ས་བི། གཞན་ཡང་ཚེ་གྲུས(གྲགས?)་རྣམས་དང་། དམག་མི་བཅས་མངའ་རིས་སུ་དམག་ལ་ཐེབས། (*Ca* MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཏུ་ཀུམ་ཐམས་ཅད་མི་ལྦ་མག་ན་ཐ་ན་དར་ལ་ཁག་བཀལ་ (*Cc* MS.) དེ་མི་དགོད་པ་ནས་རྒྱགས་འགྱུ་ཁལ་༡༥༠༠༠། ཁལ་མ་༢༠༠། རྟ་༧༠་བཅས་ཕྱུལ། སྤྱོད་ཐུང་ལ་རྒྱུད། ཙ་མོག་བཅག་ནས། ཨ་སྤྱི་བློན་པོ་མཁར་དཔོན་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཞིག། དེ་ནས་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་བདང་དང་དམག་༥༠༠་མ་གཏོགས། བོད་ནས་དམག་དཔུང་སྐྱེལ་མ་ཐུབ་ཡོད་ཟེར། ལྷ་ཞིར་དམག་གཡོར་ཚེ་བ་སོང་ནས། མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་དམག་མཐའ་བཏང་ནས། མངའ་ཞབས་སུ་འདུས་སོ། སྐར་དུ་ཀི་ལ་བརྩིགས། ཐ་དང་ཙ་མོག་སོགས་ལ་ཤི་པ་དམག་མི་དང་། མཁར་དཔོན་བཟུག་ནས། ལྷ་ཞིར་དམག་དང་བཅས་ཁྲིར་

ཤོག་སྐར་རྡ་རྨྱེལ། ལྷ་ཞིར་བྲ་རང་དུས་བྱིར་ལོག་ཞོང་དས། ཉི་མ་བཞིའི་ཉིང་ན། བྲ་རང་བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་ཉ་དམག་༤༠༠། ཁྲང་དམག་༡༠༠༠༠་བཅས་བྱིར་དས། བྲ་རང་སྐྱག་ལ་མཁར(Ca MS. རྡག་ལ་མཁར)་དང་སེ་པ་༥༠་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ། དེར་འཐབ་དས། སེ་པ་རྣམས་བསད། བོད་དམག་འདུགས། རྒྱབ་དབྱང་རྡ་བྲ་རང་དས་ཉི་མ་བརྒྱད་སོང་དས། སྤོ་མོད་རྡ་བཀའ་བློན་གཅིག། རྡ་དཔོན་གཅིག། དཔོན་ཁག་གསུམ། ཉ་དམག་༥༠༠། ཁྲང་དམག་༢༠༠༠། བཅས་ཡོད་སྐད། དེ་ལྟག་རྣམས་རྡོལ་རྡ་མང་རང་བབ་འདུག། མེ་ཏ་བ་སྐྱི་རྒྱམ་དང་སེ་པ་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་ཏོ་ཕོར་ཡོད་པ། བ་སྐྱི་རྒྱམ་གྱིས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ལ་ཉེན་མཚོན་བཅས་ར་པད་བཀལ། དེ་དས་ལྷ་ཞིར་སྐར་རྡ་རྨྱེལ་དས། ཞག་གཉིས་གསུམ་སོང་དས་ཡོད་པར། བ་སྐྱི་རྒྱམ་ཡི་གེ་གདས་ཞུལ་བྱེར། ལ་དྭགས་རད་ཐག(རང་འཐག)་བཀྲ་ཤིས་དོན་གྲུབ་མི་བཞི་བཅས་བྱེར། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཡང་དེའི་སང་ཉེན། རང་དམག་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་སྐུ་དྲག་དམག་མི་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་བཞག་པར། བྱིར་ལོག་སོང་དས། བྲ་རང་རྡ་རྨྱེལ། ར་དེ་ཚེ་བྱི་དབང་དོ་དོ་དོན་ལྡན་མཉམ་ལ་དྭགས་སུ་བཀལ། ཏོ་ཡི་དས་རྒྱང་ཐང་ཟུར་ལ་ཡོང་དས། དམག་ཐང་སྐྱར་དས་འདུག་གོ། དེ་དས་འཐབ་རེས་ཀླུ་རྒྱག་ཚབ་ཆེ་བ་དང་། བོད་དམག་མཁར་ནང་ཡོད་པ་མི་ཆད་ཆེར་མ་སོང་། ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱི་ལ་ཡོད་པས། སེ་པ་མང་བ་ཤི། དེ་དས་ཁ་བ་བབས། ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱི་སེ་པ་ན་སོ་སོང་རིགས་ཀྱང་ངར་གྱིས་བཀུམ། ཚོད་ཆེ་རིགས་རྣམས་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་དམག་རྣམས་ལོ་མཆོད་ཤོག་དས། ཉེན་མཚོན་མ་གཡེལ་བར། གོང་དགུ(དོག་ར?)་མེད་ཆེ་བ་དང་བཅས་ཡོད་པར། ཉིད་ཅིག་ཟླ་རྡོ་ནམ་མཁའ་ཟང་ཞིང་དང་། སྐྱག་ལ་མཁར་དས་བོད་དམག་བྱིར་ཤོད། ཉ་དམག་༤༠༠༠། ཁྲང་དམག་༥༠༠༠། ཙམ་དང་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག། ཨ་པོ་གཅིག། རྡ་དཔོན་གཉིས། དཔོན་གཉིས་དང་བཅས་ཡོང་དས། ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱི་དམག་ར་བསྐོར། ཟླ་དོ་དེ་དས་ཉི་མ་སར་ཐུག། བར་ཞུད་གཉིས་ཐབ་དས། མེ་མདའ་[རྒྱམ་པ་]མ་ཆད་པ་བཏང་། བར་མི་ཞུད་མི་གཅིག་པ་སོང་། དེ་དས་རི་མགོ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉི་མ་སར་བ་དང་། བོད་པའི་དམག་འགོ་ཡོད་ཚད་དང་། ཉ་དམག་སྟོང་གསུམ། བྱི་ལྕགས་དང་བེ་ཆོམ་མེད་པར། རྒྱབ་མཐོང་མིག་དམར་ཚོས་སྐར་དང་རྡ་མཆོང་དས། ཐུད་གཅིག་གཉིས་བར་འཐབ། ལྷ་ཞིར་ལྡོག་བ(དགོད་པ)་བརྗོད་ཅིང་། ཨང་ན་དངོས་ཀྱི་མགོ་སྐྱ་བོད་པས་ཞེན། དེ་མེད། དངོས་རང་ཞེན་རེས་ཞེར་དས། སེ་ཀྱ་ལྦབ་སེང་གེ་མཚོན་དས་འཐོད་པས། ཉེན་འཚེལ་མ་མཐོང་ས་པའི། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཀྱང་རྟ་ཤོག་ན་གྱི་འཁུར་འཐབས། བོད་པ་བཞི་ཟླ་བར་བཤད། དེ་བར་ཁ་སོ་དས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ཤིད་པ་མེས་དས། ཤོག་ལ་མ་བསླུ་བར། ལྷ་ཞིར་ཤོག་ཀྱ་མཐུང་གསར་དས། གཏོང་རྡ་ཡོང་དས། ནང་དཀྱིལ་རྡ་མཐུང་བརྒྱབ། ལྷ་ཞིར་སྐད་གཅིག་ཀྱང་བཏོན་མ་ཐུབ་པ་ས་ལ་ལྟུང་། ལག་དས་རལ་གྲི་མོར། སྐར་ཡང་གྲི་དེ་ཞེན་ཁུངས་ཐུས་ཀྱང་། མ་ཐོགས། ཨ་པོས་མཐུང་དེ་བཞག་དས། མགོ་དས་གྲི་བཏོན་དས། མགོ་བོ་བཅད་དས་ཁྱེར། དེ་དང་སེང་དམག་རྣམས་མགོ་བཞིན། བོད་པའི་ཁྲང་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སྐར་དང་ཚངས། དམག་འགོ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཞིང་བྱང(ཞང་ཞིང?)་ཐུས། འཐོས་དས་ཐར་ཚད་ཤོས། དེ་ལྟག་རྣམས་བསད། དེའི་ཉིད་ཉི་མ་བྱེད་ཡོལ་ཙམ་ལ་འཐབ་ཐག་ཆོད། བོད་པ(ཐུས?)རྒྱལ་བྱུང་། དེའི་སང་ཉིད་མདའ་དཔོན་རྡ་དཔོན་གཉིས། ཉ་དམག་༤༠༠། བཅས་སེང་པ་མོར་བའི་རྗེས་འདེད་ཐུས། སྐར་རྡ་རྨྱེལ། ཐུང་ཐང་སོང་མེས། སེང་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལག་ཤོག་མ་ཐུད། ཁོང་ཚོད་འདེད་དས། སྐར་རྡ་བསྒྱུར། དེ་མཚུངས་ཐུང་གསེར་ཁྲང་སོང་འཇོག་གི་དམག་དོན་ཉ་དམག་༤༠༠་དམག་སྐར་རྡུས་གཅིག་ལ་རྨྱེལ། ཁྲང་དམག་སྟོང་༣(གསུམ)་ཙམ་རྗེས་ན་ཡོང་བ་ཡོད་རབ། དེ་དས་རྒྱབ་མཐོང་མགོན་པོ། དོ་དོ་བསོད་ནམས། བ་མགོ་བཀའ་བློན། སོ་ལམ་ཁད། ས་སྐྱ་བློན་པོ། གཉན་ཡང་གྲགས་ས་ཁ་སར། སེང་པ་འགོ་པ་ཁ་སར་དང་། སེང་པ་རྒྱམ་རིགས་རྣམས་བོད་ལ་བཀལ།།

རྒྱབ་མཐོང་མགོན་པོ་དང་བོད་པ་ཁ་ཞུད། ལ་དྭགས་སུ་མགོན་པོ་བས་ཞིག་དང་། ལྷ་ཞིར་མི། བོད་པའི་དབྱང་དམག་ཀྱང་རྗེས་ན་ཡོང་རྒྱ་ཐུས་ཡོད། དེ་ལ་སྐྱིད་གཞུས་ཆོགས་མཐའ་དག་དས་དམག་ལྟས་བྱེད་དགོས་ཞེར་དས། དཔོན་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་ཇོད་རྡ་

བཏང་། མགོན་པོ་དང་བོད་པ་དམག་དཔུང་ཡིན་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ནང་ན་ཚོད་བྱས། ཏིང་ན་རྒྱལ། ལྷ་བདག་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་ལྷ་ཟེར་ལ་དམག་རྒྱུགས་བཀལ་རྒྱ། ལ་དྭགས་མཁར་སྤུང་དང་། ཞི་བ་རྣམས་ལ་དམག་རྒྱུགས། རྒྱ་མིང་གཏོང་བར་གླིལ་དུ་ཡོད། ལྷ་ཟེར་མི་པ་དང་། སྟོད་གསུམ་ཚང་མ་ནས་རྒྱ་མིང་མ་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་། ཀུ་མི་དན་དང་། མག་ན་ཟ་ན་ཊྭར་གཉིས་ལ། རྒྱ་མིང་རྒྱལ་ངེས་མི་འདུག་པའི། ང་མོག་འདུ། ཨེ་ཡོང་མི་མཁས་པ་འདུག་བྱས་པར། ཁོང་གཉིས་ལ་ཡང་རྣམ་རྟོག་སོང་ནས། དམག་དཔུང་བྱས་ནས། སེར་ཀར་ལ་ཡར་ཞི་ཐུལ། དེ་ཟེར་བ་དང་མཐུན་པར། ཕྱག་མཛོད་མགོན་པོ་དང་གསུམ་མ་ཁ་དྲག་རྣམས་གྲབས་བྱས། དགུན་ཐོག་དམག་འཕྲུལ་བསྒྲིགས། དཔྱིད་ཀ་སྟོད་གསུམ་སྤྲལ་ཏི་ཁ་བྱལ་ལྷུམ་ར་དང་བཅས་དམག་འཚོང་ནས། བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་གཅིག། རྟ་དམག་༡༠༠། རྐང་དམག་༥༠༠། ཞྭ་འབྲི་བ་ཏག། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་དམག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀི་ལ་དང་ཚོན་གཉིས་བསྐོར་ནས། དམག་ར་བསྐྱར། ཉིན་༡༨་བར་ཞག་ལྔར་འཐབ་རེས་མ་ཆད་བར་བཏང་། (*Ca* MS.) ཀི་ལ་ན་མག་ན་ཟ་ན་ཊྭར་དང་བཅས་སིང་པ་༥༠་ཙམ་དང་། ཚོན་ན་ཀུ་མི་དན་དང་། བལ་ཊན་སི་པ་༢༠༠་ཙམ་ཡོད་པས། (*Cc* MS.) དེ་རྗེས་ཉིན་ཚོན་བསྐོར། ཀུ་མི་དན་ཚོན་ཆག་རབ་ཡོད་སར། ཚོན་ཀ་སྒོ་འཁོར་སྤྲལ་ཏི་དམག་རྣམས་ཡོད། ཀི་ལ་ནས་མི་ཡ་ར་དུ་དང་སི་པ་སུམ་ཅུ་བཅས་བྱི་འཕུར་ནས། མི་སློག་མ་ལྷ་བར་བོད་ནས། དང་པོ་སྤྲལ་ཏི་བོག་ཏུ་མཆོང་ནས། སྤྲལ་ཏི་ཁ་མཁས་བསད་པས། སྤྲལ་ཏི་ཤོར། དེ་ནས་ཚོན་ནས་བལ་ཊན་སྦྱིད་ཁ་བོད་ནས། འཐབ་པ་ཐབས་ཆག་བྱུང་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་དམག་མི་རྣམས་དམག་ཐང་དུ་ལོག། དེའི་ཉིན་ཕྱང་། ཉི་མ་རྒྱབ་ཀི་བར། བར་ཚུན་ཉིན་མཚན་མེད་པར་འཐབ། དེ་སྐབས་དེ་ལྷན་ཏ་རི་ཙཱ་དང་། ལྷ་ཟེར་ཏུ་རུ་གཉིས་དམག་དཔུང་གསོད་ཆེ་བ (*Ca* MS.) ཏོབ་ལ་སོགས་ (*Cc* MS.) ཁ་ལ་ཙོང་སྐྱེལ་ཚང་བའི་ཡི་གེ་ཁྲིར་བ་དང་། ཀི་ལ་དམག་ཐང་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དེའི་མཚན་ལ་མཁར་དུ་འདུས། དེའི་སང་ཉིན་རྒྱལ་བློན། བོད་པ་ལྷགས་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་ཞིག་ཙོང་མཐམ་པ་ཟེར་ནས་བཞག། ཞག་ཁ་མཁས་འདུག། དེ་ལྷན་ས་དེབ་སྒྲིལ་བཏབས་ནས། མིང་མི་རྣམས་རྗེས་དེད། དམག་ཐང་རྒྱ་གྲལ་ཉི་མ་གཉིས་མཛད་ནས། རྗེས་དེད་ཀྱིས་བཏབས། དང་པོ་ཞྭ་འབྲི་དགོན་པ་ནས་བོད་དམག་༥༠༠་ཡོད་པ་འཐབ་ནས། བསད་ཚོད་བསད། དེ་ལྷག་རྣམས་འཛིན་བྱུང་སེར་གླིལ་བཀལ། དེ་རྗེས་ཐང་ལ་རྒྱུད། དེ་ལྷན་ས་ཏེབ། ལྷ་ཟེར་ས་ཏེབ་དམག་མི་རྣམས་འདོར་ཁག་ཏུ་བཏབས། བོད་དམག་དང་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་བློན་རྣམས་ཀུང་ཞིག་ཙོ་ནས་མིར། རྒྱུད་གཡོག་མར་རྒྱལ། དེ་དང་མཉམ་བོད་པའི་མ་དང་(ཨ་ཙོ)། བཀའ་བློན་བྱར་ཁང་དང་། ར་ག་ཤ་གཉིས་མཉམ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་ཕྲག་ལྔ། རྒྱུད་གཡོག་མར་རྒྱལ་ནས། དམག་སྐར་བསྐྱར་ནས་འདུག། དེ་རྗེས་བོད་པའི་དམག་མི་༤༠༠༠་ཙམ་འཐབ་པར་བཏང་། འདོར་ཁག་ཐང་དུ་དེ་ལྷན་གྱི་དམག་མི་དང་ཉིན་གཅིག་འཐབ་ནས། ཁ་ཡ་མ་མོང་བར། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སྐར་དུ་རྒྱལ། དེའི་ཉི་མ་རྗེས་མར། ལྷ་ཟེར་དང་དེ་ལྷན་ས་ཏེབ་ཀྱི་དམག་རྣམས་རྒྱུད་གཡོག་མར་རྒྱལ། སྟག་པོའི་བར་ཚུན་གཉིས་སུ་རི་དོག་རེ་ཡོད་པར། དེ་གཉིས་སུ་དམག་ཐང་བསྐྱར་ནས། ཉི་མ་༡༠་༡༡་བར་ཚུན་འཐབ་པ། རྒྱལ་ཁམ་གཅིག་པ་ཞིག་སོང་། ཉིན་ཅིག་སི་པ་ཚོ་ནས། དམག་ཐང་བཅག་རྒྱ། འཐབ་རེས་ཚང་བའི། ཐང་སོར་ཀྱིས་སི་པ་ལ་གནོད་པ་ཆེ་དང་། དམག་འགོ་ཀུ་མི་དན་མ་ཙ་སིང་ཡང་གྲོངས། ཞིབ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་མ་ཆེན་མེ་བང་། སི་པ་སིང་ར་མེ་མིར་ནས། གནོད་པ་བྱུང་། ཕྱིར་ལོག་དམག་ཐང་རྒྱལ། དེའི་རྗེང་ཐང་པ་བསོད་ནམས་འབྱོར་ལྷན་གྱིས་དམག་སྐར་ལ་ཙ་སྐར་རྒྱའི་རྒྱས་བྱས། ལྷ་ཟེར་དེ་ལྷན་གཉིས་ལ་བྱས་ནས་གྲིབ་པོ་ཕྱུགས། དོག་ས་ཡོད་པ་བཀག། ཚ་ཕྱེད་དུ་བཀྲིག། མཚན་ཉིན་གསུམ་སོང་བ་དང་། བོད་པའི་དམག་སྐར་ཐང་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཚ་ཡིས་ཐང་། རྫས་སྐྱུར་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་ཚ་ཡིས་སྐྱངས། གནད་བྱ་ཐབས་མ་བྱུང་བར། བོད་པས་མགོ་དགུས། ལྷ་ཟེར་དེ་ལྷན་གཉིས་ནས། བོད་པ་མདའ་དཔོན་མི་མི་ཤ་ཀྲ། ར་ག་ཤ། བྱར་ཁང་གསུམ་དཔོན་གཡོག་ལྔ་བཅུ་དང་བཅས་གླིལ་དུ་འཁྲིད་ནས་ཕྱིན། དམག་མང་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་ནས། ཕྱིར་ཁོད་ཐེབས། ར་ག་ཤ་ལུམ་ཁོད་དུ་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་། གསེར་གདུགས་ཀྱི་ཐུ་ལ་མ་ལས་ཡོད་པ་ཁོས་ནས་མི། མདའ་དཔོན་དང་

བྱར་ཁང་གཉིས་གློལ་དུ་ཕྱིངས་ནས། སད་ཚུད་ཅད་དོད་བྱས། ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་སྤྱོད་རྒྱལ་དུས་སྲུ་ཐི་ཡོད་ཀྱི་ས་མཚམས་ནས་བྱང་། སེར་ཀར་ཆེན་མོ་ཞི་ཞོག་དང་། བོད་པའི་ས་མཚམས་གང་ཡོད་བོད་པའི་ཞིག་དང་། བོད་ནས་གཞུང་ཚོང་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་ལོ་བྱག་སོགས། སྤྱོད་ཁྲིམས་ཡོད་སྲོལ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་ཚོང་པ་སྐར་རྫུ་སྦོག་སོགས་གང་འཐད་དུ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུ་དང་། བོད་པ་བྱང་པའི་ཚོང་པ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོང་རྒྱུ་སོགས། སྤྱོད་རྒྱལ་དུས་སྲུ་ཐི་ཡོད་ཆ་བཞག་ནས། ཅད་དོད་ཡིས། མདའ་དཔོན་ལ་དགོངས་པ་བཏང་། བྱར་ཁང་རམ་བྱར་འཕྲེད་ནས། སེར་ཀར་མ་ནྡ་རྣ་ར་གྱ་ལབ་སེང་མཆོག་ཏུ་གསེར་མཛལ་ཕྱས། ཀིམ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཅོ་གྲྭ། གསེར་གྱི་གདུབ་བུ། རྒྱི་ཆ་སོགས་མང་པོ་གོ་ཕྱས་ཕྱགས་རྗེ་བྱུང་ནས། ཁྱེར་ཡོག་སོང་།། (*Ca* MS.) དེ་ནས་བོད་པ་དང་སེང་པ་གཉིས་འདི་ནས་ཁྱེད་དུ་བཟང་ལྟལ་སོང་ནས། འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་སྤྲར་བཞིན་ལོ་བྱག་པ་དང་། གཞུང་ཚོང་པ་གཏོང་ཅད་བྱས་ནས། དེ་ལྟར་ཏ་ཛི་ཙནྡྲ་ཁྱེས་བོད་པ་བཀའ་བློན་རྣམས་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྐུ་འཁོར་ཚང་མ་ཁྱེར་ཡོག་གཏོང་ཅད་བྱས་ནས། བོད་གངས་ཛི་ནས་བོད་ཀྱི་མི་སྣ་ཞིག་ལ་དྭགས་བར་དུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞབས་ཕྱི་ལ་བཏང་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོས་དེ་ལྟར་ཏ་ཛི་ཙནྡྲ་དང་། ལྷ་ཞེར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ལག་ཏུ་བཏང་ནས། གློལ་མཁར་དུ་སེབས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་སྤྲར་ཁྲངས་རྒྱལ་དུས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དྲག་གཅིག་ལ་ཡང་དབང་མེད་པར་བྱས་ནས། རྒྱས་སྲུ་དེ་ལྟར་ཏ་ཛི་ཙནྡྲ་དང་། ལྷ་ཞེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་སྤྱོད་སྲ་དང་དུ་མི་མཁན་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཞེར་ཞི་ར་ལྟར་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་དང་སེར་ཀྲར་ལ་ཡང་ཐུ་བྱི་འགྱུར་མེད་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཏུ་ཀྱུས་ཚང་མ་བཏང་ནས་བཀའ་བློན་ལ་བསྐོས། དེ་ནས་དེ་ལྟར་ལྷ་ཞེར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དྲག་བློན་བློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་ཨ་ཇོ་མགོན་པོ་དང་། བསྒྲུབ་དག་ཚེ་རིང་སྟོབས་རྒྱས་བཅས་ཞིད་ནས། ཛམ་སྲུ་ཙ་ཁྱེར་ཡོག་བསྐྱོད། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་དང་། མག་ད་བ་ད་དར་དང་། ཀི་ལྟ་ཙ་སེ་པ་བཅས་བཞག་གོ།།

X

(*C* MS.) ལ་དྭགས་ལ་མ་ཧྣ་རྗ་ཛ་གྱ་ལྷབ་སེང་

གིས་མངའ་མཛད་པ་ནས་ཀྱིད་ཀྱི

ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཀུགས་སོ།།

ཤྲི་མ་ཧྣ་རྗ་ཛ་གྱ་ལྷབ་སེང་གི་སྐུ་སྲོག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཛམ་སྒ། ཀ་ཤིར། ལ་དྭགས། སྤྱལ་ཏི་སྤུལ། སྒ་རིག། སྦངས་དཀར། གས་ཏ་ལྟར། བཏུད་ཀ། (ཛ་སྟོད་རྡི།) སྦྱི་ཏི། བཅས་ལ་མངའ་མཛད་ནས། [ལ་དྭགས་ལ་]གྲོང་ཆེན་འབབ་ཁལ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༦། [ཞིང་ཁང་]ཁྱེད་ཀ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༤་དང་ཨ་ན་བརྒྱད། ཡང་ཁྱེད་(༡/༧)་འབབ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༡་དང་ཨ་ན་༡༤། སྐུ་དྲག་བཀའ་བློན་བློན་པོ་ཚེད་འབབ་ཁལ་དགོན་པ་བཅས་ལ་ཚེ་རིགས་འབབ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༦༠། བློན་པོ་ལ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༤༠། [སྐུ་དྲག་]ཆུང་བ་རྣམས་ལ་འབབ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༡༩་བྱས། དེ་དང་ལྟར་དགོན་པ་ཚོ་ལ་བྱས།།

དེའི་སྐབས་མ་ཧྣ་རྫ་ཛ་རྣམ་སྦྱིར་སེང་གིས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མངའ་མཛད་ཅིང་། སྤྱོད་དེ་ལྟར་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ་ལ་དྭགས་ན་འཁོད་སྐྱོན་སོང་བའི་སྤྱལ་དང་སྤྲོང་པ་གསར་བཙུགས། སྤྱལ་རྣམས་ལ་འབབ་ཐར། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མི་གས་རྣམས་ཁྲང་མེད་པར་བྱས། སྤྱོད་མག་ད་ཐ་ད་རྣྲར་དང་བཀའ་བློན་རིག་འཛིན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བྱས་པའི་གྲོང་ཐོ། བ་སྒྲི་རྣམ་སྦྱག་བཏས་པ་བསྐོག་ནས། སེ་ཀིར་མི་ལོ་༡༩༨༨་དང་མེ་ཏ་བ་སྒྲི་རྣམ་ཀྱི་སྐབས་མེ་ཏ་མང་[གལ་སེང་]ནས་གྲོང་ཐོ་སོ་མ་བྱས་ནས། ཞིང་ཁང་གང་མ་ལ་འབབ་ཁྲིད་མོ་༦་ཨ་ན་༡༡། ཁྱེད་ཀ་ཁྲིད་མོ་

༩་དང་ཨ་ན་༥་པེ་ནེ་༩ ། ཡང་བྱེད་ཀྱིད་མོ་༡་ཨ་ན་༡༥་པེ་ནེ་གསུམ། གསོལ་གང་མ་ལ་གྲོ་ཁལ་༡་དང་ཟེ་༡༠ ། མར་སེར་༥ ། རྒྱ་མིང་སྲང་༤ ། དར་མིང་སེར་༤༠་མཛོད་ནས། (གཏམ་གྱི་དར་ཞེར་བ་ནས་འབྱོང་བས། དེ་ཡང་འབབ་ལྷུར་ལོ་དང་ལོ་འཇལ་དགོས་པས། དར་མིང་ཐུའི །) ལོ་༤༡་ཟེ་ཀིར་མི་དེར་ཏུའི་ལོ་༡༩༠༡་བར་སོང་ལྷུར་གནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་བཞིན་སྐུ་བསོད་མངའ་ཐང་ཆེ་བ་དང་། ཡུལ་ཡང་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པ་དང་། སྔོན་ཐོག་དང་ལོ་ལེགས། ཆུ་ཡང་འཕེལ་མོ་སོང་ནས། ས་གཞི་ལས་ཐིལ་ཙམ་ཡང་མ་ལུས་པར་རྨོས། ཀ་དུན་ཁིམས་བྱས། སེ་བ་ཚོར་ཡུལ་གྱི་ནག་ཞན་བུ་ཡིན་ནས། སྦྲུས་ཀ་སྤ་ཆ་ལ་མ་གཏོགས། མི་ལེན་པ་བྱས། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཐོག་ཏུ། ལ་དྭགས་ཚེ་ཝའི་ཁྲང(ཚོ་ཁ)་། ཚ་ལེ་། བྲལ་། ལྕགས་ས་དང་གསེར་ཁྲང་བཏོད། ཐང་ལ་ཆུ་འདྲེན་ནས། མེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་སེང་གེས་(རྣམ་བྲིད་སེང་གེ་ཡུལ)་རྣམ་བྲིད་བྱར། (ཆུ་མིག་ར་རྣམ་སེང་གེ་ཡུལ་)རྣམ་བྱར། (ཙང་ག་དང་ཉེ་བར་མང་གལ་སེང་གེ་ཐྲག)་མང་གལ་ཐྲག ། (ལྷམ་ར་ན་པར་ཏྲབ་སེང་གེ་ཡུལ་)པར་ཏྲབ་བྱར་བཅས་ཡུལ་བཙུགས ། ཕྱོགས་ཐ་དག་ནས་ཚོང་པ་གཡོར་ཆེ་བ་ཐོན་ནས། ཐོག་རིགས་མང་བ་དང་། སྤུས་རྣམས་སྤྱོད་ཁྱེར་ཆེ་བ་ལས་ཐོན་ཁྲང་ཆེ། མི་རྣམས་རིག་པ་རྣོ་བ། ཡིག་རིག་དང་། རྩིས་རྣམས་བར་སི་དང་ཏུག་ར(ཏོག་ར)་དང་བཞིན་དང་། མི་རྣམས་ལྷེ་མཁང་དང་དན་རྒྱ་མང་བ་སོང་བ་དང་། བལ་དར་ནས་ཨི་རྡྲ་དྲི་ལའི་གཉེར་ཞིག་འཐོན་ནས། དེ་བཞིན་སྔོན་དུ་ས་ན་༡༩༣༨། སོད་ས་སྐྱལ་སྨྲ་བ་༩་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་སྐྱབས་སྐྱ་བླ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཕེལ་བྱ་བ། སྔོན་གྱི་སྟོན་པའི་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་སྤྱི་མ་དྲ་རྡྫ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐུག་པར་དགོངས་པས། ས་ན་༡༩༣༨་དང་སེར་ཀྲར་(མ་དྲ་རྫ་ཛ་)ཆེན་པོ་ཁ་ཆུལ་ནས་གདན་འཁོར་སྐབས། ཁ་ཆུལ་བླམ་བྱར་ནས་རང་རེ་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ལ་ཡང་[གནང་ནས] ། ཙ་མ་ཐིང་བར་ཁོང་རང་བཀའ་སློལ། དངོས་རང་(ཐུན་མེ་ཚེ་རིང་དཔལ་རྒྱས་)ཛེ་བླ་མ་དང་བླམ་བྱར་ནས་བྱེས་ནས་ཡོངས། བླ་མ་བལ་དར་ས་ཆ་རུ་བདངས་པས། བླ་མ་མཆོག་ནས་ཐབས་མཁས་དང་། དཀོན་མཆོག་གསོལ་ཐབས་ཀྱིས་རྩར་གཅོད་གནང་ནས། དེ་ཞིམ་ཁྲང་ནས་མ་ན་༤༠་ཙམ་མཉམ་དུ་འབྱོང་བ་དང་། ཛམ་སྤུ་ལ་མ་དྲ་རྫ་ཛ་མཆོག་རྩར་ཕྲུལ་བ་དང་། ཐུགས་མཉེ་ཏུ་མཉེས་ནས། བླ་མ་དེ་ཉིད་ཛམ་སྦྱར་བཞུགས་སྐབས། དངུལ་མིགས་སྐར་[ཀྱིར་མོ་]༡༤༠་བླ་བ་རེ་དང་། གནད་ཡུལ་དུ་བཞུགས་ན། ལོ་རེ་ལ་སྐོར་མོ་༦༠་ཡི་གནང་སྦྱིན་གནང་རྒྱ་མཛད། དེ་ནས་བྱེད། ཁྲང་ནས་དེ་ཞིམ་འབྱོང་མི་ཚོག་སྐག་བྱ་མཛད། ཏུན་ཚོད་རིང་བར་དཀར་ཞ་ཚོང་དཔོན་བསོད་ནམས་དངོས་གྲུབ་གཙོས་མང་པས། [དེ་ཞིམ་ཐོབ་པའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས་]ལྷའི་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་ལྷུར་མཉམ་སྐྱིད་བྱས། མ་དྲ་རྫ་ཛས་ཀྱང་ཁྲང་དེ་བརྟན་པོ་བཙན་པོ་མཛད་ནས། སྤུང་མི་དམག་འགོ་དང་སེ་པ་བརྒྱ་བསྐོར་བཞག་ནས། སེར་ཀྲར་གྱིས་ཁྲང་དེ་ལ་བདག་པོ་མཛད། [དེ་ཞིམ་]རིན་ཆེན་དེ་བཞིན་འཛུད་བསྒོ་བདོད་ནས། ད་ལྟ་རེ་ལ་རིན་ཀྱིར་མོ་༤༠༠ ། ༥༠༠་ལ་འགྲིམ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་བཞིན་སྔོན་ལས་རྗེ་བས་འགོ་ས་མགོ་ཞིང་། རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁྲུན་གཞན་དག་ལས་ཨང་རེ་ཞི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆེན་པོའི་དར་བླར་དང་ནམ་བར་དང་པོའི་ཁྲེ་མིང་དང་ས་ལམ་ཡང་ཧོབ་༧༡་བཅས་ཐོབ། མཚན་དུ་ཁོང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཐོབ། དེ་ལྟར་ཀིར་པ་དྲམ། ལྷ་བླིར་བྲ་དུ་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་གྱི་སྒས་ཨ་དཔ་རྣམ་གསུམ་དང་འདྲ་བར། གཉན་རྫ་ཛ་གང་ཐའད་མེད་པའི། བློ་མཐུན་ཞིང་། ལས་བྱེད་པར་མཁས་པ་ཡོད་པ་ཤིན། བལ་དར་དེ་ཞིམ་གྱི་ཁྲང་ཐོན་པ་ནས་ཚུན། མ་དྲ་རྫ་ཛ་ཡི་སྐུ་བརྙགས་སྐྱུང་ནས། ཐུགས་མི་བདེ་བ་སོང་ནས། ལས་གྲལ་བཞིན། སེར་ཀྲར་ལས་བྱེད་མི་ཀིང་སོལ་(ཕྱིས་དཔོན་)ཡང་བཙུགས། སོད་མ་ཁོང་ཤུང་བསྟན་གྱི་ཚུལ་དང་མཐུན། དེ་ན་འདི་སྐད་དུ །

མོ་ཏུ་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དུ །
བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་བྱུང་ །
བསྟན་པ་མངའ་བདག་(སེར་རྒྱ་)རྒྱས་པ་བྱུང་ །

རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ལོ་༤༨༨་ཙམ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་སྲས་ན་ར་ཛཱ་ཤྲཱི་ཏི་སིང་ལ་ཐྲ་ནཙ་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་གནང་བ་དང་། ཁོང་རང་སྲས་གསུམ་འཁྲུངས་ཡོད་པ། ཁོང་རང་སྐུ་བརྟན་པར་བཞུགས་དུས། སྲས་ཆེ་བ་མ་ཧེནྡྲ་ཛ་བར་དྷ་སིང་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བདག་པོ་དང་། བར་མ་ཛམ་སིང་དམག་འགོ་དང་། ཆ་ཆུང་ཨ་མར་སིང་དར་མར་ཐ་ཡི (ཧྣ་ཧྨ་ཡཱུཏ་མ་ཡི)་དཔོན་དང་། རང་རང་ཧྲ་གིར་སྤྱལ་ནས། ཐུགས་དགོངས་རྫོགས་པར་མཛད་དོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་དེའི་སྐུ་ཚོག་ཏུ་སྐུ་དུག་ཏུ་ལས་ཟླ་བ་རེ་ལ་སྟོང་ལྷག་གཉིས་ནས་སྟོང་མོ་བརྒྱད་ཕྲག་ལས་བྱེད་མི་དང་། སེ་པ་དམག་མི་ཚོ་ལ་གནང་བ་དང་། ཐུགས་བད་ཚུན་སྐུ་དུག་རྣམས་རང་རང་གི་ས་མེས་ལས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཞག། དེ་དང་བསྟུན། རང་རང་ཡུལ་ནང་ལས་ས་གནང་ཞིང་། བདག་ཉིད་སློད་མ་བཞིན་མཛད། ད་ལས་ཀུང་སྤྲ་མ་བས་ཐེབ་ཅན། ལྷ་ཞིར (ལ་དྭགས་ལྷ་ཞིར་སོགས)་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་ལ་ སླ་བ་རེ་ལ་དངུ་བརྒྱ་ནས་སྟོང་གཅིག་བར་མཛད། དེ་འགོ་ཚོད་མེད་ལ་གཟིགས་ནས་གནང་བ་ཡིན། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་སྤྲར་ལྷ་ཞིར་སོགས་ཀྱིས་མིག་ཞིག་ལ་འབབ་བཀལ་བ་འདིས་མིན་དགོངས་ནས། ས་ཎ་༡༩༤༨་ནང་རྫོང་སེད་ས་དེབ་ལ་དྭགས་ལྷ་ཞིར་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་མ་ཧེནྡྲ་ཛས་གསུང་བ་ནེད (ས་བཏབ་དགོས་མོལ་བ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས)། ཁོང་གི་དགོངས་པ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་པ་མི་དང་པོ་གསོ་སྐྱོ་མེད་པ་དང་། མ་ཚད། སེར་ཀུར་ཡབང་འབྱུང་འགོ་ཆེ་བ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་། རྗེས་སུ་དེ་སྐོར་རྩོད་འདུས་ཡོང་བ་ཤེས་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་དུག་ཆེ་གྲས་དང་། ཉེ་མི་ལྟེ་བདེ་མཛོད་པ་དང་། ཀར་ཏྲར་སོགས་བསྡུས་ནས། འདི་ལྟར་འགྲོ་རྒྱུའི་བཀོད་པ་བཏང་བ་དང་། ཡུལ་མི་གྲོས་མཐུན་པར། བཞི་མ (གཞི་མ?)་ལྷ་འམ་ཀྱིར་མོ་གཅིག་ཐོག་ཨ་ན་བཞི་ཐེབ་འབབ་འབུལ་བ་ལ་འབད་ནས། ཞུ་རྒྱ་སོང་ཏུ་ཕུལ་ནས་འགྲིག ས་ཎ་༡༩༤༩་ནང་སློབ་བཀའ་བློན་ནནྡྲ་ཛམ་དང་། བ་སྔོ་བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་གཙོས་ཁ་དྲག་ཁ་ཤས་དང་། ཡུལ་མི་ཁ་ཤས་གྲབས་བྱས། ལྷ་ཞིར་དང་མ་མཐུན་པའི་རྐྱེན་གྱིས། ཁ་ཞལ་དུ་སྒྲུབ་ཤུས་འབུལ་བར་སོང་བ་དང་། ས་སྐྱོང་ཆེན་པོས་བྱེད་ཁགས་མཛད་ནས། ཀྱིར་མོ་གཅིག་ཐོག་འབབ་སྔོན་ཨ་ན་གཉིས་མཛད་ཀྱང་། དེ་ཡང་ངེད་མི་སྐྱིག་ཤུས་པར། སེར་ཀུར་ཐུགས་ཞིབ་ནས། ལྷ་ཞིར་དང་འཛིན་དང་། ཡུལ་གྱི་ས་བཏབ་པ་ལ་ན་ཡིབ་ ཚ་མལ་དང་ཟུར་གི་དོན་ཚོད་བི་ཤེད་ཧྣས་ཞིར་པ་དང་། མི་གྲངས་ཟུར་གི་གསུམ་བཅུ་བཏང་ནས། སྤར་མཐོང་མ་སྤྲང་བ་ས་ཁྲད་བཏབ་པ་ལ། དང་པོ་ས་མཚམས་རྣམས་སུ་ཐེཨོད་ སྤྱངས་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་ནད་ཚུན་པར་ལ་ཐེཨོད་ཐུ་བཞི་དང་། བར་དུ་ཐེཨོད་ཡུལ་ཚོ་སོ་སོར་བྱས་ནས། དེ་བར་ས་གཞི་ཡག་སྤྱག་དང་། ས་ཁྲད་ས་རིས་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་དང་། ཚ་ཀླུང་ཕུར་བ་ལྷུང་བསྐོར་ལོལ་ས། སྤྲོད་རྒྱལ་དུས་ལ་ས་རིས་ཡོད་པ་སོགས་དང་། རྒྱལ་ཐུབ་རྣམས་སྤྲོད་ཀྱང་དང་། ཨལ་ལྷན (རས་དམར་པོ)་རར་སྦྱིག་བཙུགས། དེ་བར་ས་བགོས་བཏངས། གྲོང་པ་རང་རང་གི་མིང་དང་ས་གཞི་དང་ནམ་བར་ཞིབ་ནས། བསྟུད་འབྱུར་ཞི་ཀེཏ་བྲ་བ་བཏང་། གྲོང་པས་དེ་འཁྱེར་ནས། ས་གཞི་ཡོད་སར་བསྐུ[བ]་པ་དང་། མི་དོང་བ་ལ་ཉེས་ཆད་གཏོང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་བཙུགས། ཡུལ་གྱི་སྔོན་ཐོག་ཐོན་ལ་བལྟས་ནས། འབབ་བཀལ། ས་ཎ་༡༩༧༡་ནང་ལ་དྭགས་རྫི་དཔོན་༣་མ་ཧེནྡྲ་ཛ་ཛམ་སྦྱིར་སེང་གེས་བཀའ་མངགས་པ་བཞིན། དེ་ལྟར་ཨ་ནཏ་ཛམ་ (ཐུགས་ནས)། ས་ཡུལ་ཨམ་རིཏ་སར་པ། ཡོན་ཏན་ཅན་སི་ཨང་རེ་ཞི་ཤེས་པ། ཀ་ཏུན་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གཉན་ བཞིན (བྱིན?)་བྱེད་འགྱུར་བཀའ་གནང་། འབབ་ཕྱི་ བ་ སོག་ཅིང་། སྤར་མཁར་དགོན་པ་དང་བཅས་ཡུལ་གྲངས་༦༡་ལ། ཀྱིར་མོ་༤༦༩༦༤་དང་ཨ་ན་གསུམ་པེ་ཏེ་གཉིས། གྲོ་མ་ཎ་༤༥༡༠་སེར་༤༩་དང་བཞི་༤། མར་མ་ཎ་༤༤༨་སེར་༡༦་དང་བཞི་༤། རྩྭ་མིང་རོ་སྒང་༦༩༩༥་དང་བ་ཏི་༤༥། ཧར་མིང་རོ་སྒང་༨༩༣་སེར་༥༦་བཅས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་དུས་དེ་ཀ་ཡུལ་༦༡་ལ་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༦༦༩༦༠་ཨ་ན་༥་པེ་ཏེ་༤། ནས་རིན་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༦༩༩་ཨ་ན་༡། རང་འཇག་འབབ་༡༣༩་ཨ་ན་༡། ཁ་ཟས་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༢༡༩་ཨ་ན་༥་པེ་ཏེ་༤། སོས་རིགས་རྟོང་ཀྱིར་མོ་༢༡༤་ཨ་ན་༦་བཅས། ཆེད་སྔོམ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༦༦༣༡༨་དང་ཨ་ན་༩ ༎ གྲོ་མ་ཎ་༤༦༩༩་སེར་༩་བཞི་༩། མར་མ་ཎ་༤༣༥་སེར་༤༥། རྩྭ་མིང་སྒང་༦༤༦༧་བ་ཏི་༥། ཧར་མིང་སྒང་༧༨༥་བ་ཏི་༤༩་བཅས་བཀལ། ས་ཎ་༡༩༦༤་ནང་བར་མ་ལ་ཡང་རེ་ཞིག་མངའ་མཛད།

ཤྲི་མ་ཧཱ་ཛྙཱ་ཛ་དེ་ཉིད་སྐུ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོར་བའི་སྤར་ལྷས་སྲུ། ཡུལ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞིང་ལ་བཙན་དང་ལྷགས་པ། གནམ་གཞི་དམར་པོ་སོང་། ཤིང་བྱ་ཟླ་བ་༨་པའི་ཚེས་༧་དང་ས་ན་༡༨༧༥་ཟླད་ཟུད་ཚེས་༢༩་སྐུ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོར་བའི་ཞག །ལ་དྭགས་ན་མེད་པ་བབ་ནས། ཡུལ་ཁ་མས་ལ་སྨྱིན་ཐོག་མི་འདོད་པ་སོང་། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཟླུམ་བླུར་ན་དེ་ཀ་ལོ་ནང་བསྡུགས་བྱུང་མི་འདུ་བ། ལོ་མེད་མོ་མེད་ཅིག་སྐྱེས། ཡུལ་ལ་ས་གཡོ་ཆེ་བ་བྱུང་ནས། ཆའོན་དང་ཁོང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐུ་མཁར་དང་གཞིས་ཚང་སོགས་བཞིག་རལ་སོང་། སྤྲེལ་དུ་ཟླ་བ་བཅུད་པའི་ཚེས་༡༧་ཞག །སྐུ་མེ་ཏོག་ཐོར་བའི་སྐད་ཆ་ངན་པ་ཐོས་ནས། སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་དང་མི་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཟླིར་དང་། ཉེན་དུ་རིགས་དང་། བོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་ཀྱི་ཁ་སྤྲུ་འཐེག་བཅུགས། ཐོས་ལག་ཆོས་མའི་རིགས་རྣམས་བསྐྱག་པར་བྱས། ཟླ་བ་ཁ་མས་སྦྱུག་བྱས། བ་ཐར་ཚོང་ཁང་རྣམས་བདུན་གསུམ་སྐོ་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་རིམ་པར་སྤྱོད།།

མེ་ཕྲི་ཟླ་བ་༧་པའི་ཚེས་༡་ས་ན་༡༨༧༦་དང་ཤྲི་མ་ཧཱ་ཛྙཱ་ཛ་བར་དུས་སེང་བ་ཧཱ་དུར་མཆོག་(ཛམ་མྱུར་)ཞི་ལ་བསྐྱགས། ཉི་ཀ་(ཉིན་དུའི་ཐོད་པར་ཚོན་སྐུད་པ་)གཏོང་བར། སློབ་ཀྱི་མན་དྷི་རྐྱེང་པ་ལ་སྐྱུར། དེར་རོལ་མོ་སྣ་ཚོགས་དང་། ཏོབ་དང་། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དང་། གསེར། ཟླ་ཧྱིག །རྡོ་རྗེ་ས་ལམ་བཅས་ཐ་ཞི་གང་ཁོང་གི་དབུ་ཐོག་ནས་བསྐོར་ཏེ། ཁྲི་ལ་གཏོང་། དེ་མཉམ་ཏོབ་༧༡་གི་ས་ལམ་དང་། དེར་ཡང་དེ་ཟི་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཆེན་མོའི་སྐུ་ཚབ་རྒྱ་གར་ན་བཞུགས་པའི་སེ་ཀེ་ཐེར་(རྒྱང་ཡིག་)ས་རྗེས་ཀྱིས་ཁོང་ལ་འགོ་ཕྱུས་ཐུལ་ནས། ཚེད་དང་གི་ས་གཉིས་གང་ཡོད། ཉིད་དང་གི་མདའ་ཡིན། ལ་སོགས་གསུང་གྲལ་ན་བཀྱགས། ཡང་ས་ལམ་ཏོབ་༡༠༡་དང་གི་ཀྲུལ་(དམག་མཁྱུད་)ས་ལམ་བྱས། གདན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེ་གྲས་སོགས་དང་། ཀ་ཐུར་ཐ་ལ་ཡི་ཛ་ཊ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་འཐུལ་མཆོད། ཏ། ཉེཾ། དར་པོ་ཆེ་བྱ་མཇུག་ཅོད་པན། ཀེམ་ཁབ་སྦུ་ཚང་། རིགས་བརྫོད་མི་ཤེས་པ་དང་། འཛོམ་ས་ཐོག་དམག་དང་། དྲག་ཤོས་མ་དང་སར་གི་ལྷད་མོ་དང་། མ་ལག་མཁན་དང་གུད་པ་དང་། གླང་པོ་ཆེ། ཏ། མ་དེ། ཞུག །ཐུའིས་འཐབ་མོ་བྱས། མཚོན་མོ་སྣོན་མེ་དང་། ལམ་གར་ཞབས་ཀྱི་ས་ཆ། བན་ཚུན་རྣམས་ལ་དར་ལྷོག་བརྒྱན། ཏ་སྒང་ཆེན་དང་དམག་མིའི་ཆས་སྤྱུད་མི་ཤེས་པ་འདུག །ཤེད་རྩལ་དང་མ་ཏེ་རང་དྲག་པ་འདུག །མ་ལག་མཁན་བར་སྣང་ལ་མ་ལག་ཚོར་གསུམ་ཡོག་པ་དང་། མི་དཀྱུའི་ལག་པའི་གྲུང་(གྲུང་?)ཁྲང་ནས་འཕྲེན་པ་དང་། མིའི་མགོ་ཐོག་ཏུ་གདུང་མ་སྒྲུངས་ནས། འཛེགས་པ་དང་། ཐག་པའི་ཐོག་འཕྲུལ་བ་ལ་སོགས་ཡ་མཚན་འདུག །དེ་དང་མཉམ་མེའི་ཐུམ་པ་མང་བ་སྦར། ལྷད་མོ་ཁང་ན་དགའ་སྟོན་བྱ་སྐབས། གནམ་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་མེ་སྐར་མ་དང་འཐེན་པ་༥༥༥༠་བཏང་ས། རྗེས་ཉིད་མ་ཧཱ་ཛྙཱ་ཛ་མཆོག་དམག་དཔོན་རམ་སེང་ཙར་སྐུ་མགྲོན་ལ་གདན་དྲངས། དེའི་རྗེས་མ་ཞག །ཛྙཱ་ཏྲ་ཨ་མར་སིང་དང་ཛ་ཏྲ་ཟྱ་དེ་སིདྡྷ་སོགས་ཙར་སྐུ་མགྲོན་དང་ཐུགས་སྨོར་ཞེབས་པའི་དུས་སྲུ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དང་མང་སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷ་དབང་བཅས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ན་བཞུགས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། ཛམ་སྲུ་ཙ་ལ་དྭགས་ལྷ་ཁྲིར་ར་ཏ་ཀྲི་བྲ་ཀོལ་དང་། དེ་མི་མཛོད་པ་ངག་དབང་ཚོས་བཟང་དང་། རྗེ་ཟླ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། བཀའ་བློན་ནོརྦུ་རྣམ། ཤེལ་བློན་པོ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཀབ་ཏན་ཟུ་ལ་ཅན། ཟུན་གི་དོན་གྲུབ། ཟུན་གི་དཔལ་རྒྱས། ཙ་མོད་ཀར་ཟླར། ལ་དྭགས་ཟླག་གི་འགོ་པ་འཐོག་མོ། དགོན་ཁག་སོགས་ཀྱི་གྲྭ་པ་ཞལ་གྲངས་༧༠་དང་། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚུ་མི་འགོ་པ་དང་། ཡུལ་ཡུལ་ནས་མི་ཁ་གས་བཅས་ཞི་བཞུགས་ཀྱི་འཐུལ་བ་རྣམས་ཕུལ། དེ་མཉམ་གྲྭ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞལ་འབག་ཐུགས་ནོ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་རྩེད་མོ་བྱས། དེ་དང་བཞིན་ཀ་ཐུར་ཐ་ཡའི་ཛ་ཊའི་ཙར་མཛད་བཅུགས། གདང་སྐྱིན་དང་འགོ་ཕྱུས་གནང་།། ལ་དྭགས་འབབ་ཐུད་ཕྱི་བ་མོག་པས། དགོན་པའི་གྲྭ་པ་དང་དེ་མི་མཛོད་པས་ཡར་ཞི་ཐུལ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཀླུ་ཁྲིར་དང་མ་མཐུན་པ་ཤེས་ནས། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱི་ན་ལྡབ་ཤི་དེ་ལྡན་ཞེག་མན་དུས་ཙར་སྐྱད་དུས་མཛད་པར་བསྐུར། ན་ཀྲིམ་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་ཕྱུ་བ་མ་མཐུན། དགོན་པ་ཚོར་སློན་མ་ཁྱར་མ་འདུག་ན། དགོན་པའི་གཏོང་འགོ། དུས་མཆོད། མཆོད་མེ། སོ་སྐྱོང་དང་། གྲྭ་པ་རེ་ལོ་རེ་སོགས་ཁལ་༡༨་དང་། ཞན་པ་ར་རྗེ་ལ་བཞག་བཀོད། གདན་ཡང་ས་གཞི་འབད་ཁྲང་མེད་པ་སོགས། སོང་ས་མཆོག་ཏུ་སྐྱད་ཕྱུས

འབྲས་ནས། ཡུལ་སྤྱིས་ལ་སློར་མེ་རའི་ཐོག་ནས་ཨ་ན་གཉིས་ནས་ཨ་ན་གཅིག་འབྲུད་རྒྱུ་དང་། དགོན་པ་ཚོ་ལ་འབབ་སོ་མ་སོག་ཕའི་བྱེད་ཀ་འབྲུད་པ་དང་། བྱེད་ཀ་འཛམ་པ་བྱས། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཁ་མ་མཐུན་པས། ས་མཆོག་ཐུགས་ཁྲོས་ནས། སྟམ་སྟམ་བཏང་ནས། ཚར་གཅོད་མེད་གསུངས། སེར་ཀྲུར་དང་གི་རོ་ཀར་ཚོ་ལ་བཀའ་བཀྱོན་མཛད་པ། མི་བློག་དང་དཀོན་མཆོག་དཔེ་ལྟར་བྱུང་། ལྷྭ་ཟླྭིར་དང་ཡུལ་པ་ཁ་མ་མཐུན་པ། སློད་གཏམ་དཔེ་ལ་ཁ་དང་བྱེ་ཨུ་སློལ་བ་ན། སྐྱུ་ས་གཏི་ཁྲིང་བའི་དཔེ་ལྟར་བྱུང་། གོང་ནས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་སྐྱན་ཕྲུས་ལ་ཡོང་ཡོད་པ་ལ་རྟེན། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ན་ལྷྭབ་ལེཁ་མན་ནྭས་ལ་ཐུགས་གཟིགས་མཛད་པར། བཀའ་ཕྲོག་བཞེད་པ་འཁྲོད་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་སྐུ་དྲག་རྣམས་ཧམ་སྒུར་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་སྐྱད་གཅིག་འཁྲོད་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་ཁྲབ་དང་སི་པ་བཏང་ནས། ཐང་རོགས་ལའང་སྲིད་ཐབས་མེད་པ། ཉི་མ་གཉིས་གསུམ་ས་ལ་ཚང་མ་ཁ་འཁྲིལ་གྱིས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཅེར། ལ་དྭགས་ཡུལ་པ་དང་ཐུག། དུས་ཚོད་ཀྱི་ལྷས་ལ། རང་གི་གཉེན་ཉེ་རིང་དང་། སྐྱོད་ཁྲང་མཉམ་ཡོད་པ་ཚོ་ནས་ཀྱང་། མི་མཐོང་བའི་ཚུལ་བྱས། དེ་ལྟར་གྱིས། དག་ཁ་མཛད་ནས། ཕྱུ་བ་ཅི་ཡོད་རྣམས་འབྲི་བར། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་དང་རྗེ་མི་ཕྲུག་མཛོད་གཙོས་མི་བཅུས་འབྲི་དགོས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་གནང་། ཡུལ་པ་ཚོ་ཡིས་སོ་སོར་འབྲི་དགོས་གསུང་། དེ་བཞིན་ལ་དྭགས་པས་དུང་གསུམ་གྱི་སྒོ་ནས་ཉེ་རིང་ཕྱོགས་ཁྱེར་མེད་པར། ཡུལ་ན་ས་སྐྱ་མང་བ་དང་། རྟུང་བ་དང་ནོར་བཟོས་ཀྱི་ས་ཁྱད་སོགས་ངོ་རིས་ཕྱོགས་ཁྱེར་སོང་བ་དང་། བཀྲད་མི་རྩུང་བའི་གཏམ་ངན་མང་བ་ལྷྭ་ཟླྭིར་སྐོར་ཐོས་ནས་ཕུལ། དེ་ལྟར་ཐུགས་གཟིགས་གནང་། རྙོག་དང་མང་སྒྲོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ལ། སེར་ཀྲུར་གྱིས་རྡྭ་གྲིར་སྤྲད་གནང་བ་ནང་བཞིན་གནས་པ་དང་། འབབ་སྟག་སབ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚོར་དབང་ཡིན་མོལས། འབབ་ཐེབ་ས་ན་ནང་༧༤་སོང་བ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་གཏོང་བ་བྱས། རྒྱ་གེར་གོ་ལྭམ་ཁྲྭིན་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་འཛིན་ས་ལྭམ་ཁ་ཏུན་དང་གོ་ལྭམ་ལ་འདི་རིང་བར་ཧྲྭ་གྲིར་གནང་། སློན་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ལྷྭ་ཟླྭིར་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཞེར་སེང་ཕྱུ་བ་རྒྱུད་དེ་ལྟར་གྱིས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཀར་ཟླྭར་ཡུལ་པ་ཚོར་འདི་ལྟར་བཀའ་བྱུང་། སློན་ས་ན་༡༩༧༡་ནང་མེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་སེང་གིས་ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་ལ་འབབ་བཀལ་བའི་ཐོག་ཙམ་ཐེབ་འཁྱུར་བ་དང་། དེ་མིན། ལྷྭ་ཟླྭིར་དྲྭ་དྲྭ་ཀི་ཧྲུ་ཡིས་བཀལ་བའི་འབབ་ནས་ཙམ་སྐྱུར་པ་ལ་འཕར་བཀའ་ཐོན། སྐུ་དྲག་དང་ཡུལ་མི་ཚོ་ཚང་མ་བློ་མཐུན་ནས། སློན་མང་གལ་སེང་གིས་ཡུལ་ལ་དག་པོ་(?) དང་སྐྱོམས་པོ་བཅོས་ནས། འབབ་བཀལ་བ་ཡིན། ས་བཏབ་པ་ནས་ད་ཙང་ཕྱོགས་རིས་ཀྱིས་དྲང་པོ་མ་སོང་། ནོར་ཡོད་ནོར་བཏང་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྲ་མ་བས་འབབ་བྲུད། ནོར་མེད་ལ་སྐྱུར་བྱས། རྟུང་རྒྱབ་བཏངས། བུ་མོ་སྒོ་མེད་(ཨ་ཁུ་མེད་)རིགས་ཚང་མར་འཁྱེར་དགོས་དང་། དེ་བཞིན་མི་བྱེད་པ་སོགས་ཁྲིམས་ཁྲང་དུ་བཀལ་བ་དང་། དེར་ལྷྭ་ཟླྭིར་སོགས་ཀྱིས་དེའི་ཕྱུ་བ་ལ་རྩ་ནས་མ་ཉན། ཁོང་རྒྱབ་གཞི་ལ་བཞེངས་ནས་བརྟུངས། སློན་ཆོ་ར་ལྟར་ནས་ཕྱིན་དུ་ཐོབ་ལོ་མེད་པ། འབབ་ལེན་སྐབས་རྟུང་བ་དང་། ནྭི་ལམ་བྱེད་པ་མཛད་པས། འབབ་(དང་ཁྲིམས་)སོ་མ་གཞི་ནས་མི་སྐྱུག་པ་དང་། མེ་ཏ་མང་གལ་ནས་ལྷྭ་ཟླྭིར་ཇོན་སེན་བར་གནས་པའི་འབབ་རྩིང་པ་ཐོག་ཀྱིར་མོ་རེ་ཐོག་ཐེབ་ཨ་ན་བཞི་འབྲུལ་ངེས་ཕྲུས་པ་ལ་རྟེན། མ་ཁྲི་(འཁྲུངས་ལོ་༡༨༨༦)་ཟླ་བ་ལྔ་པའི་ཚེས་༡༧་ནག། མི་རྗེ་དེ་ལྟར་གྱིས་སློན་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཞུགས་པ་རྒྱ་ཐའང་མ་འདྲེ་བར། ཁྲིད་དང་ཡུལ་པའི་ཕྱུ་བ་ལ་གསན་ངེས། གོང་མ་སྲི་མ་དྲྭ་དྲྭ་ཧ་ཆེན་པོ་བར་དྭབ་སེང་གིས་ལ་དྭགས་མངའ་ཞབས་ལ་བཙེ་བ་དང་བྱམས་སྐྱོང་བ་དང་། དེ་ལྟར་ལེག(ལེཀ་)མན་ནྭས། མེ་ཏ་ཞེར་སེང་། དེ་ལྟར་རྡྭ་དྲྭ་ནདྭ། སྦྲིར་ཟླྭ་ཨག་བར་ཞེག་ཀོང་སོལ་ཐོག་ནས། སློན་གྱི་འབབ་རྩིང་པ་ཐོག་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་རེའི་ཐོག་ཨ་ན་བཞི་ཐེབ་བཀལ་བ་ཐག་བཅད། ས་ན་༡༩༧༤་(ངེད་ཀྱི་༡༨༨༥་)ཚུན་འབབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༤༤༨༨༠་ཨ་ན་༤་པེ་རེ་༡། ཨ་ན་བཞི་ཐེབ་ཕྱུས། ཐེབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༨༤༤༡་ཨ་ན་༡༤་དང་། ཚྭན་ཐྲྭམ་ལོ་༡་དང་ཀྱིར་མོ་༧༡༡༠༨་ཨ་ན་༡༧་པེ་རེ་༡་དང་། སོས་རིགས། མར། རྩྭ་མེང་། ཏར་མེང་རྣམས་ནི་འབབ་རྩིང་པ་ནང་བཞིན་བཞག། འབབ་ཐེབ་ལེན་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྐུ་དྲག་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཐོབ། ར་ཐུམ། ན་ཐར། ཏ་འབབ། ཕྱུག་འབབ། ཐ་རབ་(རྫོང་རྩེ་རྒྱབ་པར་)ཨ་ན་བཅས་ཆེ་ཆུང་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཐོག། (སློན་ཡུལ་

བས་དེ་འཛམ་པ་ཡིན། མི་ཚེད་ལ་མ་ཐོག་པ་ཡིན།།) སྤྱལ་བ་རྣམས་སྤྱད་ཕྱིགས་ཀྱི་བདེ་ཞིང་། སྨོ་བདེ་བ་སོང་། ལ་དྭགས་ཞོག་པར་བཀའ་བྱུང་། ས་ན་༡༩༧༤་དར་ཚེས་༧་ཞག། ཐམས་ཅད་ཁ་རྒྱལ་དས་སྦོད།། མོ་རྩིས་དང་བླ་མ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བསྟན་འཕེལ་དང་དེ་འབབ་མཁར་བཏབ་པའི་མོ་མིག་ལ་བབ་པ་བརྟགས། མཁར་རྫོང་གི་ལྷ་བཙན་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཡིས་ལྷ་དང་དས་གསུང་བ་བརྟགས། སོང་བས།

དང་པོ་འབབ་སྟུན་མཐེ་པོ་ཆེ།

ཐ་མ་མཐིལ་རྒྱང་མ་སྐྱེལ་ངེས།

ཡིན་པ། དེ་བཞིན་བརྟགས། ལྷ་དེ་བརྟགས་པོ་འདུག། ས་ན་༡༩༧༡་དར་ཟླ་སྤྱལ་མད་ཀྱི་ཟླ་དེ་བྱུང་ཟེར་བའི་གྲགས་པ་ཟེལ།།

XI

ལོ་རྩིས་ནི

ཁ་ཆེ་མས་ཛིད་ས་རྒྱལ་པོ་སེང་གེ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་གདང་དས། འདི་ལོ་འཁྲུངས་ལོ་༡༩༡༠་བར་ . . ལོ་༣༡༧།

གཙུག་གཏོར་ལྟུང་མ། རྒྱ་ཐའི་རང་ཐག་ལ་ཡོད་པ། བཙུག་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་༣༡༧།

རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་དཔལ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཏུས། མ་ཀ་ར་བད་ལྷ་ཉིབ་ཐོད་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་༡༦༨།

ཟོ་ར་ལྦར་ཏུས་སུ། རྒྱལ་པོ་འཛིགས་མེད་ཀུན་དགའ་འཁྲུངས་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . ལོ་ ༡༠།

ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་སྤྱི་ཏི་ལ་མྱོར་ཏེ་གྲོངས་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༡༠།

བ་སྡྭི་ནྭམ་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མ་ཞིང་། ཡང་མ་འམ་ཏེ་ཅེས་ཞིང་ཟླྭ་ཟླྭར་བཙེས་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . ལོ་ ༦༨།

ཀེ་ཤི་ཀ་མིཤ་ནར་སླེལ་ཏུ་བསྡད་དས། (འགོ་མ་ལོ་༤་ལ་ཀ་མིཤ་ནར་ཚབ་ཏུ་ཟླན་ཤེ་ཀ་ནྭིམ་བཀྲུ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་)

འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༧༦།

སླེལ་ཏུ་བ་རོ་མེ་ཧར་བཙུགས་ཤིང་། ཁང་པ་བརྩིགས་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༣༡།

བསོད་ནམས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་འཁྲུངས་དས། (སྔོན་གྱི་ཐོགས་ཀྱིར་མོ་ལོ་ལྷར་༣༡༨་ཨ་ན་༨། ད་ལོ་དས་ཐོགས་ཀྱིར་

མོ་ལོ་ལྷར་༡༨༠༠་) འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༣༣།

ས་ར་ཆེན་མོ་ཀ་མིཤ་ནར་ཨེ་ཞི་དང་ཇོན་སེན་གྱིས་བརྩིག་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . ལོ་ ༧༣།

བཀྲ་ཊེཊ་ཊྭ་ཌྭ་ཀི་མྲ་ཡིས་སླེལ་ཤ་ག་རན་བཙེས་དས། འདི་ལོ་བར་ . . . . . ལོ་ ༨༥།

ཊྭ་ཛྭ་ངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལོ་༦་དང་ལོ་ཊེ་ལ་འབབ་ . . . . . ཁྲིར་ལོ་ ༩༠༠༠

མག་ཊྭ་ཐྭ་ཌྭ་ཊྭར་ལོ་ཏུག་སླེལ་ལ་ལྷྭ་ཟླྭར་ལ་འདུག།

བ་སྡྭི་ནྭམ་ལོ་༡༧་ལྷྭ་ཟླྭར་ལ་འདུག། དེ་གཉིས་ཏུས་འབབ་ . . . . . ཁྲིར་ལོ་༡༨༠༠༠

མང་གལ་སེང་ལོ་༥་བསྡད། ལོ་ཊེ་ལ་འབབ་ . . . . . . ཁྲིར་ལོ་༨༧༠༠༠

ཨ་ཞི་ཨག་བར་ལོ་༧་བསྡད།

གང་བླ་ཞིང་ལོ་༡་བསྡར།

ཛོན་མེད་ལོ་༡༢་བསྡར།

ཌཱ་རྡཱ་གྲི་བྲཱ་ལོ་༣་བསྡར། དེ་བཞི་དུས་འབབ་ . . . . . . གྱིར་མོ་༣༢༨༨༧་ཨ་ན་༢༡/༢།

ཌཱ་རྡཱ་གྲི་བྲཱ་ཤིས་ཁྲད་བཏབ་དུས། འབབ་ཟླའི་ . . . . . . གྱིར་མོ་ ༨༢༢༡་ཨ་ན་༡༤།

བཞི་མ་ལྷ་འབབ་ . . . . གྱིར་མོ་ ༤༡༡༠༨་ཨ་ན་༡༤།

རྒྱལ་དུས་གོང་པ་རི་ལ་འབབ་ཟ་ཅུ་༡།

རྒྱལ་དུས་གོང་པ་རི་ལ་ཐབ་མ་སྒང་༡།

དབུ་ཆག་གི་ཕྱིར། ཕྱི་གླིང་དུས་(ཅི་ཞིང་དུས་) ཡུལ་པ་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་མིང་སྲང་༨༠༠་འཇོང་བའི་ཁྲལ།

གང་མིང་ཏར་དང་ལུས་ར་སྤོད་དར་(ཏུན་དར་) འགོག་གཉིས་དུས་མིང་ཙམ་དགོས་འཇོང་བའི་ཁྲལ།

དེ་མེད། ཟ་སླིད་ཌཱར་དུས་དབུ་ཁྲལ་མ་ཞེན་པ་ཞིན་ཞེར་རོ།

ཌཱ་ཌཱ་དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྐྱུད་འཛིན་ལོ་༦་བར་འབབ་ . . . . གྱིར་མོ་ ༩༠༠༠།

ཌཱ་ཌཱ་དངོས་ཐུབ་བསྐྱུད་འཛིན་དུས་པ་སྐྱི་ཌཱམ་བར་ལོ་༢༦་དང་ལོ་ལྷར་འབབ་ . . . . གྱིར་མོ་༡༨༠༠༠།

གོང་བོ་སོ་མ་བྱས་དུས། འབབ་སོ་མ་སྤྱང་བཅག་བཅས་ལ་ལོག་ . . . . . གྱིར་མོ་༢༤༠༠༠།

ཛོན་མེད་བར་གནས་པའི་འབབ་ . . . . གྱིར་མོ་༣༢༨༨༧། ༢། ༡།

བཞི་མ་ལྷ་ལོག་པའི་འབབ་སྡོམ་ . . . . གྱིར་མོ་༤༡༡༠༨། ༡༤། ༡།

ས་ན་༡༩༥༧་དང་བར་དོ་བསྐྱ་བཅོས་དུས། འབབ་རྒྱར་མ་ཆོད། མགྱོགས་པ་རྒྱར་བཅད་དུས་ཕྱ་དེས།

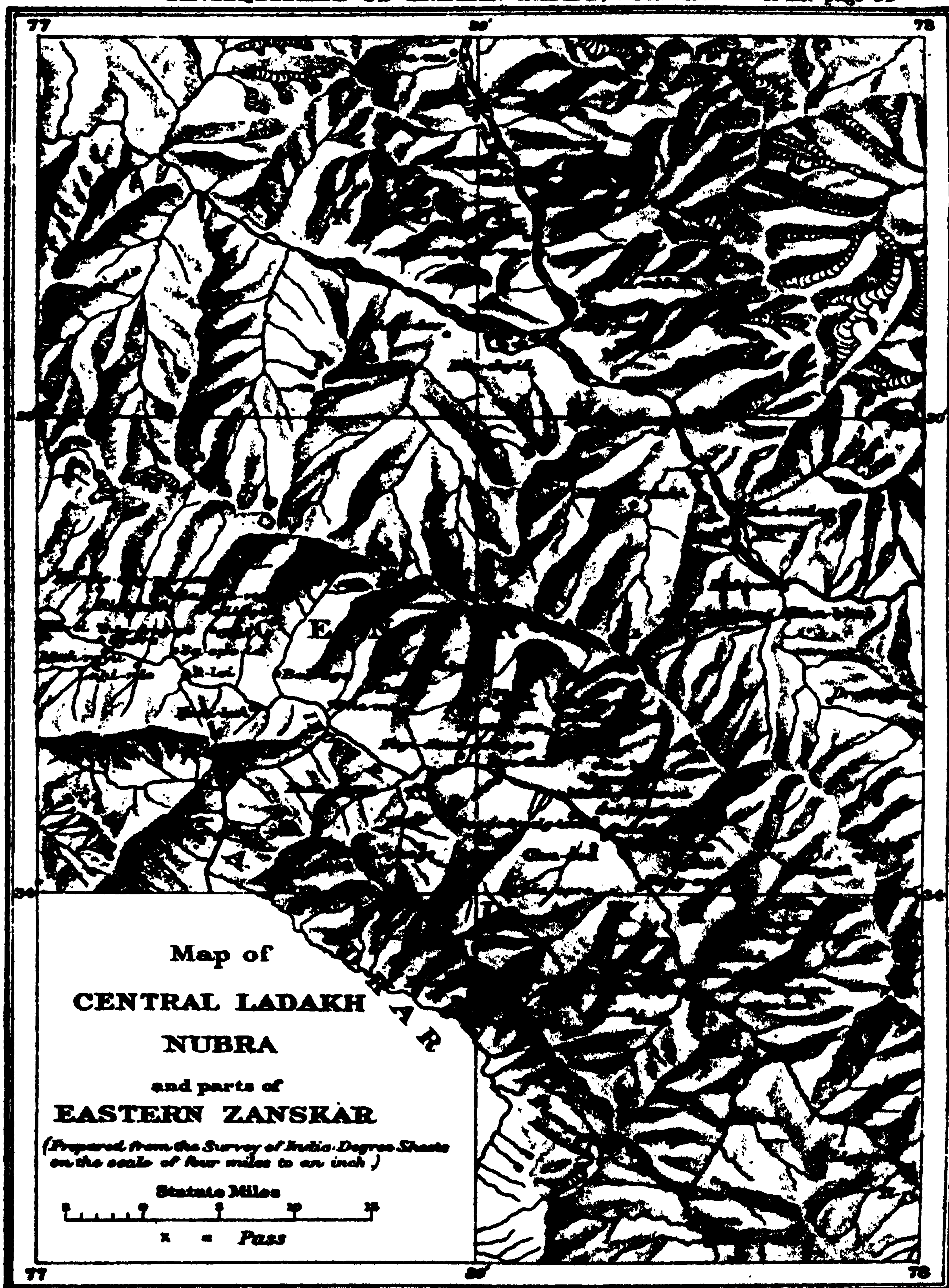
ས་ན་༡༩༦༦་དང་ཡང་བར་དོ་བསྐྱ་བཅོས་དུས། འབབ་རྒྱར་མ་ཆོད། མགྱོགས་པ་རྒྱར་བཅད་དུས་ཕྱ་དེས།།

ཡོ་འདི་སྔོན་གི་དཔལ་རྒྱས་ལ་འདྲིས་དུས། བདག་ཡོ་སེབ་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བྲིས་པ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

ལ་དྭགས་གཞུང་ཀྲང་ཞིབ་ཚོད་ཀྱི་འབབ་ཐོ།

ས་ན་༡༩༦༦། འཁྱུངས་ལོ་༡༩༠༩་དང་ལོག་པ་འདི་ལྟར་རོ།

དངུལ་ལོ་ལྟར་ . . .	གྱིར་མོ་༤༣༢༥༦	ཨ་ན་༡༢
གྲོ་ལོ་ལྟར་གྱི་རིན་ . . .	༢༩༧༧	༨
ནས་ལོ་ལྟར་གྱི་རིན་ . . .	༧༠༢༢	༨
ཤིང་ལོ་ལྟར་གྱི་རིན་ . . .	༣༠༠༠	༠
རང་འབྱུག་འབབ་ལོ་ལྟར་ . . .	༣༡༡༩	༡༢
ར་ཤུག་འབབ་ལོ་ལྟར་ . . .	༡༨༣༣	༠
	ཁྱོན་སྡོམ་གྱིར་མོ་༦༡༢༠༩	ཨ་ན་ ༨	


Map of
CENTRAL LADAKH
NUBRA
and parts of
EASTERN ZANSKAR
(Prepared from the Survey of India Degree Sheets on the scale of four miles to an inch.)
Statute Miles
x = Pass
77
78
30'
34

LA-DVAGS-RGYAL-RABS

TRANSLATION

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF LA-DVAGS

I. Introductory Verses

(*L* MS.) Adorned with the thousand eyes of knowledge which surveys the three times, p. 19.
Fruits of the merit of tenfold a hundred sacrifices of good deeds,
May the Indra of strength, being addressed, give with his heavenly sword
Answer to the intolerable lightnings strong with flickering desire.

(*S* MS.) Having been made to toss upon the breast of the gazelle-eyed one (Ri-dvags-mig-can, Mṛigākshi), [who is] religion itself,
By the child's iron hook of the wonderfully sweet and all-knowing Gesar,
This clear mirror of religion, reflecting nakedly the images of dancers in combination and separate,
Is made a neck-ornament of Him of the Five Crests (Zur-phud-lṅa-pa, Pañcaśikha, i.e. Mañjuśrī).

NOTES

The three times mentioned in the first verse are past, present, and future. Gesar (Kesar, Kyesar) is a well-known deity of the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. A book on history or geography is generally called a mirror.

(*A* MS.) II. Account of the Origin of Tibet

Though, generally speaking, all constituents in themselves are altogether pure beyond the limits of speech, yet, on account of the ripening or not ripening of the succession of souls, the heavens are wholly enveloped in the delusion of subjective illusion, and the world contained therein appears in manifold forms and colours, more than we can grasp with our thoughts. According to the *Mdzod* (*Kośa*):

There were diffused ten millions and one hundred distinct suns and moons,
And the 1,000 millions of gardens of lotuses, each consisting of four continents,
Which are all surrounded by the circular rampart (*cakravāla*).
All these appear as enumerators of Śag-thub's (Buddha's) name.

How in the almsbowl in the hand of the holy Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad (Vairocana), [who is also called] Gaṅs-chen-mtsho-rgyal, this world of three thousand originated, although variously related in the traditions, if we summarize it, following the *Yon-tan-bsdud-pa*: The ether is the receptacle of the air; that (the air) the receptacle p. 20.
of the mass of waters; that (the water) the receptacle of the great earth; that (the

earth) the receptacle of living beings. Such is for living beings the cause of activity. Thus, at the time when in the beginning the ether had remained empty for twenty *kalpas* (fabulous periods), in the period of rest, the moving atmosphere gave support from below; the joyful sphere of the waters collected all together, the sphere of fire [that is] of knowledge and action brought down heat; and the bright sphere of the sky opened the door: the powerful golden earth was levelled out in vast extent. It was spanned by the endless blue dome of the sky. It was pressed down in the middle by Mount Lhun-po (Sumeru), the king of mountains, of unchangeable colour. The four continents, which never transgress their limits, the treasure-houses of the five elements, were planted. They were surveyed by the four queens of the four unchanging seasons and the hours. [Then] the living beings [down to the inhabitants of the] hells came into existence.

At the time when in Hdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambudvīpa) life was 100 × 10,000 years a being was born in hell. At the time of the thus coming into existence of primitive creatures [the world?] had lingered for nineteen periods. An account of the occasion, origin, and measure of them (the creatures) and the four or eight continents will be learned from the *Mṅon-pahi-mdzod* (the *Abhidharma-kośa*). Now the manner how the outer vessel of the world grew upwards from below; the creatures of the inner essence [of the world] sank downwards from above. When the life of the gods of light (Ābhāsvāra) and their authority became less, it is said that there existed a god Nam-kyer-rgyal-po, who was also called Ye-mkhyen-chen-po (Mahājñāna?). His son was the god Srid-ber-chen-po; his son was the god Nam-ber-chen-po; his son was the god Hod-gsal; his son was the god Khar-gsal (Triśūla); his son was the god Char-byed (Rain-maker); his son was the god Bar-lha-bdun-tshigs. His son was called the god Rgyal-srid. To him eight sons were born [as follows]:—

The elder brothers (who were) of the morning were the god Skar-chen (Great Star) and Skar's companion, these two; they descended to Lus-ḥphags-po of the East (Pūrva-Videha, the eastern continent). After them came Hod-chen (Great Light) and Hod's companion, these two; they descended to Sgra-mi-sñan of the North (Uttara-Kuru). After them came Sman-bu (Little Medicine) and Sman's companion, these two; they descended to Ba-glaṅ-spyod of the West (Avara- or Paścima-Godānīya). On the next morning, on the south side of Mount Ri-rab (Sumeru), covered with the light of the blue lapis lazuli (*vaiḍūrya*), there descended the god [G]śed-can (Manu) and [G]śed's companion with joyful hearts praising the town of Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana), where the Li-tsa-tsi (Litsabyi?), including a thousand cakravartins, walk on the road to Nirvāṇa (*muktimārga*), the temple of Rdo-rje-gdan, which is the heart of *Bodhi* (Bodhimaṇḍa), appearing in the shape of a cart, the heart of continents, the place where are born the Sugatas of the three times.

At that time men were endowed with the ten accomplishments: (1) their bodies possessing a light of their own, the names of day and night did not yet exist; (2) the bodies of men being free from illness, their lifetime was exceedingly long; (3) they did not look for the food (4) nor the clothing of this sensual world; (5) they were

free from misery; (6) they possessed miraculous powers and (7) supernatural perception; (8) they were without the very names male and female; (9) without enemies and friends; (10) without accumulation of riches; their state (behaviour) was altogether in the manner of the gods.

At that time a knot formed on the crown of god Gśed-bu's (Gśed-can's) head. When it broke, a white man came out of it. He was (by Manu) made the royal race (Rājanya). From his neck a red man appeared; he was shaped into the Bram-ze (Brahman) race. From his heart a yellow man appeared; he was shaped into the noble race (Kshattriya). From the upper part of his foot a black man appeared; he was shaped into one of the low (Śūdra) race. These were the people of India of that time.

To the younger brother, Gśed's companion, were born Gyiṅ-gi-stiṅ and Gnod-sbyin-gdoṅ-dmar (Red-faced Yaksha). Gyiṅ-gi-stiṅ also had two sons, the elder one being Rluṅ-rje-bam-pa and the younger one Brag-srin. Of Rluṅ-rje-bam's family are the following:—Kha-che (Kashmir); Bal-yul (Nepal); Za-hor (Mandi); 'O-rgyan (Udyāna); Ta-zig (Persia); Khrom-Ge-sar-ḥdan-ma (perhaps Ladakh); Rna-nam (Sna-nam, Samarkand; see Jäschke); Thon-mi-gru-gu (near Kamba-rdzoṅ); Rag-śi (unknown), and the other tribes of Rga. They are the uncles of the four kinds of dwarfs. The younger son Brag-srin had two sons, the elder one being Thar-rje-thon-pa and the younger one the monkey Su-tiṅ. The monkey Su-tiṅ owned the eighteen provinces of Hbog-ḥchol. From him are descended the ninety-two tribes of barbarians (Tibetans). His elder brother Thaṅ(Thar?)-rje-thon-pa had two sons. The name of the elder son was [H̱]braṅ-mi-skyin-pa, that of the younger one H̱braṅ-rje-yam-dad. From the younger brother are said to be descended the sixty tribes of Khob *mthaḥ-ḥkhob*, barbarians?

H̱braṅ-mi-skyin-pa, the elder brother, had four sons, as follows:—The first is Skyon-pa-thaṅ-rje, the forefather of the people of Smra-Żaṅ-żuṅ (Gu-ge); after him comes Gliṅ-śer-thaṅ-rje, the forefather of the people of Se-ḥa-ża (Lahul?); after him p. 21
comes Riṅ-rjeḥu-ra, the forefather of the Toṅ-gsum-pa tribe. Together with Sku-rje-khrug-pa, the forefather of the Thaṅ-chuṅ-ldoṅ-mo-ñag tribe, they are four. From these four the tribes of men spread far and wide. Sku-rje-khrug-pa had four sons, viz. Sku-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta, Smad-ma-rje, Gur-bu-rtsi, and Khal-rje, these four. Sku-gzugs-kyi-thog-ta had three sons, viz. Rtse-mi, Rje, and Rje-mi, these three. Smad-pa(ma)-rje had five sons, viz. Khra-mo, Rtsogs-mi, Drag-rje, Zas-rje, and Żaṅ-rje-btsan, these five. Gur-bu-rtsi had five sons, viz. Yaṅ-rje, Riṅ-rje, Smon-rje, Ya-ya, and Rtso-dkar-rje. These five belong to the royal race (Rājanya caste). To the caste of ministers belong Ldoṅ-po-che-yoṅs-tu, Ya-chen-ldoṅ, Nam-chen-ldoṅ, and Thog-rgyud-ldoṅ, these four. As regards the race of nobles (Kshattriya), Thog-rgyud-ldoṅ married a woman, and eighteen sons were born. Then the eighteen Ldoṅ-ru-chen, the Ñes-ldoṅ, and m clans than can be grasped with our minds originated.

Speaking generally, in H̱dzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvipa) there are five great countries; sixty-two barbarian nations; sixty 'further barbarian [nations]'; the eighteen large

provinces of Hbog-hchol; and the twenty-four little and minor kingdoms. These are found in our southern Hdzam-bu-gliṅ. Then, to the south of the chief mountain of the middle (Sumeru), there is the 'tree of life' (Bodhi-tree) of Hdzam-bu-gliṅ and other countries. When the number of the 1,002 Buddhas of this 'Good Kalpa' was in the period of diminishing, there [appeared] at Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) of India, at the heart of Bodhi (Bodhimaṇḍa), the four wheel-turning kings. Let us relate only of the great ones among them. At the time when the wheel-turning kings lived in the belly of Mount Ri-rab (Sumeru), fields and grounds being still in the egg, each Buddha went to do his teaching and accomplished his course. The men of Lha-mi-groṅ-bdun (the seven towns of the divine men) [then] lived in the belly of Mount Mu-khyud-hdzin (Nimindhara). They ate nectar and enjoyed the essence [of food]. The people of Me-tog-snubs-gnas were born on the flowers of the wishing-tree, and enjoyed the fruits [of it]. The 'men who drank the essence of nectar' were born on the twigs of the Hdzambu-briksha [tree]; they enjoyed the sap of the Hdzambu-briksha [tree]. The Mi-ham-ci (Kinnaras) and three others ate the fruit of the immortal tea-[tree], and drank the *Kha-żag* (foam ?) of the ocean. The [so-called] Sdig-btsugs fight against the sword-carrying ogres. Their food is flesh and blood. The children of the Skyes-drug are born in the heat of five summers, and die in winter. The Mgo-gñan have heads of various animals, eat grass, and live in the lakes of the small continents (islands).

As regards the four places of birth:—Hdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambudvīpa) of the South was born from the womb; Lus-hphags-po of the East (Pūrva-Videha) was born out of moisture; Ba-laṅ-spyod (Paścima-Godānīya) of the West was born out of an egg; and Sgra-mi-sñan of the North (Uttara-Kuru) was born spontaneously. There are four kinds of 'dwarfs of the frontier', viz. Gam-śaṅ-Rgya, Gyim-śaṅ-Hor, Ha-le-Mon, and Spu-rgyal-Bod, these four. There were also four kinds of inner dwarfs, viz. Smra-Żaṅ-żuṅ, Gtoṅ-gsum-pa, Ldoṅ-me-ñag, and Se-ha-ża, these four. As regards the four kinds of separated dwarfs:—one kind was separated from the hyena tribe (?); one kind was separated from the monkey tribe (?); one kind was separated from the lizard-brahman tribe (?); one kind was separated from the hoof-tribe (?). These and many more [creatures] came into existence, more than can be grasped with our minds. Besides these arose the twenty-four kingdoms, and many more which in course of time became separated from their kind.

At that time the essence of nectar, of reddish-yellowish colour and of a honey-like taste, came into existence. The god Gśed-bu (Manu) tasted it, and, having enjoyed its sweet taste, again and again coveted it. Thereupon all men followed his [example], and, they having licked it, their bodies became firm and obtained weight and other attributes; the light of their bodies deteriorated; they could no more go up to the heavens; and, when it became dark and they were distressed, then by virtue of the religious merit of the community, in the lifetime of Gśed-can (Manu), the light of the day, the fiery mirror of the sun, appeared. At the same time, during the lifetime of Gśed's (Manu's) helpmate, the light of the night, the watery mirror of the moon, appeared. During the lifetime of Gśed-bu (Manu) the Milky Way appeared. At that

time those who ate much became of ugly complexion; and those who ate little of fine complexion. 'I have a fine complexion; you have an ugly complexion!', they thus saying, the sin of pride began: this was its beginning. When they suffered the p. 22 effects of their pride, all those who had sucked of the essence of the earth assembled and lamented. Then, through the combined [religious] works of the beings, there appeared on the surface of the great earth a garden of cane, of taste like uncooked honey, and of colour like that of the Kadamsuka (Kadambaka?) flower. That also they ate, and enjoyed it, and, as they despised [one another] as before, that also disappeared. Then, as all men assembled and lamented, through Buddha's compassion and their combined [religious] merit, there came into existence the garden of Sālu rice, which grew without ploughing, and was without husk and straw. If it was mown in the morning, it grew again in the morning; if it was mown in the evening, it grew again in the evening. Every ear of rice contained four Magadha *bre* (of 2–4 pints each) [of grain]. Every grain was [of the size] of four fingers. As during a long period they lived in enjoyment of this, this food being coarser than it had been before, urine, mucus of the nose, dung, etc., came into existence. The male and female genitals appeared. Looking at one another amorously with side-glances, they fell to embracing. The other creatures, seeing this, said 'There one creature is embracing another creature!'; and, throwing stones and gravel so as not to see it, they built miraculous little houses. This is the beginning of house-building.

[These being further divided into the royal families (Rājanya), which were the rulers of gods and men, there are 360 [divisions]. If we combine them and divide them into two sections, they [consist of] the pure Buddha rulers and the impure creature rulers. The Buddha rulers by act and speech accomplish the welfare of the creatures. The creature rulers, being divided into five sections, are the [three] Spyi-phud (universal?) potentates of the 3,000 [worlds], together with the king of the six kinds [of beings], and the king of Ḥdzam-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa), making five. Then the king over the 3,000 [worlds] of suffering beings is Śākya-thub-pa (Śākya-muni Buddha); Tshaṅs-pa (Brāhma) is the king over 1,000 Spyi-phud (Universal Monarch?). There are also the four Great Kings, the protectors of the [four cardinal] points; the king over the six kinds [of beings] is Gśin-rje-chos-rgyal (Yama Dharmarāja), the kings of Ḥdzam-gliṅ are the royal family of Maṅ-bkur (Mahāsammata); the 'wheel-turning kings', Spyi-bo-skyes (Mūrdhaja) and the others, who controlled the golden, silver, copper, and iron [wheels]. When, in the south of the 'mount of the middle', Ri-rab (Sumeru), where is the tree of life, in Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) of India, the heart of Bodhi (Bodhimaṇḍa), the 1,002 Buddhas of the good Kalpa were in the period of decline, the wheel-turning kings appeared. Let us mention only the great ones among them. Although by the church histories (*chos-ḥbyuṅ*) of the wise, as well as the great and little genealogies, there are said to be 360 royal families, they may be grouped under two heads, kings become exalted beyond this world, and kings not so exalted. Those exalted beyond this world, having, while ruling over a tranquil world-element, obtained power over transmigration, have been

exalted beyond the spheres of this world; they are such as Sākya-thub-pa (Buddha). The kings not exalted beyond this world are of five kinds, viz. the kings of the physical elements, the kings of noble extraction, the elected kings, the . . . , and Spu-rgyal, the King of Tibet, those five. The five kings of the physical elements are the king of the mountains, the king of the trees, the king of the waters, the king of fire, and the king of the air, these five. The first among them is the king of the mountains, viz. Mount Ri-rab-lhun-po (Sumeru), which is furnished with five jewels. It measures 160,000 *yojanas* from top to bottom. On the summit is the palace of the gods; in the middle that of the divine ogres; below that of the king of the dead. On the [four] sides are the residences of the four great kings [of the cardinal points]. It is the king of the mountains who causes the planets and the lunar mansions to travel round [the sky]. The king of the trees is the wishing-tree (Dpag-bsam-śiṅ, Kalpavṛikṣa): therefrom the gods, enjoying happiness and bliss, receive all their food and clothing: that is the king of trees. The king of waters is the great ocean: whoso drinks of it, his stomach and throat are free from harm. It is the residence of the Nāga kings and the place from which all the precious jewels proceed: that is the king of waters. The king of fire is the conflagration flame of the universe. When it bursts out, it consumes everything short of the two contemplations. Burning below, supporting the realm of hell, the golden earth, the spheres of water and air, capable of destroying Mount Ri-rab-lhun-po, is the king of fire. The king of the air is the wind, who does good works in three thousand ways. It fills the creatures with strength. It dwells in this world-
p. 28 sphere, and its height is 1,600,000 *yojanas*. Its width is beyond measure. It is through the strength of the wind that the sphere of water also does not sink down and does not move sideways. This is the king of the air. Secondly, there are two kings of noble birth, viz. the king of the non-men (Mi-ma-yin, Amānusha) and the king of men. There are five kinds of non-men, viz., the gods (*deva*), demons (*asuras*), animals, inhabitants of the hells (*nāraka*), spirits (*preta*), these five. The first of them is the ruler of the gods, Brgya-byin (Śatakratu, Indra): he is superior to all the others and possesses 1,000 eyes: he is of immeasurable strength and miraculous power. He protects the four lesser powers (Upendra), the four Great Kings, captains of the host of Nāgas in the ocean. Such is the king of the gods. The second is the king of the demons (*asuras*), King Thag-bzaṅ-ris (Vemacitra). Arraying his body with the armour of the four jewels . . . Such is the king of the demons].

After a council had been held by them all, they said: 'Now we must elect from among us a "lord of the fields", a man who is able to distinguish between good and bad, a man of great diligence and courage, a man kind towards all men, and great in merit generally, who is wise in all works as well as in speech, who is clever in administering judgment (lit. measuring)!' All the field-owners offered him tribute, and, as he received honour from the whole assembly of men, he obtained the name of Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba (Mahāsammata), and all creatures lived in happiness. Then, from the *Mdzod* (*Kośa*):

When the lazy people had heaped up store,
The greedy ones did violence to the lord of the fields;
And seized, ungiven, the fields and the rice,
Then he who gave protection against these,

being occupied in defending the royal race and the nobles and the religious people and caring for morality and wisdom, was called 'king', and his name was 'King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba'. From about this time men became divided into four or five castes. Or, according to the *Ḫkhor-lo-sna-bdun* ('Seven Cycles'). 'in the beginning all these became differentiated into four or five classes of workmen through the variety of their work and duties.' Those creatures who fulfilled the ten virtues and who loved bathing and cleanliness became the caste of Bram-ze (Brāhmans). Those who lived according to the ten virtues, who knew shame, and who were of great wisdom and great courage, were called nobles (Kshattriya) Those whose behaviour was intermixed with the ten sins, who felt little shame, and who did not shrink from sin and the telling of lies, were called Dmaṅ-rigs (Vaiśya?, Śūdra). Those who had even less modesty and shame, who were endowed with the ten sins, who were highly despised in this world, and who are [always] in conflict with holy conduct, are called the low caste of Chaṇḍālas. This is the beginning of the different castes of men.

King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba's son was Hod-mdzes (Roca): during his life the plants and the stars appeared. His son was Dge-ba (Kalyāṇa): during his life the Mars light appeared. His son was Dge-mchog (Varakalyāṇa): during his life beautiful sounds (music?) and echo came into existence. In his time the lifetime of men was 90,000 years. His son was Gso-sbyoṅ-ḫphags (Utposhadha): during his reign the voice of the thunder came into existence. These five kings are called 'the five kings of the first *kalpa*'. According to a prophecy regarding the birth of the wheel-turning kings, as sons of Gso-[sbyoṅ]-ḫphags (Utposhadha), a swelling formed on the crown of [the king's] head. When it broke, out came a boy of good shape, beautiful, handsome to look at, kind to all creatures, possessing the auspicious marks. As he was born from the crown of his father, he was called 'Crown-born' (Spyi-bo-skyes, Mūrdhaja = Māndhātṛ). This king was in possession of the seven jewels. The seven jewels are the jewel chariot; the jewel stone; the jewel wife; the jewel minister; the jewel elephant; the jewel horse; and the jewel general, these seven jewels. According to others he had a jewel householder instead of a jewel general. Having enjoyed the sovereignty and the seven jewels in Hdzam-bu-gliṅ during 80,000 years p. 24
and having brought down from heaven a rain of food and clothing, being admonished by the Yaksha Lha-śes (Divaukasa?), he turned (led?) the jewel wheel, and he went to Heaven, accompanied by his host of wives, and reigned among the four Great Kings of the east, [south], west, and north. As even so he was tormented by desire, in his misery he became evilly inclined even towards Brgya-byin (Indra), and his [religious] merit being exhausted, in the same body he descended to the earth, and he died. This king knew all the creatures by their names (named them?),

and he introduced the handicrafts and many kinds of work. In his time the life of men was 80,000 years. From a swelling on Spyi-bo-skyes' (Mūrdhaja's) right shoulder a boy was born. He was called Mdzes-pa (Cāru). He turned the golden wheel and reigned over the four continents. From a swelling on Mdzes-pa's left shoulder a boy was born. He was called Ñe-mdzes (Upacāru); he turned the silver wheel and reigned over three continents. From a swelling formed on Ñe-mdzes' right thigh a boy was born. He was called Mdzes-can (Cārumant): he turned the copper wheel and reigned over two continents. From a swelling formed on Mdzes-can's left thigh a boy was born. He received the name Mdzes-ldan (Cāruka): he turned the iron wheel and reigned over one continent. In his time a life was 70,000 years. These kings are called the five wheel-turning kings.

Mdzes-ldan's son was Rgyal-byed (Jaya ?); his son was Mdzes-dgaḥ (Cārunanda ?); his son was Mi-sred-pa (Aruci ?); his son was Btaṅ-bzuṅ (Mucilinda). During his reign a life was 60,000 years, and the propitious measures of time originated then. During King Btaṅ-bzuṅ's reign Buddha Ḥkhor-ba-ḥjig (Krakucchanda) came to teach. Btaṅ-bzuṅ's son was Lus-stobs-gser-thub. 9,000 generations after him, during the reign of King Rgyal-byed-chen-po (Mahājaya), Buddha Gtsug-tor-can (Śikhin) came to teach. Then, 1,000,200 generations after him, a king called Me-sde-ldan appeared. The 100,000 royal families which originated from his eight sons and grandsons reigned over many various kingdoms. During their time a life was 40,000 years. Buddha Thams-cad-skyobs (Viśvabhū) came to teach. 7,000 generations after them a king called Bzod-pa-bkaḥ (Durdharṣa ?) appeared. During his reign a life was 30,000 years. Buddha Log-par-dad-sel (?) came to teach. He preached the *Chos-spyod-rgyud* (*Dharma-caryā-tantra?*). 160,000 generations after him King Glaṅ-chen-spyi appeared. During his time a life was 20,000 years. At the same time the perfect Buddha Gser-thub (Kanakamuni) came. 150,000 generations after him a king called Kri-kri (Kṛkin ?) appeared. A life attained 15,000 years. Buddha Ḥod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) came to teach. He preached the *Chos-rnal-ḥbyor-rgyud* (*Dharma-yoga-tantra*). Kri-kri's son was Legs-skyoṅ (Surakṣita = Sujāta ?). 100 generations after him, at Gru-ḥdzin (Potala), a king called Rna-ba-can (Karṇika) appeared.

NOTES ON THIS CHAPTER

We find the same or similar subjects treated in the first chapter of Ssanang Ssetsen, in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (pp. 1–17), and in several Indian books which are not at my disposal. The mythological names given in *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* often differ from those given here. On the whole the above account is a compilation from several Indian works. But occasionally Tibetan ideas are introduced. Thus, the first dynasty of gods, beginning with Nam-kyer-rgyal-po (in the time of Ḥod-gsal), is probably of Bon-po origin. Nam-kyer-rgyal-po was, in my opinion, later on identified with Indra (Śatakratu, Brgya-byin). Thus, in the Kesar-saga, Skyer-rdzoṅ-sñan-po (probably the same as Nam-kyer-rgyal-po) and Brgya-byin are identical. From the *Gser-mig* (a Bon-po work) we learn that also *Ye-mkhyen*, *Ḥod-gsal*, and *Sman* are names of Bon-po deities. Then the table of nations seems for the greater part to be of Tibetan origin. It is not yet possible, however, to identify all the nations mentioned in it. As regards (Se)-ḥa-ža (pronounced Ghaža), which is supposed to be the same as Gar-ža, Lahul, it is the natives of Lahul themselves who claim this name as referring to their country. In a seventeenth century document the name of the country is spelled Gva-ja. Khrom-Ge-sar-ḥdan-ma may refer to an ancient line of kings of Leh. In a rather modern inscription from Dpe-thub Ladakh is called Ge-sar-

harvest] depended on work. When pains had to be taken over agriculture, there arose mutual quarrelling and fault-finding, and King Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba (Mahāsammata), was first so named because he decided judgment in a just way, and before him all bowed in reverence.

Then [there reigned] successively: H̱od-mdzes (Roca); Dge-ba (Kalyāṇa); Dge-mchog (Varakalyāṇa); and Gso-sbyoṅ-ẖphags (Utposhadha). These five are called the group of Early Kings. The [five] sons of Gso-sbyoṅ-ẖphags, the wheel-turning kings, were, according to a presage, born in this way: on the crown of [Gso-sbyoṅ-ẖphags'] head there formed a swelling, and, when it broke, therefrom issued Ṅa-la-[las]-nu (Māndhātṛ); from a swelling which arose on his [Ṅa-la-las-nu's] right thigh issued Mdzes-pa (Cāru); from a swelling on his [Mdzes-pa's] left thigh issued Ñe-mdzes (Upacāru); from a swelling on his [Ñe-mdzes'] right foot issued Mdzes-ldan (Cārumant); and from a swelling on his [Mdzes-ldan's] left foot issued Ñe-mdzes-ldan (Upacārumant). These five are called the five 'kings who turned the wheel [of religion]'.

The last four reigned over from four to one continents. They are the kings who turned the gold, silver, copper, and iron wheels [of religion]. From these kings down to Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana), it is said, there descended 1,215,114 kings in succession, or 834,534 according to the [book] *H̱jigs-rten-gdags-pa* (*Loka-prajñapti*)[1]. These two [different] ways of stating [the number] not having been clearly shown by the authors dependent upon Gžon-nu-dpal, crest-jewel of all those who relate the annals of the Iron Age, afterwards also must be considered by the learned who desire to investigate the annals.

To continue: to the family of that same teacher (Buddha) belong the names Ñi-maẖi-gñen (Sūryavaṃśa) and Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (Ikshvāku), and it is called Śākya. After one hundred generations there arose King Rna-ba-can (Karṇika) in the country of Gru-ẖdzin (Potala). He had two sons, Goẖutama and Bharadhvadza. When Goẖutama, the elder son, saw that government was carried on in a mixed way, religious and irreligious, he thought: 'It will be like that also when I undertake the government.' Then he was sorry, and became an ascetic under the Ṛishi Mdog-nag (Kṛishṇavarṇa, 'Black-colour'). The younger one, Bharadhvadza, reigned. In his time there lived in that country a harlot called H̱gro-ba-bzaṅ-mo (Jagad-bhadrā). She and a cunning youth called Pa-dmaẖi-rtsa-log (Mṛiṇāla) indulged in sensual pleasure. As she had also immoral intercourse at the same time with another [man, a] merchant, Pa-dmaẖi-rtsa-log became angry and cut off Bzaṅ-mo's head: then he placed the bloodstained sword and Bzaṅ-mo's head at the door of Goẖutama's cavern. The executioners who pursued, as there was a bloodstained sword and the head of Bzaṅ-mo there, inflicted on Goẖutama the punishment for that [crime], and he was impaled. The Ṛishi Mdog-nag knew all this by intuition, and went to Goẖutama and said: 'My son, what have you done, that you must suffer this?' Goẖutama answered: 'Master, there is no fault in me! By the truth of my word that there is no fault in me may the

[1] [For an analysis of this book see Professor de la Vallée Poussin's *Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra (Abhidharma-koça, c. III)*, London 1914–18.—F. W. T.]

teacher's [black] face become like gold!' At once the black-coloured Ṛishi became golden, and was henceforth called hermit Gser-mdog-can (golden face, Kanakavarṇa).

Then the Ṛishi saw that Goh̲utama's line of religious kings (Dharmarājas) would become extinct, and said to Goh̲utama: 'For the sake of posterity you must leave a seed.' Goh̲utama answered: 'As I am tormented with misery, I cannot beget a family!' Then the teacher produced a pleasant coolness by overshadowing clouds, and Goh̲uutama, experiencing a feeling of pleasure, produced two drops of semen virile p. 26.
mixed with blood. They were placed on two leaves of sugar-cane (Bu-ram-śiṅ, Ikshvāku) and ripened through the heat of the sun and the moisture of the moon, and two boys were produced. They received the names of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (Ikshvāku) and Ñi-mah̲i-gñen (Sūryavaṃśa).

Ñi-mah̲i-gñen became an ascetic, and Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa reigned. The descendants of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa became famous, and increased.

One hundred generations after him there arose King H̲phags-skyes-po (Virūḍhaka). He had by his elder spouse four sons, and by the younger one four daughters. At a later (another) time, both wives having died, he married the daughter of a foreign king, who said, 'The sons whom you already have must not reign. If my daughter should have a son, he must reign!' As he had said this, the ministers consulted together, 'We do not know if his daughter will have a son or not. If a son should be born, we do not know if he will live or not. If he should live, we must place him on the throne.' As the result of this consultation he married the princess.

She bore him a son, whom they called Rgyal-srid-dgah̲ (Rāshṭrananda?). At that time the ministers thought as follows:—'If we place the elder brothers on the throne, we go beyond our former promise; if the throne falls to Rgyal-srid-dgah̲, we have to take heed to the elder brothers. Accordingly, we must turn out the elder brothers by some device!' Thus thinking, a crafty one from among the ministers pronounced some calumny and banished them.

Leading their sisters, they went to the banks of the river Bskal-ldan-śiṅ-rta (Bhāgīrathī), built a hut in the forest, not very distant from the place of the Ṛishi Gser-skya (Kapila), and lived there. When they had attained to adolescence, they became pale and thin, and, when the hermit saw this, he asked them about it. They said, 'We have become like this, because we are tortured by passion.' He said, Even if it is so, you must avoid the sister with whom you have both parents in common, but amuse yourself with the sister whose mother is in truth the sister of your own mother.' They asked him, 'Great Ṛishi, is it right to do this?' He answered, 'For royalty which has renounced the throne it is right to do this!' They said, 'The words of the hermit are authoritative,' and did accordingly. Many boys and girls were born, and, when their father heard of it, he said, 'Could the young people do such a thing?', or in Indian language: 'Śākya (i.e. *śakyaṃ* "possible?": or "capable"?).' This is the origin of the Śākyas.

55,000 generations of them lived at Groṅ-khyer-gser-skya (Kapilavastu). Then King Śiṅ-rta-bcu-pa (Daśaratha) arose. At the end of twenty-five generations after him there arose a king called Gẑu-brtan (Dhanvadurga?). He had two sons Seṅ-ge-ḥgram (Siṁhahanu) and Seṅ-ge-sgra (Siṁhanāda). Seṅ-ge-ḥgram became famous as a skilful archer: he was the greatest of all archers of Ḥdzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa). Seṅ-ge-ḥgram had four sons: Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana); Zas-dkar (Śuklodana); Bre-bo-zas (Droṇodana); and Bdud-rtsi-zas (Amṛitodana).

Zas-gtsaṅ was of good form, beautiful, handsome to look at, of great strength, a hero, steadfast, clever, conspicuous for wisdom, cheerful, and of great courage. He did not follow those who were lazy and of evil ways. He was a Righteous King (*Chos-rgyal, Dharmarāja*), full of religion, able to reign according to religion.

This king married the two daughters of King Legs-par-rab(s)-bsad (Suprabuddha), Sgyu-ḥphrul-ma (Māyā), and Sgyu-ḥphrul-chen-mo (Mahāmāyā), each with 500 maid-servants. At a later time King Seṅ-ge-ḥgram died, and Zas-gtsaṅ reigned. At that time all men increased in riches, free from disease of man and beast, and possessed of complete felicity; and he protected them all like children.

At that time the holy son of the gods, Tog-dkar-po (Śvetaketu), looked out for the race, the country, the time, the lineage, and the mother, and entered the womb of King Zas-gtsaṅ's wife, Sgyu-ḥphrul-chen-mo (Mahāmāyā). After he had remained there for twelve months, on the eighth day of the little spring month, under the constellation Tishya, he was born from the right arm-pit of his mother, without being defiled by the impurity of the womb. He was possessed of the thirty-two marks of a great man, and adorned with the eighty physical perfections.

p. 27. On that occasion various auspicious miracles happened:—In four great countries four princes were born; in Magadha Gzugs-can-sñiṅ-po (Bimbisāra), the son of Padma-chen-po (Mahāpadma); in Kosala Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit), the son of Tshaṅs-sbyin (Brahmadatta); at Bad-pa-la (Kauśāmbī) Śar-ba (Udayana), the son of Dmag-brgya-pa (Śatānīka); at Ḥphags-rgyal (Ujjayinī) Gtum-po-rab-snaṅ (Caṇḍa-Pradyota), the son of Mu-khyud-mthaḥ-yas (Anantanemi). And, besides them, 500 [sons] of the upper classes. Including Grags-ḥdzin-ma (Yaśodharā), 800 girls and 500 servants, beginning with Mdun-pa (Chandaka), 10,000 male and 10,000 female foals, and 10,000 elephants were born; 500 pleasure-gardens and 500 treasures came into existence. In the centre (Gayā) the Bodhi-tree [began to] grow.

The son received the name of Don-thams-cad-grub-pa (Sarvārthasiddha). Then the prince grew up, and distinguished himself in the five great branches of science, reading (letters), arithmetic, etc. As regards strength and dexterity, he was superior to Lha-sbyin (Devadatta) and all other illustrious men, and was called Thub-pa (Jina). Then the son was asked to marry a lady, and the youth replied:—

'The aim of desire is known to me as limitless;
Causing strife and quarrel, it is the root of sorrow and suffering;
It is terrible, like the poison leaf;
It is like fire verily, and like the edge of the sword.'

In this way he enumerated many faults of household life, and added, 'But, if there is a girl like this, I will take her.' Thus saying, he wrote down in a letter the qualities of a woman, gave it [to the king], and the king had seven copies published, and issued the following directions:—

'Whoso among the daughters of kings and brahmans,
Of the nobility and of citizens likewise,
Has these qualities;
That girl must be found!
My son will take
That caste and family.
In such a virtuous vessel of qualities and goodness
His heart will rejoice!'

Such a letter he gave to a Brahman with respectful greetings; and the Brahman went to all countries to search for a bride. In course of time he beheld Sa-tsho-ma (Gopā). She smiled [saying], 'All these qualities I have!' He reported to the king, and the king said, 'That woman is a great liar, and I do not believe it! Assemble all the girls [here] within seven days! Let the youth give them presents, all they want to have!' Thus he said, and all the girls came. When the giving of presents was almost finished, Sa-tsho-ma arrived, and smiled. She asked, 'What have I done amiss that I am left among them all without presents?' The youth also smiled, and gave [her] a ring of the value of 100,000 ounces. The youth married Sa-tsho-ma.

Further, he married 104,000 ladies, including Grags-ḫdzin-ma. When he was 29 years old, Grags-ḫdzin-ma became with child. In that very same year he saw the unbearable misery of birth, old age, [illness], and death, and became a monk. p. 28. Then, when he was 35 years old, on the 15th of the month Sa-ga (Vaiśākha), he subdued the devil (Māra). On the morning (or next morning) of the same day and year he became a perfect Saṅs-rgyas (Buddha). Exactly on the same evening a boy was born to Grags-ḫdzin-ma; and, as the moon was just then seized by Sgra-gcan (Rāhu, 'eclipse'), the boy received the name of Sgra-gcan-ḫdzin (Rāhula). At that time King Zas-gtsaṅ said, 'It is six years since Śākya-thub-pa became a mendicant. This son of Grags-ḫdzin-ma is not a son of Śākya-thub-pa.' Thus saying, he accused Grags-ḫdzin-ma, and she wept. Then he placed the boy on a stone and cast him into a pond, saying, 'If he is Śākya-thub-pa's son, may the stone float on the surface of the water! If he is not Śākya-thub-pa's son, may it sink!' The stone remained above the surface of the pond, like a leaf of a tree. When King Zas-gtsaṅ saw this, he entered the water with his clothes on, took the boy on his lap, and lovingly caressed him. He also became a monk, and came to an end of transitory life.

Altogether, from Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba to Sgra-gcan-ḫdzin, there are 1,066,511 kings, or, Bcom-ldan-ḫdas (Buddha) and Sgra-gcan-ḫdzin included, 1,066,513.

NOTES

Schlagintweit mentions the following books as treating of the same or similar subjects:—Csoma, 'On the Origin of the Śākya Race,' JASB., vol. ii; Csoma, 'Notices on the Life of Śākya,' *As. Res.*, vol. xx, Fausböll und Weber, 'Die Pāli-Legende von der Entstehung des Śākya und Koliya-Geschlechtes,' *Ind. Stud.*, Bd. v; Foucaux, *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*); Schiefner, 'Eine tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Śākyamuni's,' Mém. des sav. étrang. de Pétersbourg, vol. vi; Schiefner, 'Über die Verschlechterungsperioden der Menschheit,' Bull. hist. phil. der Petersburger Akademie, Bd. ix; Turnour, *The Mahāvaṁso.*

This list might of course be amplified at the present day: see Rockhill's *Life of Buddha.* As regards the *Rgya-cher-rol-pa* (*Lalitavistara*), it is of particular interest that the song containing the invitation to all the girls to attend a festival was directly copied from this book. In Csoma's Tibetan grammar, pp. 159–60, the Tibetan text and an English translation of this song are both given. The text of lines 5 and 6 is somewhat different in the two versions. But I find it impossible to decide which of the two versions has to be given the preference. In Csoma's translation after the *Lalitavistara* the song reads as follows: 'Bring hither that maiden, who has the required qualities, whether she be of the royal tribe, or of the Brahman caste, of the gentry, or of the plebeian class. My son regardeth not tribe nor family extraction: his delight is in good qualities, truth, and virtue alone.' Let me add that just above this little song we find in Csoma's grammar the Tibetan text, and an English translation, of Gautama's letter, containing his description of a girl as she ought to be. This also is taken from the Tibetan *Lalitavistara.*

It is interesting that the name Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa (*Ikṣvāku*) is found in many stone inscriptions of Ladakh. There the kings of Ladakh are asserted to be of his family (see my first and second *Collections of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*, Nos. 65, 71, 79, 117). Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana) is called an ancestor of the Ladakh kings in inscriptions Nos. 38 and 64. The name Mdzes-ldan (Cārumant) is used as an epithet of the Ladakhi king H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. See my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet', *Ind. Ant.*, 1909. According to a statement in the following chapter, king Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit—the common Tibetan translation seems, however, to represent Prakāśajit—F. W. T.) was the father of Gña-khri-btsan-po, the first king of Tibet.

As I learn from two hitherto unpublished inscriptions from Lahul, two chieftains of Lahul, one from Ko-loṅ, the other one from Bar-bog, are also stated to be of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's family.

IV. The Kings of Leh and Lhasa down to Glaṅ-dar-ma

(*S* MS.) The head of the line (lit. lineal king) is Spu-rgyal, the king of Tibet. There are many various accounts of this. Although there are [books called] *Rgyal-spun-po-gsum-khug-blon-poẖi-rgyal-mtshan*, the *Gsaṅ-ba* or *H̱bru-bdus*, and many others, yet, if we compare (collect) them, two things are well said:

> 'Well known is the lineage of the gods according to Bon-po ideas;
> Mysterious remains the lineage of men according to Buddhist ideas.'

Now, relating according to those texts only, at the navel of our southern H̱dzam-bu-gliṅ (Jambu-dvīpa), the centre of the countries, the roof of the earth, the curved horn of the snow mountains, the foundation of that crystal *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*), the icy Ti-se (Kailāsa), the rim of the turquoise circle of Lake Ma-baṅ (Manasarowar), the mother-land of jewels and gold, the source of the four great rivers, the six divisions of Tibet,—in this country of high mountains and pure works; we will relate of all this according to [the book] *Daṅ-po-dbaṅ-byed-rim-paẖi-dgu-byuṅ.*

At the time when Tibet was troubled by the twelve little kings the King of Kosala, Gsal-rgyal (Prasenajit), who was of Bcom-ldan-ẖdas' (Buddha's) family, had five sons. The third (middle one) of them, called Buddha-śiri, was born with his eyes covered from above like those of birds, the [fingers and toes] of his hands and feet were connected like those of ducks, and his eyebrows were [blue] like turquoises.

Along with him a host of devils were born. He was shown to Brahman sign-interpreters, and the Brahmans said, 'This prince has splendid marks, and the size of his body will be very great; he will reign before his father is dead.' When they thus prophesied, the father, thinking in his mind, 'He will reign by killing either me or his brothers,' was minded to cast him away. The Brahmans answered, 'If we send him to the snowy northern regions, he will be of benefit to living beings!' As they prophesied thus, they made a throne on the necks of four fast-running men, who carried him across the northern mountains and wilds, and laid him down on the [mountain?] Lha-ri-gyed-mtho, in the middle of Tibet. Although there are many conflicting statements with regard to this [event], he is certainly a Śākya of Goḥutama and Maṅ-pos-bkur-ba's family. Some hunters saw him and asked, 'Who are you? Tell us, Btsan-po (Majesty), whence you came.' As he did not understand their language, he pointed with his finger to the sky. The hunters told and confirmed this to the people, and many people went there and were shown [the boy]. When the twelve little kings saw that he was good and of great brilliance and pleasing, they said, 'We have no overlord; we must invite him to be our little drum!' p. 29.
(*L* MS.: little lord). Thus saying, Btsan-khruṅ and Snums, both, Gña-ra-rtse and Gtso, both, and the two Khu-stegs, these six families of subjects invited him. Ra-saṅs-dar-pa and Khyuṅ-po became governors. Śes-gñen of Me-ñag was elected minister. Thus he was appointed king of all 'black-heads' [Tibetan expression for men]. The name of Gña-khri (Neck-throne) was given him. 'Great Gña-khri-btsan-po!' thus he was addressed. The lands Yar-luṅ and so forth were his precious and excellent diadem, and he resided at the castle Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse. Power and justice were his ornaments. He ruled the world according to religion, and his realm was in a happy state. He had a fourfold bodyguard. The outside foes were subdued by the forty-four governors of Rgod-ldod (or Rgod-ldoṅ). The inner administration was regulated by the forty-four governors of Gyur-ldod (or Gyur-ldoṅ). At the four extremities of his kingdom he appointed spies (or scouts). The enemies of the four extremities were subdued by the eight Khrom-kha (*L* MS.: Khrom-khra) (governors). At Roṅ-do twenty-two officials [called] Kha-ba-so (*L* MS.: Khab-so) filled the barns [with grain]. From the twelve markets riches were offered to the king; wise men decided about rewards for good and bad. By punishing criminals the source of deceit was stopped. Five wise men brought fame to the country through their writings in gold and turquoise; five heroes adorned it as lions and tigers; five quick messengers rode on horses, which they changed in their course [*L* MS. quite unintelligible]. The justice of this great [king] was as [glorious] as if the sun rose over glaciers. Among his deeds he built the palace of Ḫum-bu-bla-sgaṅ. Theft, deceit, [was overcome]; in trade advantage was not looked for. The whole kingdom flourished, and the government was beneficent. It was grand and excellent in all respects.

NOTES

King Gña-khri-btsan-po is mentioned as an ancestor of the Ladakhi kings in the following inscriptions of my collection:—Nos. 51, 64, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 111, 119. The place-names given in the account of his kingdom

all seem to refer to Ladakh, see my article 'The Kingdom of Gnya-khri-btsan-po', J. & PASB., vol. vi, No. 8, 1910. Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse seems to be identical with the present village of Phyi-dbaṅ, eight miles from Leh; Ḫum-bu-bla-sgaṅ with Um-[b]la, eight miles from Phyi-dbaṅ; Roṅ-do with the village of Roṅ-do in Nubra, not far from Phyi-dbaṅ; Rgod-ldod with Rgod-yul in Upper Ladakh; and Gyur-ldod with the district of Gyu-ru in Central Ladakh. As we learn from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (pp. 149–50), all the places mentioned by the Central Tibetan historians in connexion with the first king of Tibet are situated near Bsam-yas. But most of their names are different from those given here. Me-ñag is probably the same as Mi-ñag, a province of Khams.

As regards Gña-khri-btsan-po's date, the following attempts at fixing it have been made: 313 B.C. according to I. J. Schmidt's *Ssanang-Ssetsen*, p. 21; 250 B.C. according to Csoma de Körös (Grammar, p. 177); 50 B.C. according to Schlagintweit (*Rgyal-rabs*, p. 14) and S. Ch. Das; 416 B.C. according to the book *Grub-mthaḥ-śel-gyi-me-loṅ*; before Buddha according to the Bon-po chronicles.

Legend of his origin according to the Bon-po chronicles.—He is the son of Pāṇḍu and Krasnā (Kṛishṇā or Draupadī). In this connexion the *Mahābhārata* tale and many of its names occur in the Bon-po chronicles (see Laufer, 'Tibet. Geschichtswerk der Bon-po,' *T'oung Pao*, sér. II, vol. xi, p. 8).

Chinese legends of his origin: According to the *Ytoungtche* (Mémoires concernant la Chine, xiv, 1789. pp. 127–8) he came from a western country and settled at Si-tche-chou. His name was Houi-ty-pou-tsoui-ye. In Parker, *Manchu Relations with Tibet*, we read (JRAS., N.Ch.B., 1886, p. 301): 'a Wutiyana-Khan, who fled eastward over the Hindu Kush, founded the Yarluṅ house. His name was Nyatpo-Khan.'

The Mongol versions are in close agreement with the Central Tibetan Buddhist version, and therefore somewhat different from the above account.

It is remarkable that the numeral 44 as the number of certain officials is also found in Sir Aurel Stein's collection of documents from Turkestan. The title Khab-so, which is also found in the ancient stone monuments of Lhasa, seems to mean 'Guard of the castle'.

As regards postal service among the Tibetans, it may be noted that one of the documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan is impressed with a seal showing a rider galloping. It looks almost like a stamp ensuring quick transmission.

His son was Mu-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Dir-khri-btsan-po (*L* MS.: Riṅ-khri-btsan-po).
His son was So-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Me-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Gdags-khri-btsan-po.
His son was Sribs-khri-btsan-po.
These seven are called the seven heavenly thrones.
After seven cycles
The tombs of the seven Khri were made in heaven (*L* MS.: the seven Khri, the rulers, were sent to heaven):
Their divine bodies dwindled away like rainbows, without remains.

Thus they, having the gods of light for their leaders, lived many years; and, when the sons following them were fit to hold the bridle (were fit for ruling), the fathers before them went happily to heaven, dwindling away like a rainbow.

NOTES

In the book *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, the names of these kings are given as follows: Gña-khri-btsan-po, Mu-khri-btsan-po, Diṅ-khri, So-khri, Mer-khri, Srib-khri (Gdags-khri being omitted). In other Central Tibetan historical works (S. Ch. Das, 'Contributions, etc.,' JASB., vol. l, p. 215) the names of the queens of these kings are given. Herbert Müller ('Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung,' Zeitschrift für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft, vol. xx, p. 307) notes that all these kings were named after their mothers (the Tibetan matriarchate).

The son of Sribs-khri-btsan-po was Gri-gum-btsan-po.

He had three sons: Śa-khri, Ña-khri, and Bya-khri.

Bya-khri received the name of Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal. He resided at the great castle of Yar-luṅ. In the time of this king the *bon* [religion] of the *Yuṅ-druṅ* (*svastika*) arose. Besides, the essence of burnt wood, charcoal, and the essence of molten leather, glue, came into existence (were found). Iron-ore, copper-ore, and silver-ore were found.

'The three ores were melted with coal, and silver, copper, and iron showed themselves.

Pieces of wood were pierced, and ploughs and yokes were made. p. 80.

Two equal [*mdzos*] were put into the yoke, and the plains were ploughed into fields.

The water of the lakes was led into irrigation canals, and bridges were built across rivers.'

Many such implements came into existence.

NOTES

As we learn from the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, these kings are known by the name Bar-gyi-ldiṅ, 'flying between,' or 'the floating ones of the earth'. From the same book we learn that Gri-gum-btsan-po was murdered by his minister, who reigned for some time. Under Gri-gum-btsan-po the Dur-bon religion, and under Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal the Gnam-bon religion arose. As regards the Bon religion, its earliest type is certainly nature-worship, as represented in the ancient Tibetan-Chinese inscriptions from Lhasa (eighth and ninth century), and in the *Gliṅ-chos* of Ladakh. As regards *Gliṅ-chos*, see my article in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, s.v.; also, 'The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, pp. 131 seq.: 'A Bon-po Hymnal,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 359; 'Kesarsage,' Mém. de la Soc. Finno-ougrienne, No. xv, pp. 21–31; 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesarsaga,' *Bibl. Ind.*, Nos. 1134, 1150, 1164, 1218; 'The Paladins of the Kesarsaga,' J. & PASB., 1906 (p. 46), 1907 (p. 67); and unedited MSS. from Khalatse, Poo, and Tagmachig.

Places of the cult of the *Gliṅ-chos* see in my article 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse', ZDMG., Bd. lxi, pp. 583–92.

Illustrative rock-carvings see in my article 'Rock-carvings from Lower Ladakh', *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxi, p. 398, xxxii, p. 361, and our finds on the expedition of 1909.

As regards editions of Bon-po literature of the period when it was influenced by Buddhism and Hinduism, the following may be mentioned:—

Mdo-gzer-mig and *Ḥdus-pa-rin-po-che*, extracts by S. Ch. Das, in JBTS., 1893, pp. 1–7. It contains the history of Gśen-rabs of Żaṅ-źuṅ (Guge), the legendary founder of the Bon religion. It is modelled on the Buddha legend. Then it speaks of Gśen-rabs' journey to China to assist the emperor Koṅtse in saving his castle. This tale is similar to the tale of Kesar's journey to China.

Then, in Appendix ii of the same journal, we hear of the highest aim of the Bon religion. It is to retain one's personality by seeking the welfare of all beings. After that a number of charms and lists of Bon-po deities are given. In these lists the name Khro-bo, which is so common in the ancient inscriptions from Ladakh, is found. The four great Khro-bo are mentioned.

In JASB., vol. l, pp. 187 ff., S. Ch. Das, gives a translation of the eighth book of *Grub-mthaḥ-śel-gyi-me-loṅ*, in which are described the different stages of the Bon religion. The fact of its accepting Hindu doctrines at various times is mentioned.

The book *Jtsaṅ-ma-Klu-ḥbum-dkar-po*, translated by A. Schiefner (St. Petersburg Academy *Mémoires*, vol. xxviii, No. 1), contains Gśen-rabs' path of delivery from transmigration. It appears to be half Hinduist, half Buddhist (see Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 206).

The books *Klu-ḫbum-ḫdus-paḫi-sñiṅ-po* (Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne, No. xi) and *Sa-bdag-klu-gñan-gyi-sgrog-khrol* (Vienna Academy *Sitzungsberichte*, vol. xlvi) have been translated by Dr. B. Laufer. They contain songs of exorcism. The latter work especially is remarkable as having remained untouched by Hindu or Buddhist ideas. Its character is primitive and animistic.

B. H. Hodgson published several plates of Bon-po deities in JRAS., 1861. As they look almost like present-day Buddhist deities, the greater is the importance of my discovery of an ancient Bon-po temple at Lamayuru with frescoes of Bon-po priests represented in blue and black dress. The blue dress of the Bon-po priests is mentioned in JASB., vol. l, pp. 198, 211. A description of the Bon-po monastery at Shendar-ding is given in S. Ch. Das' *Journey to Lhasa*, 1902, pp. 205 sqq. The monastery, as well as the monks, can nowadays hardly be distinguished from Buddhist ones.

Rgyal-rabs-bon-gyi-ḫbyuṅ-gnas, the Bon-po chronicle, has been printed by S. Ch. Das; extract given by Dr. B. Laufer in *T'oung Pao*, vol. xi, No. 1. As the genealogical rôle of Chinggis Khan's family shows, the chronicles were compiled later than 1828 A.D. They contain the Bon-po version of the legends of the origin of the Tibetans and of their first king. They are of a distinctly Hinduist colouring. The story of the fall of the Bon religion under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan is related at some length.

I am of opinion that, according to a certain school of ancient Tibetan historians, Spu-de-guṅ-rgyal was the first king of Tibet. My reasons are the following:—(1) His name contains the name Spu-rgyal; (2) Under him the great castle of Yar-luṅ is mentioned again; (3) The Bon religion is stated to have risen under him; (4) The story of the introduction of civilization into Tibet is connected with him.

His son was 'A-śo-legs. His son was 'I-śo-legs. His son was . . . By that king the palace of Phyi-dbaṅ-stag-rtse was built. That was the commencement of building palaces and forts. His son was De-śo-legs. During his lifetime singing and dancing spread. His son was Gu-ru-legs. His son was Ḫbroṅ-rje-legs. His son was Thoṅ-śo-legs. These are called 'the six Legs (good ones) of the earth'.

NOTES

The names of these kings, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, are as follows:—'O-śo, De-śo, Thi-śo, Gu-ru, Ḫbroṅ-żiṅ, and 'I-śo. It looks almost as if this group originally consisted of seven kings. In the *Rgyal-rabs*, after 'I-śo-legs, the words 'his son was' occur; but instead of the name a blank is left. For this reason we might perhaps insert here the name Thi-śo, which is found in the *Bodhimör* (see I. J. Schmidt's *Ssanang Ssetsen*, p. 819) as well as in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*.

His sons were Zin-la-zin-lde, Lde-phrug-gnam-gzuṅ-btsan, Lde-rgyal-po-btsan, Se-snol-lam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-lam, Lde-snol-po, Sprin-btsan-lde. These are called 'the eight Lde (beauties, *lde*, *rde*, *bde*) of the earth'.

NOTES

The names of this group of kings, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, are as follows:—Za-nam-zin-lde, Lde-ḫphrul-nam-gżuṅ-btsan, Se-snol-nam-lde, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Se-snol-po-lde, Lde-snol-nam, Lde-snol-po, Lde-rgyal-po, Lde-sprin-btsan. As we see, there are here ten of them. They are called Bar-gyi-lde (Beauties of the 'middle region', the earth); and the last seven are known by the name Sil-ma-bdun (the seven tinkling sounds?).

His son was called Tho-tho-ri-loṅ-btsan. Down to his father the mothers were *Lha-mos* (goddesses) and *Klu-mos* (Nāgis). From him onwards, as they were offspring of subjects and relatives, the descendants of Tho-tho-ri-loṅ-btsan were called Klu-rgyal

(Nāga-rāja). His son was Khri-btsan. During his lifetime roads (?) and bridges [were constructed]. His son was Khri-thog-rje-thog-btsan. His son was called Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal (*L* MS.: sñan-bśal). He was an incarnation of the august Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po (Samanta-bhadra). He reigned for sixty-two years. At the time when he dwelt at the great palace of Ḫum-bu-rdzaṅs-mkhar, which had come into existence of itself without being built, a basket came down from heaven, as a premonition of the spread of Buddha's teaching in Tibet. Sliding down together by a ray of light, there came down to the king's palace the book *Za-ma-tog* (*Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*); the *Paṅ-koṅ-phyag-rgya-pa* (a Sūtra work, *Spaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya*); the essence [of religion], namely, the six syllables [*om maṇi padme hūm*]; a golden *mchod-rten*, a yard high; a *Tshindhamani* (*Cintāmaṇi*) *tsha-tsha* (a terra-cotta with Buddha's image); and all the *mudrā* positions of the fingers. Not knowing whether these were Bon or Buddhist, they honoured them with beer and turquoise offerings. Blessing resulted from it, and [the king] attained to 120 years of age. Thus, during the lifetime of this king the beginning of the holy religion took place.

NOTES

These kings form a group according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, where they are called Smad-kyi-btsan-lha (the five lower majesties). According to that book their personal names are as follows:—To-ri-loṅ-btsan, Khri-btsan-nam, Khri-sgra-dpuṅ-btsan, Khri-thog-rje-btsan, Lha-tho-tho-ri-gñan-btsan. Thus we see that in the Lhasa chronicles this group contains one more member. This is the last group of kings who are furnished with a group name. After this the kings show more individuality, and may be historical personages. Looking at their various groups, it occurs to me that through their group names they are connected with the three realms of the world, according to pre-Buddhist ideas. According to the *Gliṅ-chos* the world consists of Staṅ-lha, heaven of the gods, Bar-btsan, the earth, and Gyog-klu, the realm of the Nāgas. The first group of kings, the 'seven heavenly thrones', are evidently connected with Staṅ-lha; the second, third, and fourth group, viz. Bar-gyi-ldiṅ, Saḫi-legs-drug, and Saḫi-lde-brgyad, belong to the earth; and the last group, Smad-kyi-btsan-lha, belong to the realm of the Nāgas.

As is stated by S. Ch. Das in JASB., vol. l, p. 198, the reign of king Lha-tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal was the most flourishing time of the Bon religion. He also states that this king found a salt-mine; but the Ladakh chronicles ascribe this discovery to Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. As we learn from the *Bodhimör* (see I. J. Schmidt, *Ssanang Ssetsen*, p. 320), a few years after the supposed descent of the Buddhist books several strangers arrived in Tibet to make known their importance. The *Spaṅ-skoṅ-phyag-rgya* is included in the *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur*, see Beckh's catalogue, p. 57.

His son was Khri-sñan-bzuṅ-btsan (*L* MS.: Khri-sñan). During his lifetime the outlying valleys were brought under notice and cleared for fields.

'The lakes were furnished with gates,
And drawn into irrigation canals.
The glacier-water was collected in ponds,
And the water [which had collected] overnight [was used] for irrigation in daytime.'

Such like things were done in his time.

NOTE

The name of this king is spelt Khri-gñan-bzuṅ-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150

His son was H̱broṅ(*L* MS. : H̱groṅ)-sñan-lde-ru.

NOTE

In the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, his name is spelt H̱bro-gñan-ldeḫ.

His son was Stag-ri-sñan-gzigs. During the lifetime of this king *mdzos* and mules originated from cross-breeding. The prices of goods were determined, and the grass of the hills was plaited in bundles. Such like things were done.

NOTE

In the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150, the name of this king is spelt Stag-ri-gñan-gzigs.

His son was Gnam-ri-sroṅ-btsan. During the time of this king there came from China [the arts] of medicine and divination. The King of Gña-żur and others who dwelt in the west of India and Gru-gu were subdued. In the north salt was found. A castle called Khri-brtsegs-ḫbum-gdugs was built.

NOTES

The name of this king is not spelt differently in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 150. As regards Gña-żur, I do not know anything about its situation. Khri-brtsegs reminds me of Khri-rtse in Ladakh; but I do not venture to identify these two places. Gru-gu is probably identical with Thon-mi, situated in the vicinity of Kamba-rdzoṅ.

p. 31. His son was Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po [Chinese date 600–50 A.D.] (*L* MS. : Sroṅ-btsan-rgam-po), an incarnation of the Bodhisatva Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita). During the lifetime of this king all the kingdoms on the frontier were united under his rule, and every one of the little kings sent presents and letters. Although this king issued innumerable documents signed with his seal, there were no characters in Tibet to send replies to the letters from [various] quarters. And, as [the books of] the famous sanctuary of his ancestor Tho-tho-ri-sñen-bśal remained a mystery, [since they were written] in Indian characters, he thought, 'We must translate them so as to be in Tibetan writing.' Therefore he sent Thon-mi, the son of H̱-nu, with a *ḫbre* (a measure) of gold, and sixteen fellow-students to Kashmir to learn the characters. They learned the characters from the Brahman Li-byin; Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge-sgra (Siṃhanāda) taught them (*L* MS. : Paṇḍit Seṅ-ge taught them the language). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they made twenty-four *Gsal-byed* [consonants] and six *Riṅs*, [altogether] thirty [characters]. Besides, they made them to agree in form with the Nagara characters of Kashmir. Then, when Thon-mi arrived in Tibet, he met with the king, who was in the garden of his wife 'U-ru. The king said: 'Have you learnt the letters and the language? Then you may offer praise to Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita)!' Thereupon Thon-mi wrote down the *śo-lo-ka* (śloka) :—

Gżal-ras-gsal-lq-ṅad-mdaṅs (*L* MS. : *ṅo-daṅs*)-*gaṅ-ba-bzaṅ*,
'A good and full [offering of] fresh scent to Gżal-ras-gsal (Avalokita),'

and presented it to the king. The king was much pleased, and erected the temple of Byin-gyi-khod-mar-rdo (*L* MS. Byin-gyis-thog-mar-rdo); and before the image of Spyan-ras-gzigs these letters (the śloka) were carved on stone. These are the earliest inscription [in Tibet] and the oldest temple.

Then, at the invitation of Thon-mi-Sambhota, there came from Nepal the incarnation of Khro-gñer-ma (Bhṛkuṭī), the Nepalese spouse Khri-btsun. Together with her were brought the Lord Mi-skyod-rdo-rje (Akshobhya-vajra), *Byams-pa-chos-kyi-ḥkhor-lo* (*Maitreya-dharma-cakra*), and the Lady Sgrol-ma (Tārā) of sandal-wood.[1] Then the minister Rig-pa-can brought from China the incarnation of Sgrol-ma (Tārā), the queen and spouse Koṅ-jo. Together with her arrived [the image] of the Lord Rin-po-che (Buddha).

Besides, [the following] worldly inventions were made:—rice-beer, barley-beer, in short,

'All the necessaries for food,
The making of curds from milk;
Butter and butter-milk from curds;
Cheese from butter-milk;
Pots from clay;
Mills turned by water;
Weaving with looms;
And many mechanical arts.'

Then, at Lha-sa, the incomparable monastery of Ra-mo-che and others were erected. Palaces were built on the Dmar-po-ri and on the Lcags-pho-ri, and these two mountains were connected with an iron chain-bridge. As many as 900 monasteries and castles were built.

In his time the Indian teacher Kumara, the Nepalese teacher Śila-mañju, the Kashmiri teachers Tabuta (*L* MS. Tabata) and Ganuta (*L* MS. Ghanuta), the Brahman Li-byin, and the Chinese teacher Ha-śaṅ-mahādheba were invited. The translators (*lo-tsa-ba*) Thon-mi, Dhar-ma-go-śa, and Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ translated religious books in every possible manner and edited them.

During the lifetime of this king Rtsa-mi and Śiṅ-mi of the east, Blo-bo and p. 32
Żaṅ-żuṅ of the south, and the Hor kingdoms of the north (Turkistan), and others were brought under subjection, and the customs of the holy religion were introduced into them.

[1] The often-mentioned image of Akshobhya-vajra was seen by Sarat Chandra Das (*Journey to Lhasa*, p. 155) in the Ra-mo-che temple at Lhasa.—F. W. T.

NOTES

As regards local names, the following places are known:—The monastery of Ra-mo-che is stated by S. Ch. Das (Dictionary) to have been built on a plain in the north quarter of Lhasa. But I do not believe that anybody has seen traces of it. Dmar-po-ri, 'the red hill,' is nowadays better known as Potala of Lhasa: Lcags-pho-ri, 'the iron hill,' is still known by its old name; it is situated in the close vicinity of the former. As regards

Lha-luṅ, there is such a place in Ladakh; but I am not sure that there are not other places of this name. Rtsa-mi (pronounced Sa-mi) I feel inclined to identify with Sami of the maps, west of the Manasarowar Lake, especially as the Śinglabcha Pass (probably the old Śiṅ-mi) is in close neighbourhood. Blo-bo is a Tibetan province north of Muktināth. Its ancient capital used to be Lho-mon-sdaṅ (Lo-Mantang of the maps). Żaṅ-żuṅ is one of the provinces of Gu-ge. All these provinces were apparently conquered before Lhasa was made the capital of Tibet.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's two queens, the white and the green Tārā, remind us of the Kesar-saga. Kesar's white wife was Ḥbru-gu-ma, and his green wife is Gyuḥi-dkon-mchog-mo (see my article on Gliṅ-chos in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*). The Ladakhi tale of the minister Rig-pa-can of Shargola in Ladakh, who was sent to fetch the princess from China, is similar to the tale of the minister Gar (see S. Ch. Das' article in JASB., 1881, p. 218). Both versions remind us of the Kesar-saga.

Introduction of Writing.—The characters were formed after the Indian Lañtsha (*Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 327). The *dbu-med* alphabet was formed after the Indian Vartula (acc. to the *Togbarlova*). This is all fantastical. The Indian script which is most closely related to the Tibetan is the Indian Gupta (North-Western Gupta according to Dr. Vogel) of the fifth to the seventh century (see my article on the Tibetan alphabet written for the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xi, p. 266).

Literature.—Works by Thon-mi-Sambhota:—*Bstan-ḥgyur*, Mdo, vol. cxxiii, *Sku-gzugs-kyi-mtshan-ñid*, by 'A-nuḥi-bu; vol. cxxiv, *Sgraḥ-bstan-bcos-sum-cu-pa*, a grammar; *Luṅ-du-ston-pa-stags-kyi-ḥjug-pa*, by Thon-mi-'A-nu (a grammar). Thon-mi-Sambhota's grammar is practically the same as the one which is printed in the Darjeeling School Series (Tibetan Primer Series, No. iv, where it is stated on p. 1 that the book is an extract from *Thon-mi-legs-bśad-sum-cu-pa*). It is evident that this grammar was written in very ancient days; for it treats of the *drag*, a final suffix which has long disappeared even from the classical language. It treats also of the Tibetan system of tones, and is therefore more than a mere repetition of Indian grammars (see my article in ZDMG., vol. lvii, p. 285). Bu-ston says that the Chinese Kechana were the guides of the Tibetans in the commencement of Buddhism. But there are very few translations by Chinese Buddhists in the encyclopædias. As regards the names of translators, only Kumara and Li-byin are generally known; they occur in the Alci inscription of c. 1000 A.D. Dharma-go-śa may be identical with Dharma-kīrti of the Alci inscription, who is known to have lived during that period; Kumara's name is also found in the Bstan-ḥgyur.

Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po is the reputed author of the book *Maṇi-bkaḥ-ḥbum*, which contains a glorification of Avalokita, and his own history. Wassilieff says with regard to it that it is undoubtedly a modern book. He also wrote a book on horse-breeding (*Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 329), perhaps the one which is still circulated in Ladakh. His lawbook: S. Ch. Das gives his sixteen moral precepts in his article JASB., vol. l, p. 219. His 'laws' are also found in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., pp. 328–9). He had ministers of inner and outer affairs, the *Sain* and *Berke* of the *Bodhimör*.

Progress of Civilization.—The *Bodhimör* states (op. cit., pp. 340–1) that silkworms, mulberry-trees, barley-beer, water-mills, paper, ink, and the calendar were introduced from China.

His son was Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan (650–79 A.D.).

NOTES

He is Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's grandson, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150) and the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 347). The Chinese chronicles (*Thangshu* in H. Müller's comparative table, *Tibet in seiner geschichtlichen Entwickelung*, Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, vol. xx, p. 325) call him Tsanphu. At first Lutung-tsan (Thon-mi-Sambhota) governs the country; later on Thon-mi-Sambhota's son (Majordomo). Then the *Thangshu* speaks of a war between the Tibetans and the Tukuhun (Turks). The latter, as well as the Chinese, were beaten by the Tibetans. Great extension of the Tibetan empire beyond the Pamir (*Thangshu*, op. cit., p. 329).

His son was Guṅ-btsan (*L* MS.: Guṅ-sroṅ-guṅ-btsan).

NOTE

This name is evidently in the wrong place. As a look at other chronicles shows, Guṅ-btsan was Maṅ-sroṅ-maṅ-btsan's father and Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's son.

His son was Guṅ-sroṅ-ḥdu-rje (*L* MS.: Ḥdu-sroṅ-ḥdu-rje) (679–705 A.D.). During the time of this king were conquered:—in the east as far as the Rgyal-poḥi-chu (Hoangho); in the south as far as Śiṅ-khun (*L* MS.: Śiṅ-kun) of Nepal; in the north as far as Kra-krag-dar-chen of Turkestan; in the west as far as Chun-riṅs of [B]lo-bo; Naṅ-goṅ on the Balti road, and Śi-dkar of the Lowland. From Rgya (China or India) came tea, *borddha-mal* (?) (*L* MS.: stone drums), clarionets, long trumpets, telescopic trumpets, etc.

Besides, the seven men of great skill arose [as follows]:—Khri-bdun-yul-byin (*L* MS.: Khri-bdun-yul) could jump across chasms which were nine *ḥdom* (27 feet) wide; Gduṅ-grags of Gsal-snaṅ could catch a wild yak by throwing a sling at his feet; Rkod-btsan (*L* MS.: Rgod-btsan) of 'A-thog could seize a lion by his mane; Klu-goṅ (*L* MS.: Klu-koṅ) of Cog-ro could pierce with his arrow a tree, which was two *ḥdom* (18 feet) thick; Ltag-bzaṅ (*L* MS.: Stag-bzaṅ) of Ḥbrom could bring down castles by leading water [below them]; and Gyag-chuṅ of Ḥgos (*L* MS.: Bgos) could twirl round his head a deer's hide filled with gold. [This king] was more powerful than the previous kings of Tibet.

NOTES

The following local names can be identified:—the Rgyal-poḥi-chu is the Hoangho; Kra-krag in Turkestan is probably Karakash near Khotan; Naṅ-goṅ is nowadays the ordinary name of Baltistan; Śi-dkar is one of the most important towns of Baltistan, near Skar-rdo; Gsal-snaṅ is a name of a vihāra, according to Schiefner; as regards 'A-thog, it is the name of the Indus Valley near Skar-rdo, according to Miss J. E. Duncan, *A Summer Ride, etc.*, p. 287; Cog-ro is according to Schiefner the name of a vihāra; it is the home of Śes-rab-bla-ma according to the *Bstan-ḥgyur* (Cordier, p. 161); the *Bodhimör* speaks (op. cit., p. 362) of a powerful clan called Jog-ro, which existed during this period; Ḥbrom is the name of an ancient family of Tibet, and possibly a local name; Ḥgos is the name of a monastery, as well as of a tribe (Schiefner). According to the *Bstan-ḥgyur* (Cordier, p. 131) it is the home of Lha-btsas, the translator.

This king is called Ḥdus-sroṅ-maṅ-rje in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150), Dusrong-mangbo in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 347), and Chinu-hsi-lung-tsanphu in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325); but there is no absolute certainty about the identity of the Tibetan and Chinese names.

Notes from the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 330): The Major-domo retained his authority. In 678 a Chinese army was beaten on the Kuku-Nor by the Tibetans. Then several Tibetan chiefs took the side of the Chinese, and the Chinese reconquered Turkestan. The Major-domo was turned out, and he committed suicide together with 100 of his friends (the *Bodhimör*, op. cit., p. 347, mentions two Major-domos during this reign).

His son was Khri-lde-btsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms (705–55 A.D.). During the lifetime of this king the castle of Kha-brag-dar-phu was built at Lhasa; all the lowlands were filled [with buildings]. He built the vihāras Khri-rtse of Gliṅ-bcu ('Ten lands'); at Brag-dmar Ga-chu-śar-sgo, Phaṅ-thaṅ-ka-med, Ka-chu-pan-chub (*L* MS.: Ka-chu-ban-chuṅ), Brag-dmar-mgrin-bzaṅ (*L* MS.: Ḥbrin-bzaṅ), and many others. Su-dgu-śo-ka of Brag-kha (*L* MS.: Dgu-śo-ka of Bran-kha) and Dzñana-kumara of Sñegs became translators (*lo-tsha-ba*), and translated the two books (*Gser-ḥod-dam-pa* (*Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*) and *Las-brgya-pa* (*Karma-śataka*). Pi-tsi-tsanda-śri (*L* MS.: Pi-tsi-tsantra-śri) translated the *Smad-sbyad* (*L* MS.: *Sman-spyad*), the *Rtsis* (divination), and so forth, and introduced the great ceremonies of religion.

NOTES

Local names: Khri-rtse may be identified with Khri-rtse (or Khrig-rtse) of Ladakh. Ga-chu-śar-sgo reminds me of Śar-sgo-la in Ladakh. But until we know the situation of Gliṅ-bcu nothing can be said for certain.

This king is called Khri-lte-gtsug-brtan-mes-'ag-tshoms in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 150), Thi-lde-oroi-batu-mei-ak-tshom in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 348), and Chi-li-so-tsan in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325).

Notes from the *Thangshu*:—He was married to a Chinese princess called Chin-cheng (the Khyim-śaṅ of the Tibetans). The Tibetans had received the towns of Chiu-chu and Kuei-te on the Hoangho as her dowry. There were continual wars about these places. Whenever treaties were concluded, a market for bartering horses was mentioned with emphasis.

Then there was a great war with the Chinese about the possession of Gilgit (see M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, sections ii and iii).

Gilgit is now identified with Little Poliu, Baltistan with Great Poliu. The King of Kashmir, Muktāpīḍa, assisted the Chinese against the Tibetans, and the Tibetans were aided by the Arabs. The Chinese emperor of the period was Hsüan-tsung, 713–55 A.D.

The *Bodhimör* says (op. cit., p. 349) that the Tibetan king was married to two queens, one from Samarkand, the other from China. The latter was intended for his son, who broke his neck when going to meet her. Therefore the father married her.

As regards the names of the translators, I cannot identify Su-dgu-śo-ka and Pi-tsi-tsan-da-śri. Dzñana-kumara (Jñāna-kumāra) is mentioned again under Sad-na-legs. He is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, as having translated *Rgyud-ḥgrel*, ཞི, xliv, No. i. The book *Sman-spyad*, which was probably concerned with medicine (*sman*), is not known to me.

His son was Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan (755–97 A.D.), an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Ḫjam-dpal (Mañju-śrī). This king invited the teacher Bodhisattva from India. Ananta of Kashmir became translator, and preached on the ten virtues, the eighteen regions (or elements), and the twelve causes of existence (*nidānas*).

On that account the gods and demons of Tibet became angry, and the hill Dmar-po-ri was struck by lightning, [the plain] Phaṅ-thaṅ was devastated by water, and many diseases of men and animals appeared. Therefore the teacher said, 'The gods and demons of Tibet do not like my preaching. To subdue the gods and demons of Tibet you must invite the teacher Padma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas (Padma-sambhava) from 'O-rgyan (Udyāna). We three unite in prayer before the *mchod-rten* (*stūpa*) of Buddha Ḫod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa)!' Sna-gsal-snaṅ and Co-ro (*L* MS.: Bcog-ro) -legs-sgra were both sent, and invited the teacher. Then all the gods and demons of Tibet were exorcised. And after the model of the Indian temple of 'O-tantra-ri (Otantapurī), the eternal self-created (*Svayam-bhū*) temple of Bsam-yas was built. Many Indian Pandits and seven chosen translators [translated] the *Sde-snod-gsum* (*Tripiṭaka*) (*L* MS.) and the first three books of the *Gsaṅ-sṅags-rgyud* (*Guhya-mantra-tantra*) (*S* MS.). In short,

> 'Through these three, the king, the donor, and the priest, in the country of Tibet, which had been dark,
> The holy religion, pure and free from error, spread and was made to flourish.'

Several of the subjects received the new dignity of orders. It was made a custom [among the lamas] to carry on the crown of their heads the pebbles which are below the feet.

At Bsam-yas he built preaching-halls, and at Ḫchiṅ-bu meditation-cells. At the palace of Rluṅ-tshugs (*L* MS. Rluṅ-tshubs) he founded the towns of Skyid-paḫi-[ḷi]byuṅ-gnas and Tshaṅs-paḫi-[ḫ]byuṅ-gnas.

At that time the teacher Padma-[ḫbyuṅ-gnas] presented to the king the life-water of the Vidhyādharas; but the ministers, who did not like it, said to the king, 'It is a maddening drink of the Mons, and poisonous! Pray do not drink it.' So the p. 33.
king became doubtful about it, and did not drink.

That leprosy might not enter [the country], he exorcised the Nāga kings Ma-dros (Anavatapta) and Zil-chen (Manasvin) [of the Manasarovar Lake]. Abandoning his *vajra*, Zil-chen took the shape of a boy, and was appointed to be an assistant to the king. He promised to fulfil every wish of the king. The king honoured the pair of Nāgas highly, and they became his tutelary deities. Then the teacher departed to the south-western country of Rṅa-yab to quell the demons.

At that time all Tibet prospered and was happy: the people increased, the harvests were good, and it was a time without strife. All the provinces on the four frontiers were subdued. China in the east, India in the south, Sbal-ti and Ḫbru-śal (Gilgit) in the west, Saḫi-cho-'O-don-kas-dkar of the Turks in the north, were brought under his power. Both political and religious practices were firmly established. During the lifetime of this king the Bon religion was suppressed, and the holy religion was made to spread and flourished. The following ditty was composed:—

'Then the deputy of the conqueror (Buddha), the holy Żi-ba-ḫtsho (Śānti-rakshita),
And the superior master of incantations, the ascetic Padma-ḫbyuṅ (Padma-sambhava),
Kamala-śila (Kamala-śīla), the crest-ornament of the wise,
And Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan, of surpassing thoughts;
Through these four, like sunrise in the dark country of Tibet,
The light of the holy religion spread as far as the frontiers;
These holy men of unchanging kindness
All Tibetans will for ever reverently salute.

NOTES

Geography.—The following local names can be identified: 'O-rgyan is Udyāna (see note by F. W. Thomas in JRAS., 1906, p. 461, n.), a country in the close vicinity of Mandi (Za-hor), as I believe; the names Za-hor and 'O-rgyan are often mentioned together. The famous *mchod-rten* (stūpa) of Ḫod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa) is situated in Nepal; it is known by the name of Bya-ruṅ-kha-śor. 'O-tantra-ri is the Indian town of Otantapuri in Magadha. The Tibetan temple of Bsam-yas is the oldest existing temple of the country. It is situated 35 miles from Lhasa, some two miles from the north bank of the Yaru River. It was visited by Nain Singh. 'A lofty circular wall, 1,700 yards in circumference, surrounds the place, with gates facing to the four cardinal points. Along the top of this wall there have been erected a large number of small *mchod-rten* and votive piles, built of burnt yellow bricks.' Nain Singh counted 1,030 of these; they seem to be covered with ancient inscriptions in old Lantsha (?) characters, similar to those found near Gayā in India. 'In the centre of the enclosure stands the large *Gtsug-lag-khaṅ*, with radiating cloisters, leading to four chapels, facing at equal distances the four sides of the larger temple.' The explorer found the idols and images contained in these temples of pure gold, richly ornamented with

valuable cloths and jewels. 'The candlesticks and vessels are nearly all made of gold and silver.' Another Survey Agent mentions a famous image of Śākya-muni in copper and gold, ten feet high. Round the temple are Chinese and Lañtsha inscriptions in enormous characters. Ḥchiṅ-bu is probably identical with Ḥchims-phug, a small temple near Bsam-yas. The name of the Nāga king Ma-dros is often used as a name of the Manasarowar Lake. Sbal-ti is, of course, Baltistan, and Ḥbru-śal is Gilgit. 'Odon-kas-dkar most probably stands for Urdum-Kashgar in Turkestan. But Saḥi-cho cannot yet be explained. Dmar-po-ri is a well-known hill in Lhasa. The Mons are descendants of Indian emigrants to Tibet. Co-ro or Lcog-ro is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as the home of Ye-śes-bla-ma and Kluḥi-rgyal-mtshan.

Literature.—The name of Ananta, the Kashmir translator, is found among the inscribed portraits of Alci (eleventh or twelfth century). He is perhaps identical with Ānanda-kara, Ānanta of the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. Padma-ḥbyuṅ-gnas: his life translated by E. v. Schlagintweit (Abh. d. k. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1899 and 1903). Many of his works are found in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. As regards his connexion with Lahul and Mandi (Rewalsir), see my *History of Lahul* (to appear in *Ind. Ant.*). For his connexion with other parts of Western Tibet see the account of my expedition, 1909, pp. 31, 34, 86. Several works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* are attributed to Padma-sambhava's fairy friends. See also the *Padma-thaṅ-yig*. Źi-ba-ḥthso is a well-known author of works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, and Kamala-śila is known to have been his pupil. The name of Źi-ba-ḥtsho (Śānti-rakshita) occurs in the Alci monastery inscription in the form of Śāntipa. He was a scion of the royal family of Za-hor (Mandi) and received the title of Mkhan-po-Bodhisattva. He is the author of a Rñiṅ-ma song. Cf. B. Laufer, *Roman einer tibetischen Königin*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 180.

This king is called Khri-sroṅ-ldehu-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (op. cit., p. 350), Thi-sroṅ-lte-bdzan in the *Bodhimör* (p. 151), and So-hsi-lung-lieh-tsan in the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 325).

Notes from the Thangshu:—*War against China*.—The capital, Si-ṅan-fu, was taken by the Tibetans, and a new emperor enthroned. Then the Tibetans had to retreat. When Tai-tsung became emperor of China in 780 A.D., peace was concluded. He sent the Tibetan prisoners home. The Tibetan king did the same with the Chinese prisoners. Great oath of peace. Chinese–Tibetan inscription in Lhasa referring to it. It was brought to light by Waddell (see JRAS., October, 1909, pp. 952 sqq., and 1910, pp. 124 sqq.). Then the Chinese and Tibetans were united against a rebel in Sze-chuan. As the Chinese had treated the Tibetans like barbarians, there was again war between them, and the Tibetans conquered Turkestan. The Tibetan inscription at Endere (see M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 569, Tibetan *sgraffiti*) may refer to that war.

The Ba-lu-mkhar inscription of Ladakh seems to be of the time of the same king (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 203 ff., and ZDMG., Bd. xli, pp. 588 ff.). Ba-lu-mkhar was a custom-house in those early times.

Fall of the Bon Religion.—It is related in full in chapter xxi of the *Rgyal-rabs-bon-gyi-ḥbyuṅ-gnas*, translated by B. Laufer, *T'oung Pao*, vol. ii, pp. 14–18. The trick by which the Buddhists were victorious see in JASB., 1881, p. 228.

His son was Mu-khri-btsan-po (798–804 A.D.). To carry out to completeness the thoughts of his father, [this king] made at Bsam-yas the noble offering of [a copy of] the *Ḥdul-ba, Mṅon-pa-, Mdo-, Sde-gsum* (*Vinaya, Abhidharma, Sūtra*, composing the *Tripiṭaka*). He gave ample maintenance to the clericals. Three times he equalized the rich and hungry of Tibet. Although in [some] parts of both countries of Rgya (China and India) not all those who had bowed before his father bowed before him, he endured it with patience. He divided the country of Tibet from the countries of Rgya (defined the frontier). All the grass under Tibetan rule grew with points looking towards Tibet.[1]

NOTES

According to Ssanang-Ssetsen (p. 47) Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons, viz. Muni-Bdzanbo, Muruk-Bdzanbo, and Muthi-Bdzanbo. Muni-Bdzanbo was poisoned, Muruk-Bdzanbo was banished, and Muthi-

[1] Explained as meaning that it grew better on the Tibetan side.

Bdzanbo reigned. According to the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 357) Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had three sons, viz. Muni-Bdzanbo, Ssubudtu-Bdzanbo, and Shiregihn-Koissun-berke-shudurgho. The first was poisoned by his own mother, because he had married a younger wife of his father's; the second was killed by the relatives of a minister whom he had murdered; and the third reigned for some time. According to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 151, Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan had two sons, viz. Muni-btsan-po, who equalized the rich and the poor, and presented the *Tripiṭaka* to Bsam-yas, and Sad-na-legs. The same book contains the statement that this old copy of the *Tripiṭaka* is still existent at Bsam-yas. Neither of these kings was known by name to the Chinese. They only speak of certain Tsanphus.

Apparently during this time (see Wieger, *Documents Historiques*, Ho-kien-fu, 1905, p. 1717) Hārūn-al-Rashīd (786–859 A.D.) sent embassies to the Emperor of China to induce him to make war against the Tibetans. But the latter succeeded in winning him over to their plans. In 800 A.D. Arabic armies are mentioned under Tibetan command. Then Alamun concluded a treaty with the Tibetans to guard his eastern frontier.

His son was Sad-na-legs. This king built the temple of Skar-chuṅ-rdo-dbyiṅs [in the] province of Rgya. He invited the Paṇḍit Kama[la]-śila and others to Tibet (*L* MS.). Dzñāna-kumara of Gñegs (*S* MS.) became translator, and translated many religious books which had not yet been translated.

NOTES

As has already been stated, Sad-na-legs is Mu-khri-btsan-po's younger brother, not his son, according to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 151). As regards the province of Rgya, I feel almost certain that it is Western Tibet; the town of Rgya, situated on the frontier between Rubsho and Ladakh, proves by its extensive ruins that it must at one time have been a place of importance. It may have been the principal place of Western Tibet in those days. Skar-chuṅ-rdo-byiṅs, the name of the temple, means 'Little star, flying stone'; this would be a proper name for a meteor. This name may have been abridged to Skar-rdo, the name of the present capital of Baltistan. The name Skar-rdo is still understood to mean 'meteor'. It is therefore possible that here we have the first mention of the Balti capital. Rgya is the home of the famous translator Brtson-ḥgrus-seṅ-ge, whose name is often found in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* and in the *Rñiṅ-ma* scriptures. The town of Sñegs (SMS.), Gñegs (LMS.), or Gñags (*Bstan-ḥgyur*) I have not yet been able to trace. The same translator has been mentioned already under Mes-'ag-tshoms, about fifty years earlier. Kamalaśīla was mentioned under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan. The names of both these priests occur in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as those of translators.

His sons were: Gtsaṅ-ma, Ral-pa-can, Glaṅ-dar-ma (by the first wife), and Lha-rje and Lhun-grub, the two by an inferior queen. These five were born. The first son, Gtsaṅ, loved religion. He entered the order [of lamas], admonished men to [adopt] religion, and wrote a book (*śāstra*). Dar-ma loved sin, and was unworthy to rule. Ral-pa-can (804–16 A.D.), the middle one, reigned. He built the town of Ḥu-śaṅ(*L* MS.: Uśa)-rdo, and erected the temple of Rgya-phibs-gyu-sṅon-can ('having a Chinese roof of turquoise colour'). Although during the lifetimes of his ancestors many religious books from Rgya (China or India), Li (Kunawar or Khotan), Za-hor (Mandi), Kha-che (Kashmir), and other countries had been translated, owing to there being many conflicting interpretations it was difficult to learn religion, and he invited the Indian Paṇḍits Dzina-mitra, Śri(*L* MS. Shi)-lentra-bodhi, Dhana-śila, and others [to Tibet]. The two Tibetan translators [called ?] Bka-cog and the priest Ye-śes-sde revised everything and edited it. Finally, he made the weights,

measures, etc., to coincide with those of India, and appointed seven households of his subjects to wait always on each lama. The king [used to] sit in the middle,
34. and had silk streamers tied to the ends of his locks on the right and left. Then he made the clericals sit there, and had the excellent ones on his right and left and [himself] in the middle, all sitting together. During the time of this king were conquered the mountains of Po-lon(*L* MS.: Po-lo)-śan in the east, which look like a curtain of white silk, and which touch the frontiers of China. There a stone pillar was set up with an inscription, on which was carved: 'Downwards from here did I reign!' In the south as far as Blo-[bo] and Mon, India, Li, Za-hor, and the lake of the Gaṅ-gā (Gaṅgāsagara) with its surface like a bowl of iron were subdued; in the west Ḫbru-śal [Gilgit] on the Persian frontier and others were conquered; and in the north all the provinces of Hor (Turkestan) were subdued. In the south he reigned over three or two princes of Ḫdzam-bu-gliṅ, and everywhere, on the frontiers as well as in the central district (*Dbus*), he erected 100 temples. Here ends the 'first spreading of the teaching'.

NOTES

This king is called Khri-lde-sroṅ-btsan-ral-pa-can in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 151), Thi-btsong-lte-bdzan in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 358: Waddell's identifications are quite uncertain). According to the *Thangshu* (op. cit., p. 341) this king was always ill, and the government was in the hands of his ministers. He is, however, mentioned again in the *Rgyal-rabs* under Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I, as a model king.

Geography.—The temple of Rgya-phibs-gyu-sṅon-can, the mountains of Po-lon-śan, and the lake of the Gaṅgā cannot yet be identified. [*Śan* usually represents in names of mountains the Chinese for 'mountain', and Gaṅgāsāgara is ordinarily the mouth of the Ganges.—F. W. T.] As regards Li, there were two countries of that name. The one which belongs to Turkestan is identified with Khotan by S. Ch. Das (see his Dictionary, p. 1140). The other is stated to have been situated close to Nepal. I suppose that it is Upper Kunāwar, where an important village of that name still exists. Zahor (see above). The Tibetan province of Blo-bo has already been identified (p. 84). Mon may refer to settlements of ancient Indian immigrants in Tibet. Ḫbru-śal is Gilgit. The Ladakhis still call the town by its ancient name of Ḫbru-śal-gi-lid; it is identical with Ḫbru-tsha, Hbru-ża of Tibetan literature. One of the Indian states which were dependent on Tibet was probably Brāhmapura, the ancient Chamba State, where an inscription by a Tibetan prince has been discovered by Dr. Vogel.

Literature.—Dhanaśila (Dānaśīla), the translator, is mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* as the translator of very many works. All the other translators are frequently mentioned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*, for instance Jina-mitra, Śilendra(Śīlendra)-bodhi, and Ye-śes-sde are mentioned in *Bstan-ḥgyur*, vol. K, 1, 7 as joint translators of the *Dharmakāyāśrayāsāmānyaguṇa-stotra*. This fact is the most certain proof of their being contemporaries. Ral-pa-can's own *śāstra* I have not yet succeeded in tracing. According to S. Ch. Das, JASB., 1881, p. 230, under Ral-pa-can a first history of Tibet was written.

V. Glaṅ-dar-ma's Persecution of Buddhism

(*S* MS.) Then, during the lifetime of the ruler Dar-ma-dbyig-dur-btsan (816–42 A.D.) four heretic Brahmans, in order to abolish the religious teaching—being unable to tolerate either the many Paṇḍits who had been invited to Tibet by the ruler Ral-pa-can, or the offerings of golden writings, or the spread of Buddha's teaching over Tibet—prayed to be reborn in the bodies of four demons, bringing ruin upon Tibet. Then, having slain themselves, they achieved their end. The

ruler Dar-ma-dbyig-dur-btsan, Cog-ro(*L* MS.: Cog-sgro)-legs-sgra, Dabs-do-re-stags-sña, and Ḫbal- (*L* MS.: Ḫbaṅs-)ḫkhor-żes-legs-pa, these four, being possessed by the demons Phuṅ-ḫgoṅ-nag-po, Gnam-rdeḫu-dkar-po, Sa-rdeḫu-nag-po, and Byaṅ-roṅ, dethroned the monks. As in spite of trying to throw [the image of] the god Śākya-muni into the water they did not succeed, they buried it in the earth. The [book] *Byams-pa-chos-kyi-ḫkhor-lo* (*Maitreya-dharma-cakra*) was buried in the sand. The doors of Bsam-yas and Ḫphrul-snaṅ [monasteries] in Lha-sa were closed with walls, and plaster was laid [over them]. A letter was written that the monks should drink beer. The distinctive mark of the monks was not kept up. Some were turned out; some fled; the remaining ones were sent hunting with a hunting drum, bow, arrows, and dogs; and some were made butchers. Religious ceremonies were not [again] introduced, and even the subjects were forbidden under penalty to resent it. The [religious] customs were thoroughly destroyed. They were hated within the borders of Mṅaḫ-ris. At that time a mountain of Rgya (India or China) which was under Tibetan rule collapsed. And the great river Rma-chu-skyad (*L* MS.: Rma-chu-skyaṅ) (Hoangho), which flows from Tibet to China, flowed upwards and backwards for three days. Many bad omens of this kind appeared. Then, after some time, Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ, who was meditating in the heart of Yer-paḫi-Lha-ri (*L* MS.: Lha-ri, [the mountain] of offerings), heard of it, and, conceiving a very deep feeling of pity for the king (*btsan-po*, or the monks, *btsun-pa*), is said to have killed him. That is the tale of the submerging of Buddha's religion.

NOTES

This king is called Glaṅ-dar-ma-ḫu-dum-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-dzaṅ* (p. 151), Glaṅ-dhar-ma in the Mongolian books, and Tamo in the *Thangshu*. He is the last Tibetan king whose name was known to the Chinese.

Geography.—The following local names have already been identified or mentioned:—Cog-ro, Bsam-yas, Rgya (India or China), Lha-luṅ, Lha-ri. The Rma-chu is the same as the Rgyal-poḫi-chu, the Hoangho; Ḫphrul-snaṅ is, according to S. Ch. Das's dictionary, a famous temple at Lhasa, built by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, at the instance of his Napalese wife. Mṅaḫ-ris, the ordinary name of the Western Tibetan empire, is mentioned here for the first time. We find the same name also in other documents of the same time, viz. in a MS. excavated by Dr. M. A. Stein at Mīrān, and in one of the Sheh inscriptions. The latter cannot be dated later than 900 A.D. It proves that the name Mṅaḫ-ris in those days included Ladakh. The words Dabs and Ḫbal-ḫkhor may also be local names, but I do not know for certain.

Literature.—A translator called Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ was mentioned under Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po. The present priest of this name is probably supposed to be an incarnation of the former. It is remarkable that one of the heretic Brahmans, viz. Cog-ro-legs-sgra was mentioned under Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan as a famous translator of Buddhist books. The names of the other heretics cannot be traced elsewhere.

General notes.—Ssanang-Ssetsen tells (pp. 49–51) the famous tale of the hermit Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje, who murdered Glaṅ-dar-ma. This hermit approached the king in a dress the outside of which was black, whilst the inside was white. As soon as he had killed the king with his bow and arrow, he put on his dress the other way, white outside and black inside, and escaped. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* gives (p. 151) tales which have arisen from popular etymologies. There the tale of Glaṅ-dar-ma is mixed up with that of the famous Svayambhū stūpa of Nepal, Bya-ruṅ-kha-śor, the stūpa which is supposed to contain some bones of the prehistoric Buddha Ḫod-sruṅ (Kāśyapa). The asses and the cattle of Tibet were not pleased with the fact that no more adoration was offered to them. Therefore they prayed to be reborn as a king of Tibet (Glaṅ-dar-ma means 'ox-dharma')

and his minister. They destroyed the Buddhist religion, but were again overcome by reincarnations of the early erectors of the famous stūpa of Nepal. The *Thangshu* says (op. cit., p. 842) that Tamo was fond of wine, a lover of field sports, and devoted to women, and besides, cruel, tyrannical, and ungracious. According to S. Ch. Das (JASB., 1881, p. 230) Glaṅ-dar-ma uttered the following words when dying: 'Why was I not killed three years back, that I might not have committed so much sin and mischief; or three years hence, that I might have rooted out Buddhism from the country.' He figures in the devil dances of the lamas as the 'enemy of religion'. The Ladakhi kings, who are descended from him, wear their hair in a peculiar fashion, handed down from his time (see my *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 59–60). The earliest version of the legend of the image which cannot be moved out of its position is connected with the story of Glaṅ-dar-ma's persecution of Buddhism.

VI. The Kings of the First West Tibetan Dynasty

(*S* MS.) The story of the later spread of Buddhism is as follows:—Ḫod-sruṅ (*c.* 842–70 A.D.) was Glaṅ-dar-ma's son. He asked Dpal-gyi-rdo-rje of Lha-luṅ to honour the Medicine Guru Buddhas and prayed. By the blessing of the Medicine Guru Buddhas he obtained the sovereignty. In harmony with the kindness of his ancestors he firmly established the religious ceremonies and the religious buildings. He protected Mṅaḥ-ris according to religion. Besides, when Rtsad-rab-gsal, Yo-ge-ḫbyuṅ, Dge-ba-rab-gsal, and Sba-rab (*L* MS.: Spa-rab), altogether ten [priests] had arrived, Buddha's teaching began to spread and flourish. Further, temples were erected like the stars of heaven.

NOTES

This king is called Ḫod-sruṅs in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), and Gerel-Ssakiktshi by the Mongol authors.

The *Rgyal-rabs-gsal-baḥi-me-loṅ*, the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, and the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 51) all agree on the following tale:—Ḫod-sruṅ was the real and legitimate son by one of Glaṅ-dar-ma's younger queens. His claim to the throne was contested by Yum-brtan, the foster-son of the 'great queen'. According to Ssanang-Ssetsen (op. cit., p. 51) Ḫod-sruṅ did not believe in Buddhism.

The names of the monks who came [from India?] I cannot trace anywhere else. The names of the Medicine Guru Buddhas are the following:—Śākya-thub-pa, Rin-chen-zla-ba, Mya-ṅan-med-mchog-dpal, Chos-grags-rgya-mtshoḥi-dpal, Gser-bzaṅ-dri-med, Sṅon-mkhyen-rgyal-po, and Mtshan-legs.

p. 85. His son was Lde-dpal-ḫkhor-btsan (*c.* 870–900 A.D.). During the lifetime of this king the monastery of Upper Mṅaḥ-ris, and others, [in all] eight monasteries, were erected. Scriptures like the *Ḫbum* and others were copied in great numbers. He swore an oath to build up religion (or temples).

NOTES

This king is called Dpal-ḫkhor-btsan in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), Bilamgur-dzan in Ssanang-Ssetsen (op. cit., p. 51), and Esen-berke-tsog-nökör in the *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 865). Ssanang-Ssetsen confirms the statement that he erected eight temples. The *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* says (p. 152) that he was murdered by his subjects. I do not know which monastery is meant by the 'monastery of Upper Mṅaḥ-ris'. Regarding the Ḫbum, it seems to be one of the many names used for the *Prajñā-pāramitā*.

(*A* MS.) His sons were Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon and Khri-bkra-śis-rtsegs-dpal (*L* MS.: Khri-bkra-śis-brtsegs-pa-dpal), these two. Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon (*c.* 900–30 A.D.), when on his way to Upper Mṅaḥ-ris—Tibet being in a state of revolution—and accompanied by a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Ḥbal-ma-zug-btsan, Khuṅ-mo-ñag-pa, and 'Ā-ka-badzra, these three (*S* and *L* MSS.: a hundred horsemen under the leadership of Dpal-ma-zug-gar, Khyuṅ-dpal-ldan-grub, and 'Ā-ka-badza of Me-ñag, these two (?)) happened to be obliged to eat fish and eggs. [The servant] brought [the food] wrapped in a napkin, and they became satisfied. From this it came to be a custom with the kings of Tibet to use the [so-called] giant's napkin (also explained as a napkin with eight folds). Eventually he arrived at Ra-laḥi-rgyud. He built Mkhar-dmar of Ra-la in the horse-year, Rtse-śo-rgya-ri (*S* and L MSS.: Rtse-tho-rgya-ri) in the sheep-year. He thought of causing many villages and hamlets (towns) to be built throughout the broad valleys of Dam and Lag (or Dam-lag). Mar-yul he left undisturbed. At that time Upper Ladakh (La-dvags-stod) of Mar-yul was held by the descendants of Gesar, whilst Lower Ladakh (Smad-rnams) was split up into small independent principalities. At that time Dge-bśes-btsan (*L* MS.: Dge-śes-bkra-śis-btsan) invited him to Pu-hraṅs, and offered him Ḥbro-za-Ḥkhor-skyoṅ to be his wife, and he married her. She bore him three sons. He now built the palace of Ñi-zuṅs and erected a capital. Then he conquered Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum completely and ruled in accordance with the faith.

NOTES

The name of this king is given in the same spelling in the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, p. 152. The *Bodhimör* (op. cit., p. 365) calls him Jir-ghalang-Koissun-itegel, and his brother Ölsöi-dabchur-lagsan. The Central Tibetan as well as the Mongol authors assert that Ñi-ma-mgon was the son of the great queen, and his brother the son of a minor queen.

The following inscriptions from Ladakh are probably of king Ñi-ma-mgon's time, although they do not contain his name:—(1) The Sheh inscriptions; (2) some of the Alci-mkhar-gog inscriptions (see my article 'Archæology in Western Tibet', *Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxv–vi); (3) several inscriptions at Bya in Zaṅs-dkar, discovered by the Rev. G. Hettasch, of Kyelang. A song of a king Ñi ma-mgon is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from W. Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1909).

With regard to king Ñi-ma-mgon's marriage the following may be said:—Dge-śes-btsan is in all probability the name of a king of Pu-hraṅs. Names ending in *btsan* are generally names of kings or of members of royal families. Dge-śes-btsan probably had an only daughter, who was heir to the throne. Thus, in marrying this daughter Ñi-ma-mgon became master of Pu-hraṅs. That he was actually in possession of it is shown by the fact that he handed it over to one of his sons.

Dr. Marx notes that the so-called 'Giant's napkin' is still in use with the kings of Ladakh. It is called Gsaṅ-khebs, 'cover of the hidden thing.' The Ladakhis do not eat fish or eggs. To them a fish is a kind of Nāga. The avoidance of eggs is shared by the Dards.

Geography.—The following place-names have already been identified by Dr. Marx:—Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum usually includes the districts of Ru-thogs, Gu-ge, and Pu-hraṅs only. Here, however, it seems to include all Ladakh, Zaṅs-dkar, etc., as well. (Let me add that in the Sheh inscriptions the word *mṅaḥ-ris* is used inclusive of the whole of Ladakh.) Ladakh, the Persian transliteration of the Tibetan La-dvags, is warranted by the pronunciation of the word in several Tibetan districts. The terminal *gs* has the sound of the guttural *gh* or even *kh* in various Tibetan dialects. The boundary between Upper and Lower Ladakh is the plateau between Basgo (Bab-sgo) and Sa-spo-la. Mkhar-dmar of Ra-laḥi-rgyud is said to be a steppe-district inhabited by nomads, beyond Ru-thog; near it, the ruins of an old castle, called Khar-mar,

still exist. Let me add that a certain Ra-la-jung (probably Ra-la-rdzoṅ, 'castle of Ra-la') is marked on Montgommerie's map of the Western Himalayas, 1874–84. It is found between Trashisgang and Dakmaru, on the Indus. Dam-lag: in the upper Sutlej valley (map of Turkestan, 1882) I find the names Dam and Luk—could they have any connexion with the places referred to here? Mar-yul and Maṅ-yul include Upper and Lower Ladakh, Nubra, Zaṅs-dkar, etc. Ñi-zuṅs is said to be in Pu-hraṅs.

To these identifications I may add the following: Pu-hraṅs (Bu-hraṅs, Pu-raṅ) is a Tibetan province east of the Manasarovar Lake, and west of Blo-bo. The country is famous for its beautiful girls (cf. my article 'The Paladins of the Kesar-saga', JPASB., 1906, p. 262). The name Rtse-tho-rgya-ri is probably more correct than Rtse-śo-rgya-ri, but I cannot yet identify it. Regarding the 'descendants of Gesar' in Upper Ladakh, I am of opinion that a certain dynasty of chiefs may have accepted the name of the mythological king Kesar (Gesar) as their dynastical name. Thus we learn from inscriptions at Khalatse that one of the chiefs of that town called himself Rgya-byin (Indra); Rgya-byin is Gesar's father according to the mythology of the Kesar-saga. The name Khrom-Ge-sar-Ḫdan-ma (Gesar's court, Ḫdan-ma), which is found in the second chapter of the *Rgyal-rabs*, may refer to Upper Ladakh at a time previous to Ñi-ma-mgon's arrival. In a rather modern inscription at Dpe-thub Ladakh is called Ge-sar-gdan.

His three sons were, Lha-chen-Dpal-gyi-mgon (*c.* 930–60 A.D.); Bkra-śis-mgon, the middle one; and Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, these three. He gave to each of these three sons a separate kingdom, viz. to the eldest, Dpal-gyi-mgon, Mar-yul of Mṅaḫ-ris, the inhabitants using black bows; Ru-thogs of the east and the gold-mine of Hgog; nearer this way Lde-mchog-dkar-po; at the frontier Ra-ba-dmar-po; Wam-le, to the top of the pass of the Yi-mig rock (*L* MS.: Gyag-lder); (*A* MS.) to the west to the foot of the Kashmir pass, from the cavernous stone upwards hither; to the north to the gold-mine of Ḫgog (*L* MS.: of Mgon-po); all the places belonging to Rgya. Bkra-śis-mgon, the second, he made ruler over Gu-ge with Pu-hraṅs, Rtse, etc. Lde-gtsug-mgon, the youngest, he made ruler over Zaṅs-dkar-sgo-gsum; with Spi-ti, Spi-lcogs, etc.

NOTES

According to the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152) the names of the three brothers are Dpal-lde-rig-pa-mgon, Bkra-śis-lde-mgon, and Lde-btsun-mgon, and they are there stated to have reigned over the following countries:—the eldest over Maṅ-yul, the second over Spu-raṅs, and the third over Žaṅ-žuṅ-Gu-ge. According to Ssanang-Ssetsen the names of the three brothers were: Tsoktu-Itegel, Öldshei-Itegel, and Oroin-Itegel. They are said to have gone to Nari and to have become the forefathers of the royal family of Kugi (Gu-ge). Dpal-gyi-mgon is the last West Tibetan king whose name is mentioned in Central Tibetan and Mongolian historical works. I believe that Bkra-śis-mgon died without issue, and that his kingdom was inherited by the descendants of Lde-gtsug-mgon. At any rate, we find Lde-gtsug-mgon's descendants in possession of Gu-ge a few years later. Their names are found in Schlagintweit's tables, in Central Tibetan and in Mongolian historical works. See also Minor Chronicles.

Geography.—The following place-names have already been identified by Dr. K. Marx (Ḫgog not known):—Lde-mchog-dkar-po is the Demchog of the maps, south of Ru-thogs, near the frontier, and on the River Indus. Wam-le, the same as Hanle, famous for its magnificent lamasery of the seventeenth century; Yi-mig is the Imis Pass of the maps; the Hanle stream has its source at the foot of this pass; the Kashmir Pass is the Zoji Pass, above the village of Dras. Zaṅs-dkar-sgo-gsum: sgo-gsum, 'the three doors,' may refer to the three valleys that join at the central part of Zaṅs-dkar. Spi-ti, a well-known Tibetan district within British territory south-east of Lahul; 'as to Spi-lcogs, I would venture to suggest that Lahul may be meant by this term. This district would have well rounded off his dominions, and would have been the connecting link between Zaṅs-dkar and Spi-ti.'

To these I may add the following:—A well-known gold-field is the district of Thog-jalung, Thog-sarlang, etc. The name Hgog does not occur at all. But, if the original name was Ḫgrog, or Grog, the pronunciation

might easily have become similar to the Thog of the maps. Possibly Ḥgog is not a local name, but the ordinary word ḥgog, meaning 'pledge', 'deposit'. 'He received the gold-mines as a pledge.' Ru-thogs is a Tibetan town and district, east of the Pañ-koṅ lake. Gu-ge is situated south of Ru-thogs, south-east of Ladakh, and west of the Manasarowar Lake. Pu-hraṅs and Mar-yul have already been mentioned. Regarding Spi-lcogs let me note that Spyi-lcog as a place-name occurs in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. It is there said to be the home of the priest Tho-gar-Dge-mdzes. The word Tho-gar would point to Turkestan, or at least the Hor provinces of West Tibet. Rgya is one of the principal towns of Ladakh, on the frontier between Rub-chu and Ladakh. Ra-ba-dmar-po, Gyag-lder, and Rtse cannot yet be identified. According to the song referred to above (*The Paladins of the Kesar-saga*, tale No. iii) Hor-yul (Turkestan) is famous for its horses, Byaṅ-thaṅ (Ru-thogs) for salt and wool, Bu-raṅs (Pu-hraṅs) for its beautiful girls, La-dvags for its tiger-like heroes, Bu-rig (= Pu-rig, Western Ladakh) for its *Gro-dkar* flowers, Naṅ-goṅ (Baltistan) for its dried apricots, and Kashmir for its white rice.

K. Marx has the following note on the word Lha-chen (great god):—Lha-chen is an epithet usually applied to the eldest son only, and may mean 'the heir apparent'; it is not a component part of the name, as it may be omitted. It dropped out of use from the time of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. Let me add that, whenever we find a name which does not contain the word Lha-chen, we may suspect that the particular king was not the eldest son of the preceding king.

Dpal-gyi-mgon, the eldest, had two sons, Ḥgro-mgon (*c.* 960–90 A.D.) and Chos-mgon.

NOTE

Nothing known beyond the names.

Ḥgro-mgon's son was Lha-chen-Grags-pa-lde (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Grags-pa-lde) (*c.* 990–1020 A.D.).

NOTE

Nothing known beyond the name; perhaps he was a lama.

His son was Lha-chen-Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Byaṅ-chub-sems-dpaḥ) (*c.* 1020–50 A.D.).

NOTES

He was very probably a lama, like the contemporary kings of Gu-ge. He is mentioned in the Tabo inscription together with Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po, Atiśa, and king Byaṅ-chub-ḥod of Gu-ge. He erected the Tabo and (probably) 'A-lci monasteries, and perhaps several others. His portrait (probably) is found in the 'A-lci monastery together with an inscription by himself. At 'A-lci are also frescoes of the sports of his times, notably hawk-hunting. He probably came to grief in the gold-mine wars; compare the history of Ye-śes-ḥod of Gu-ge (*infra* under 'Minor Chronicles').

His son was Lha-chen-Rgyal-po (*c.* 1050–80 A.D.). In the time of this king the lamasery of Klu-ḥkhyil (*L* and *S* MSS.: Li-kyir) was built, and a brotherhood of lamas caused to settle [there]. The recluses that lived in the neighbourhood of the three lakes near Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa)—when numerous, about five hundred; when few, one hundred—he for a long time, with untiring zeal, provided with the necessaries of life.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Klu-ḥkhyil (*S* MS., etc., Li-kyir) is a village on the ancient trade-road from Leh, or rather from Basgo to Nyurla (Sñur-la, Sñuṅ-la) and Khalatse. This name would remind us of the pre-Buddhist cult of the *Klu*

(or *Nāgas*). As to the three lakes, the maps mention two lakes only, but there is a possibility that the Kailāsa counts as one and with the two lakes makes up three separate places. Dge-ḥdun-gyi-sde (place of the priesthood), the same as Dgon-sde, monastery. *Sgrub-pa-mdzad-pa*, those who exert themselves to obtain *Sgrub-pa* (*siddhi*).

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The king's portrait (probably) as a young man is found at Alci, where he is represented together with his father. *S* MS. spells his name Bla-chen, etc. He was probably a lama. He is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of the Li-kyir monastery, which in its present edition, however, dates from the eighteenth century.

His son was Lha-chen-'Utpala (*c.* 1080–1110 A.D.). In the time of this king the united forces of Upper Ladakh and Gśam (*L* MS.: Śam, Lower Ladakh) invaded Ñuṅ-ti. The King of Ñuṅ-ti bound himself by oath, so long as [the glaciers of] Ti-se (Kailāsa) do not melt away, nor the lake Ma-pham (*L* MS.: Ma-baṅ, Manasarovar) dry up, to pay tribute or dues [to the King of Ladakh], viz. *mdzos*, iron, etc. This treaty has remained in force till this day. He also subjected Blo-bo (*L* MS.: Lho-bo) [and the country] from Pu-hraṅs (*L* MS.: Pu-raṅs) downwards hither; in the south the country of Bre-ṣraṅ to [the lake] Chu-la-me-ḥbar; in the west, from Ra-gan-ḥgreṅ-śiṅ (*L* MS.: Ra-gan-ḥgreṅ-żiṅ) and Stag-khu-tshur upwards hither; in the north, from Ka-śus (*S* MS.: Ka-brus-phan-chod) upwards. [They all] paid an annual tribute and attended the Darbār.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ñuṅ-ti, the same as Kulū (Kulūta), present capital Sultānpur (ancient capital: Makrasha, Magarsa.—F.). The lake Ma-pham (Ma-baṅ) is the more easterly of the two famous lakes. *Mdzo* is the name of a well-known cross-breed between yak and cow. (There are no *mdzos* in Kulū; but, as Lahul was apparently under Kulū in those days, the Lahulis may have been ordered by their Kulū masters to send their *mdzos* to Ladakh.—F.) *Dpya*, dues, is spelt *dpya* only in Jäschke's dictionary; all the MSS. unanimously write *spya*. *Żal-lta* (lit. see [the king's] face) is the Tibetan expression for Ḍarbār.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Gśam is the ordinary name of Lower Ladakh, extending from Sa-spo-la to Lama-yuru. Ti-se (Kailāsa) is possibly a development in the pronunciation of Khri-rtse (throne-summit), which may have been the original name of the mountains. Chu-la-me-ḥbar is still a famous place of pilgrimage on the frontier between Nepal and Tibet. It is probably identical with Chu-bar, near Nalam, the place where Milaraspa died. Stag and Khu-tshur are two villages in Baltistan, west of Skardo. Khu-tshur is situated on the Indus, and Stag is a side valley, branching off near Khu-tshur. The Dard name of Khu-tshur is apparently Gu-sur. Gu-sur is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies. (Compare my article 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', song No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv.) The remaining names I cannot yet identify.

King 'Utpala's conquest of Kulū is not confirmed by the chronicles of Kulū; but the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja (v. 1108) is rather in favour of the statement. It says (in a somewhat obscure passage) that Zainu'l-'ābidīn found Kulū in 1428 A.D. occupied by Tibetans. 'The Treaty with Kulū has remained in force to the present day,' probably meaning that it remained in force to the reign of King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, when the *Biography of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal* was compiled. After the battle of Bab-sgo, 1647 A.D., the treaty with Kulū was apparently exchanged for a trade contract (see Minor Chronicles).

p. 86. His son was Lha-chen-Nag-lug (*c.* 1110–40 A.D.). This king built in the tiger-year the palace at Wan-la and in the dragon-year Kha-la-rtse (*L* MS.: the castle of Kha-la-tse).

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Wan-la is situated one march off the Kashmir road, near Khalatse and Lamayuru. Khalatse is situated on the Kashmir road, at the bridge crossing the Indus, 52 miles below Leh. It is the Khalchi of the maps.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The castles of Wan-la and Kha-la-rtse are the now deserted sites of the old towns of those names. The ruined castle of old Kha-la-rtse is now known by the name of Brag-nag. The last vassal kings of Kha-la-rtse were apparently Rgya-zin (Brgya-byin, Indra) and Śi-ri-ma (Śrīmān). For notes on this king's connexion with Kha-la-rtse see my *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 65–6.

His sons were Lha-chen-Dge-bhe (*S* MS.: Bla-chen-Dge-bhe) (*c*. 1140–70 A.D.) and Dge-ḥbum (*L* MS.: Dge-ba-ḥbum).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the names. Dge-bhe was perhaps a lama.

His son was Lha-chen-Jo-ldor (*c*. 1170–1200 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name.

His son was Bkra-śis-mgon (*c*. 1200–30 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name. But if Lha-rgyal, whose name is found only in *S* MS., has to be omitted, all that is mentioned under Lha-rgyal would refer to his reign. In 1208 A.D. Tibet was conquered by the Mongol Emperor Jenghis Khān, and for a few decades the western districts probably came under his sway. At any rate the west was included in the great census carried out under Kublai Khan. For Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum (i.e. Gu-ge, Pu-raṅs and Maṅ-yul) the return gave altogether 2,635 families residing in the crown lands of the kings of Mṅaḥ-ris (JASB. 1904, extra number, p. 99). I found in a house at Sñe-mo, near Leh, a lamp bearing the inscription *Jaṅgis khān kā dīpa*, 'lamp of Jenghis Khān.'

(*S* MS.) His son was Lha-rgyal (*c*. 1230–60 A.D.). (*A* MS.) This king caused to be written a copy of the *Rgyud-Rdo-rje-rtse-mo*, of the *Nan-soṅ-sbyoṅ-baḥi-rgyud*, and of the whole *Rgyud-ḥbum*, all in gold.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

This king is mentioned in Schlagintweit's MS. only. Doubtful. The *Rgyud-Rdo-rje-rtse-mo* is a treatise on the vajra-point (*Vajra-kīla-tantra*?—F.). The *Nan-soṅ-sbyoṅ-baḥi-rgyud* is a 'treatise on the removal of going to perdition'. The *Rgyud-ḥbum* consists of twelve volumes (in the ordinary printed edition); but I have seen also very fine written volumes, one e.g. on indigo-tinted paper, with letters in gold.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

In an article entitled 'Archæology in Western Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, vols. xxxv–vi, p. 287) I identified Lha-rgyal with Lha-chen-Kun-dgaḥ-rnam-rgyal of the Daru inscription. I have now given up this identification.

His son was Lha-chen-Jo-dpal (*c*. 1260–90 A.D.). This king performed royal, as well as clerical, duties to perfection.

NOTES

Dr. K. Marx notes that the expression *mthar-phyin-pa* corresponded to *Pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa* (*Pāramitā*). A song in honour of king Jo-dpal is found in *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs.'

His son was Lha-chen-Dṅos-grub (*c.* 1290–1320 A.D.). In the time of this king the usage of novices going to Dbus-Gtsaṅ was first introduced. He also repaired the temples that had been built by his ancestors; but, more important than this, he laid down before the prince of faith, the lord of the three worlds, gold, silver, copper, coral, pearls, etc., all [presents numbering] one hundred. He also caused the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* to be copied twice and the *Gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi-dkyil-ḥkhor* many times.

NOTES BY DR. MARX

The 'Lord of the three worlds' is either Buddha or Avalokiteśvara. The Tibetan word translated by 'copy' is *bżeṅ-ba*. It agrees most closely with the German *stiften*, *Stift*, *Stiftung*; an exact equivalent in English I have not been able to discover. The *Gsaṅ-sṅags-kyi-dkyil-ḥkhor*, 'Wheel of Dhāraṇīs' (secret spells), is a kind of book, of which there exists a great variety.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

This king is mentioned in the *Māhātmya* of Li-kyir as having come to the throne seven generations after Lha-chen-Rgyal-po. Introduction of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, which had just then been completed by Bu-ston. The Mongols received the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* in 1310 A.D. But it was not translated into Mongolian before the seventeenth century. See the *Hor-chos-byuṅ* of *Ḥjigs-med-nam-mkhaḥ*. If we can trust the Kashmir chronicles, this king was killed by the Kalamanyas (people of Mkhar-maṅ or Parkuda). Dbus-Gtsaṅ, two important provinces of Central Tibet. Dbus is supposed to be identical with Ptolemy's Dabasae.

His son was Lha-chen-Rgyal-bu-rin-chen (*c.* 1320–50 A.D.) (*L* MS. omits the epithet Lha-chen).

NOTES

This king is in all probability identical with Riñchana Bhoṭṭa of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kashmir, vv. 157–254. See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92. The Persian *History of Kashmir* by A'ẓam tells of Rainchan-Shāh's conversion to Muhammadanism, of the erection of the Bulbul-Lankar in Srinagar by him, and of his erection of a mosque (the Awwal-Masjid of Srinagar). The Persian *History of Kashmir* by Maūlavī Ḥaidar Malik contains a translation of a lost inscription by Riñchana in his mosque. According to these he was only half Muhammadan. The Ladakhi *Song of the Bodro-Masjid* speaks of the great saint Bulbul, the king's friend. A song entitled *Prince Rin-chen's Departure* is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs', *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68.

His son was Lha-chen-Śes-rab (*c.* 1350–80 A.D.). In his lifetime this king, having built the hamlet of Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ on the top of the so-called Haṅ-rtse-mo [rock] in Sa-bu, made it a dependency of the Spyaṅ castle of Sa-bu in Mar-yul.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Sa-bu is a village 6 miles south-east of Leh, off the main valley (Survey map: Sobu). The Haṅ-rtse-mo is a rock well known there. The castle is in ruins.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

This king is omitted in *S* and *L* MSS. I visited Sa-bu in 1906, and people told me that the rock was called Ḥlaṅ-rtse-mo (Glaṅ-rtse-mo), and the castle Śaṅ-mkhar (Śaṅ would be the Ladakhi pronunciation of Spyaṅ). But the name of the village of Seṅ-ge-sgaṅ was no longer known. The site is on the ridge of mountains west of Sa-bu, and I found the hillside covered with ruined houses.

His son was Lha-chen-Khri-gtsug-lde (*c.* 1380–1400 A.D.). This king built [one row of] *mchod-rtens* [numbering] 108 at Slel (Sle, *L* MS. : Gles) and two [rows] of 108 at Sa-bu.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

108 (*brgya-rtsa*, abbreviated from *brgya-rtsa-brgyad*, as we find it given in a document excavated at Kyelang) is a sacred number. 108 is also the number of beads in the ordinary rosary of Lamaists, etc. The rows of *mchod-rtens* referred to here usually consist of *mchod-rtens* not higher than 2 or 3 feet, and resemble low walls, built at random anywhere across the desert. Slel, sometimes Sle, is the ordinary spelling of Leh, the capital of Ladakh.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

As to the spelling of the name of the capital of Ladakh, I believe that Sle, Gle, Gles is the more correct; a *hles* or *lhas* is an enclosure for cattle, and this is supposed to have been the beginning of the Tibetan, not Dard, town of Leh. The European spelling of Leh may be due to the German orthography of the Moravian missionaries. Leh is here mentioned for the first time. Apparently it was then made the capital. Previous to Leh, Śeh (Śel) seems to have been the capital of the country. Down to the present time it has been considered necessary that the heir apparent should be born in Śeh. The rows of *mchod-rtens* which were built at Leh have not yet been discovered. Of those at Sa-bu there is still a fragment left, of about 6 yards, as Dr. Shawe told me. It looks as if the remainder had been carried away by a flood.

Towards the end of this reign the Tartar emperor Tīmūr may have passed through part of the Western Tibetan kingdom on his way from Jammu to Samarkand. At that time the Christians and Buddhists were being persecuted in Central Asia by the Muhammadans. The Nestorian inscriptions at Brań-rtse in Ladakh may be the work of fugitives during that period.

His two sons were Lha-chen-Grags-ḫbum-lde (*c.* 1400–40 A.D.) and Grags-pa-ḫbum. Grags-ḫbum-lde held Slel (*L* MS. : Gle), etc. He erected, for the sake of his reputation with posterity, the Red Monastery (*L* MS. : many monasteries) and a Rgyal-ba-Byams-pa (Buddha Maitreya), the lord, in size [such as he will be] in his 8th year. On his right and left were Ḫjam-dbyańs (Mañju-ghosha) and a Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajra-pāṇi), each one story high. He caused to be painted as fresco pictures representations of the departed Buddhas, of the preserver of the universe, and of all his own private deities. He also built a triple temple (one surmounting the other) on the pattern of [the one at] Mtho-gliń. As a symbol of the word, he caused to be written a copy of the *Gzuńs-ḫbum-chen-mo*, *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa* and the *Lań-kar-gśegs-pa* and some others. As a symbol of the spirit, some fatality having occurred at Sle (Leh), he built over [closed] the Teḫu(*L* MS. : Tiḫu)-gser-po ('Yellow Crag') completely, outside in the shape of a *mchod-rten*, inside containing 108 temple shrines. This *mchod-rten* is called Teḫu-bkra-śis-ḫod-ḫphro. Again, there being in the lower part of the Sle Valley a crag resembling an elephant, the king caused a brotherhood of four lamas to settle down below this rock. Then he said, 'If I die now, it matters not.' [At that time it happened that] the omniscient of the period of degeneration (the Kali age), the great Tsoń-kha-pa-Blo-bzań-grags-pa, having in his possession a *Tshe-dpag-med* (*Amitāyuḥ Sūtra*), about as long as a finger joint, made from the blood of his nose, entrusted the same to two ascetics, and said, 'Give it either to the one called Grags-pa, or to the one called Lde.' When the two arrived in Mar-yul, the one called Grags-pa was in Nub-ra. They went into his presence, but he did not

deign to bestow even a glance at them. So they went on to Slel. On the morrow the king gave command: 'At to-day's Darbār, whosoever attends, be it ascetic, or Bhe-da (*L* MS.: Bhe-da-pha), or Mon, or Ti-śi, he shall not be refused admittance.' Now, when the two ascetics came into his presence, the king rose and went to meet them.
p. 37. The two ascetics made over the present, and the king was delighted with it. Taking the precious law of Buddha for his guide, he built the lamasery of Dpe-thub, though in reality he did not build it, but it came into existence by a miracle. Having built it, he caused many brotherhoods of lamas to settle [in the country].

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The 'red college' built by this king is probably the one on the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh. In that temple there is a statue of Maitreya, the head of which reaches through the ceiling of the first storey. But the statues of Mañju-ghosha and Vajra-pāṇi, which are said to have been on the right and left, are no longer there (although there are traces of the pedestal of at least one of them.—F.). The 'preserver of the universe' is probably Maitreya. Mtho-gliṅ, pronounced Tholding, on the Upper Sutlej. Map of Turkestan: Totlingmat, where *mat* (*smad*) = 'the lower', i.e. 'lower part of the city'. The *Śam-bha-la-paḥi-lam-yig* contains a reference to this temple: 'It was built by Rin-chen-bzaṅ-po (*c.* 1000 A.D.). The Hor (Turks?) burnt it down; but at some later date it was rebuilt, and now, in its lowest compartment, it contains the Dhāranīs.' Adolf von Schlagintweit (and Captain Rawling) visited it. (The temple in Ladakh, built on its model, has not yet been discovered.) But there is in the middle of the old town of Leh a temple, called 'the old Byams-pa (Maitreya) monastery', which is reported to have been built by King Ḥbum-lde. In its present condition, however, it does not look like a triple temple. The *mchod-rten* called Teḥu-bkra-śis-ḥod-ḥphro, 'brilliant good fortune,' still exists, though in a dilapidated condition, about 2 miles up the Leh Valley from the British Joint Commissioner's compound. The monastery below the crag resembling an elephant is also still extant at the suburb of Leh called Dgar-ba (Skara). It is now called *Glaṅ-chen-dgon-pa*, 'Elephant Monastery.' Dpe-thub, lamasery and village, on the River Indus, 5 miles south-west of Leh. The lamas belong to the Dge-ldan-pa order of lamas. The lamasery has an incarnated Sku-śog. It is vulgarly called Spi-thug (Survey map: Pittuk). Other lamaseries of the Dge-ldan-pa order in Ladakh are Khrig-rtse (Survey map: Tokzay), Saṅ-kar (a Leh suburb), Li-kyir, Ri-rdzoṅ, and many small ones. N.B.—Although the order primarily refers to the lamas, yet every family or house (*groṅ-pa*) in the country is affiliated from time immemorial to one or other of the lamaseries, and hence is attached to the respective order of lamas as a kind of lay dependency, and worships the same tutelary deity (*Yi-dam*).

Gsuṅs-ḥbum-chen-mo means 'the great 100,000 Dhāraṇīs'. *Dkon-mchog-brtsegs-pa* is the *Ratna-kūṭa Sūtra* and *Laṅ-kar-gśegs-pa* is the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa is the spiritual name of the great reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa. The expression *dpes-nas* probably means that King Ḥbum-lde adopted the reformed doctrines of Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

Rgya-ma-phyag-rjes-su means 'for the sake of his reputation with posterity'. German *Nachruhm!* *Sku-gsuṅ-thugs*, 'body, word, and spirit,' or in the common parlance *lus-ṅag-yid*, and mystically expressed by the formula *ōm ā hūṃ*, have each their own special *rten*, or symbols; *skuḥi-rten*, 'the image'; *gsuṅ-gi-rten*, 'the scriptures'; *thugs-kyi-rten*, 'the *mchod-rten*.' They represent a kind of triad, corresponding to the 'three holies', *dkon-mchog-gsum*, i.e. the Buddha, the Law, and the Order of Monks (cf. Sir M. Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 175). But, just as *dkon-mchog-gsum* is not without some underlying idea of a Supreme Being, ruling over all, there may be some other more obscure and deeper meaning embodied in these symbols. *Tshe-dpag-med*, 'time without measure,' 'eternity,' an epithet of Gautama Buddha. (It is Amitāyus, or Amitābha, F., and the book indicated is the *Amitāyur-nāma-dhāraṇī*.) *Bhe-da*, professional musicians of low caste, Muhammadans, of Balti extraction. They, as well as the other low-caste inhabitants of Ladakh, now may possess fields and houses. *Mon*, joiners and carpenters by profession, also of low caste, though not quite so low as the *Bhe-da*. They probably are remnants of the tribes of aborigines which at one time occupied the hill districts of the Himalayas. Though Buddhists, the zamindars keep apart from them, and any zamindar who would marry a Mon maiden would by doing so lose his caste. *Ti-shi*, another low caste, shoemakers by profession. They also are Buddhists.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The biography of the famous reformer Tsoṅ-kha-pa is found in G. Huth's *Ḥjigs-med-nam-mkhaḥ* (vol. ii, pp. 176 sqq.). I do not believe that any of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's writings have as yet been translated. Inscriptions of the times of the reformation are found in the desert between Poo (Spu) and Spyi-ti, and a single specimen at Kha-la-rtse (see my article, 'Historische Dokumente von Khalatse,' ZDMG., vol. lxi). Rock-carvings representing the reformer are found on the rock below the Dpe-thob (Spithug) monastery. For King Ḫbum-lde's rock-edict at Mul-bhe see my article in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, p. 72. For the invasion of Zainu'l-'ābidīn of Kashmir, which probably took place during the reign of this king, see my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92. Schlagintweit's spelling Glaḥi-rgyal-po is probably a mistake, Glebi-rgyal-po, 'King of Leh,' being intended. At the Byams-pa-dmar-po monastery we find a picture representing this king together with his wife and his son Blo-gros. From the inscription we infer that in old age he became a lama and made over the kingdom to his son.

His son was Blo-gros-mchog-ldan (*c.* 1440–70 A.D.). In the time of this king were brought from Gu-ge 18 coats of mail, the most excellent of their number being the Dmu-khrab-zil-pa (the 'resplendent devil-coat-of-mail'), the Ma-moḥi-mun-sgribs ('devil-darkness'), the Khrab-chuṅ-dkaḥ-ru (the 'little coat-of-mail Heavy-weight' ?), and the Lha-khrab-dkar-po (the 'white Deva-coat-of-mail'); 18 swords, amongst them being the Nam-mkhaḥ-khrag-ldag (the 'licking-blood off the sky'), the Ḫbroṅ-rtse-riṅs (the 'wild yak, long point'), and the Glog-dmar-me-gsod (the 'killer of the red lightning-flame'); 15 knives, whereof the best were the Ddud-gri-nag-po (the 'black devil-knife') and the Dam-gri-gżuṅ-brgyad (the 'knife of eight marks', seals ?); 15 turquoises, the best of these were the Lha-gyu-ḥod-ldan (the 'luminous deva-turquoise') and the Lha-gyu-dkar-po (the 'white deva-turquoise'); 20 saddles, amongst them the Sga-ma-ji-khri-steṅs (the 'raised glory-throne (?) saddle') and the Bkra-śis-ḥod-ldan (the 'good fortune, light-emitting'). [Also] ponies, viz. 50 grey ones, 50 isabel, 20 black, 30 piebald; also 20 young yak-cows, and 20 light-brown yak-bulls, besides sheep, etc., in short, tribute, revenue, and presents in vast quantities. Having conquered Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, [the state] grew much in extent and flourished.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Names given to weapons, etc., are very common in Tibetan literature. They present a serious obstacle in reading, e.g. the Gesar epic. Schlagintweit also, in this passage, failed to recognize the fact that it chiefly consists of proper names. Coats of mail in Ladakh usually were either chain armour or made of scales of metal. At Phyi-dbaṅ (Survey map: Phayang) lamasery a collection of such armour is still shown to visitors.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Probably during the reign of this king the expedition of the Kashmir king Ādam-Khān to Tibet took place. (See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92; Śrīvara, i, 71 and 82.) This king is also mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Trans., pp. 418–19, 460) as still living in 1532 A.D.; probably his descendants are called by his name. There his name is spelt Lata-jugh-dan. As mentioned above, a portrait of this king is found in the Byams-pa-dmar-po monastery at Leh. In the inscription below the picture he is named Blo-gros. Before becoming king he was a lama. As regards the Kashmir expedition, it is possible that Blo-gros took the side of the Kashmiris and assisted them in their conquest of Gu-ge. The booty indicated above may have been taken on that occasion. The Khri-dpon of Pu-rig seems likewise to have joined the Kashmir army (see inscription No. 192).

VII. The Early Kings of the Second West Tibetan Dynasty

(*A* MS.) Lha-chen-Grags-pa-ḥbum (*c.* 1400–40 A.D.) had ruled over Rab-brtan-lha-rtse, Gte-ya (*L* MS. : Te-ba), etc. He built the royal city of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Rab-brtan-lha-rtse is the proper name of the palace of Basgo (Survey map: Bazgo), now in ruins. Gte-ya is situated near Sñur-la (Sñuṅ-la; Survey map: Snurla), but off the main valley to the north (Survey map: Teah). Gtiṅ-sgaṅ is situated close to Gte-ya (Survey map: Temesgam). It is, according to our ideas, a village. It is one of the prettiest villages in Ladakh.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

A seal attributed to this king is still in the possession of the ex-kings of Ladakh. The impression of the seal which I was able to see was too indistinct to allow of any deciphering. It contains Sanskrit formulas in Lañtsha characters, but not a royal name. The king is mentioned in a votive inscription from Bde-skyid, Nub-ra.

His son was Lha-chen-Bha-ra (*c.* 1440–70 A.D.).

NOTES

Nothing known beyond the name.

His son was Lha-chen-Bha-gan (*c.* 1470–1500 A.D.). This king being very fond of fighting, he and the people of Śel (*L* MS. : Śes), having formed an alliance, deposed and subjected the sons of the King of Sle (Leh, Gle), Grags-ḥbum-lde, [viz.] Blo-gros-mchog-ldan, Druṅ-pa-'A-li, and Slab-bstan-dar-rgyas (*L* MS. : Slab-bstan).

NOTES

Śel, vulg. Śe (Survey map: Shay), village 10 miles S.S.E. of Leh, on the right bank of the Indus. It has a palace of the Ladakh rājā (cf. *B* MS.). To this note by Dr. K. Marx let me add that the spelling Śes-pa would suggest the translation 'the wise men', as Schlagintweit actually took it. But, as Dr. K. Marx received his information from lama Bkra-śis-btsan-ḥphel, who was an authority on the history of Ladakh, I believe that his version, founded on the spelling of *A* MS., ought to be accepted. Śel is apparently the Śaya-deśa of Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1107; cf. *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 460 n. It is probably the ancient capital of the country, and it is the town where the heir apparent must be born. This village contains a Sunni mosque, asserted to be more ancient than any of the mosques at Leh. It was probably erected by the Kashmir kings of the time.

During this reign, according to Śrīvara's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (iii, 82, 396, 440–4), the invasion of the Kashmir king Ḥasan-Khān probably took place. It ended in the defeat of the Kashmiris. (See my article, 'References to the Bhoṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 181–92.) It appears strange that the second of Grags-pa-ḥbum-lde's sons had the half Muhammadan name Druṅ-pa-'A-li. Perhaps King Ḥbum-lde was compelled by Zainu'l-'ābidīn to marry a Muhammadan lady.

Bha-gan (Skt. Bhagavān) is the founder of the second West Tibetan or Rnam-rgyal dynasty. He called his two sons Rnam-rgyal (*L* MS.: Gnam-rgyal), or 'perfect victors', and the word Rnam-rgyal, combined with other names, is found in the names of all his descendants. Being the founder of the Rnam-rgyal dynasty, he possibly accepted the name Lha-chen-Kun-dgaḥ-rnam-rgyal, which is found in the Daru inscription. The latter contains also the name of his minister Phyag-rdor, and the name of the same minister occurs also in inscriptions (Nos. 152, 179, 180, 205) of his son Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal. This minister seems to have done service under two kings.

A certain Baghan is mentioned, as a *Chui* (*Jo*) of the provinces of Tibet, in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (Trans., p. 468). Bha-gan was possibly still alive in 1532 A.D.

His sons were Lha-chen-Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1500–32 A.D.), these two. Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal had great bodily strength and dexterity.

But Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, the younger, being very crafty, caused the elder brother's eyes to be plucked out. Still, for the continuance of his race, he stationed him, together with his wife, at Liṅs-sñed. To him were born three sons: Lha-chen-Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, Rnam-rgyal-mgon-po, and H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. These three sons grew very tall in stature.

They grew taller within a month
Than others grow in a year;
They grew taller within a day
Than others grow within a month.

In his time the king Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal reigned. This king conquered [all the country] from Pu-rig upwards, and from Gro-śod downwards hither. He brought [home] herds of ponies in inconceivable numbers. He built the castle Slel-rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo, and founded the hamlet of Chu-bhi (*L* MS.: Chu-bi). He fought against an invading force of Turks (Hor), and killed many Turks. On the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill he erected the 'House of the Lords' (Mgon-khaṅ) and laid the corpses of the Turks under the feet of [the images of] the [four] Lords. (*B* MS.) Again, by building the 'House of the Lords', he obtained power over the demon that turns back hostile armies. (*A* MS.) He invited from H̱bri-khuṅ (*L* MS.: H̱bri-guṅ) the 'Real Buddha', whose name was Chos-rje-ldan-ma, and then built the lamasery called Sgaṅ-sṅon-bkra-śis-chos-rdzoṅ. He made the rule regarding the number of children that were to be sent by every village to become lamas, and introduced the doctrine of the *Bsgrub-rgyud*. p. 38.
On the spot where the lamasery is seen [for the first time] he suspended a long prayer-flag. Whosoever, whether thief or liar, in short, anyone guilty of offence against the king's palace or life, if he escaped to this spot, should be rid of his crime. Again, he presented to the H̱bri-khuṅ (*L* MS.: Hbri-guṅ), Sa-skya, Dge-ldan, Lha-sa, and Bsam-yas [lamaseries] cushions, gold-water, long prayer-flags, [tea for] tea-generals, all an hundredfold, etc. He also caused a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* and *Bstan-ḥgyur* to be copied, besides many other books, and erected many *mchod-rtens*.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Liṅs-sñed, Liṅ-śed (Survey map: Linshot) in Zaṅs-dkar, four marches south of Khalatse. Pu-rig, district crossed by the Kashmir road from the Zoji-la to the Photo-la. Capitals: Kargil and Kartse. The inhabitants are partly Buddhist, partly Shiah Muhammadans. They are a race distinct from either Baltis or Ladakhis. They wear an upper garment of a dark-brown colour, by which they may be distinguished from Ladakhis, and a small round skull-cap. The long locks of hair on the temples, in fashion with Baltis, are not seen with Pu-rig men. They all but monopolize the carrying trade between Ladakh and Kashmir, ponies—though not a very good breed—being their chief wealth. Gro-śod, name of a district about the twenty-fifth stage from Leh to Lha-sa between Maryum-la and [the river] Cha-chu-sangpo. The palace built by Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal occupies the very summit of the precipitous rock (Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo) at the foot of which the city of Leh is built. The 'Leh palace' (built by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, see later) is at a lower level. At present only some religious buildings remain; the fort itself being in ruins. Chu-bhi: about a dozen houses at the foot of the western declivity of the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo [hill]. Mgon-khaṅ: the temple and images still remain (information from Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel). H̱bri-khuṅ, a Tibetan lamasery. It gives its name to a special order of lamas of the 'red' persuasion. Sgaṅ-sṅon-bkra-śis-chos-rdzoṅ is the proper name of the lamasery at Phyi-dbaṅ, 6 miles west of Leh, vulgarly called Sgaṅ-sṅon-dgon-pa. As has

already been mentioned, it contains a collection of ancient armour. Sa-skya, Tibetan lamasery of 'red' lamas. It gives its name to the Sa-skya-pa order. This order is represented in Ladakh by the Maḥ-spro lamasery (south of the Indus, near He-mi). Dge-ldan (Dgaḥ-ldan), Lha-sa, and Bsam-yas are lamaseries belonging to the 'yellow' persuasion.

Regarding *btsun-gral*, 'tax order of children to be made lamas.' Under the old régime every family of more than one or two male children had to give up one—not the eldest, however—to be made lama. At present, of course, this tax is no longer compulsory, and hence the great falling off in the number of lamas. The lama child, Btsun-chuṅ, stays at home until his 8th year, wearing the red garment and the red or yellow cap from the first. Then he goes to a lamasery, or is apprenticed to a lama, in order to receive his primary education, until he reaches his 14th or 15th year, being all this time called Btsun-chuṅ. Then he goes to Lha-sa, where his studies receive the finishing touch. After a sojourn there of one or two years, or longer—now under the name of Dge-tshul (*upāsaka*)—on passing an examination, conducted by the head lama of the respective lamaseries, he is baptized, and thereby made a Dge-sloṅ (*Bhikshu*). Then he usually returns to his own country, in order to perform there the functions of a village priest, or to enter one of the lamaseries, where special duties await him. N.B.—There is a prevalent error regarding the dress of lamas, which is propagated even by Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, pp. 268 and 278), viz. that the dress of lamas of the 'red' persuasion is red, that of the 'yellow' persuasion yellow. This is not so. The dress of both the 'red' and 'yellow' lamas is red (with the exception of one special order of lamas belonging to the Dge-ldan-pa, who, to my knowledge, exist only in Zaṅs-dkar, whose dress also is yellow); but lamas of the 'red' persuasion also wear red caps and red scarfs round their waist, whilst in the case of the 'yellow' lamas these, and these only, are yellow. The *Bsgrub-rgyud* is a 'treatise on Esoteric Doctrine'. Gold-water, i.e. gold, finely divided by long trituration, suspended in water, extensively used for gold-washing the images. Regarding the sentence which occurs only in *B* MS., I am not quite confident as to the correctness of my translation; but if *mthaḫ dmag* means 'the hostile army', and not the army of the country 'operating at the frontier', I think the sentence could not be rendered differently.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Liṅs-sñed. I visited the place and found the palace of the kings of Leh in ruins. I could not trace any more traditions regarding the blind king Lha-dbaṅ, who had once resided there. Pu-rig, often spelt Bu-rig. Bu-rig is probably the original form. Pu-rig is the outcome of an attempt of many people at pronouncing the name Bu-rig after the fashion of Lha-sa. Thus, the personal name Bu-khrid was also converted to Pu-khrid. Many Ladakhis who have been to Lha-sa do their best to introduce the eastern pronunciation of Tibetan into Ladakh. Bu-rig means 'clever boys', probably because the Dards, the ancient inhabitants of the country, were superior to the Ladakhis in general culture. The Dard language is still spoken between Kargil and the Zoji Pass. The district consisted of two principalities, one with the capital of Cig-tan, the other with Dkar-rtse as its capital.

An inscription mentioning Lha-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal was found at Gtiṅ-mo-sgaṅ; see my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 38. An inscription and a portrait of Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal exist in the Mgon-khaṅ temple at Leh. I visited this temple, and found the figures of the four lords artistically carved in wood. The principal figure represented Rnam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa). Another inscription of Bkra-śis is found in the Gsum-rtsag temple at Alci, which he renovated. *Ladakhi Songs*, No. v, refers to this renovation. The pedestal of his flagstaff is still in existence at Phyi-dbaṅ. I am inclined to believe that he erected the flagstaff because he wished to appease his own conscience. He himself had committed a *crimen læsæ majestatis*. By embracing the flagstaff himself he hoped to get rid of the crime. He was apparently a great politician. When the Turkomans invaded his country, he instigated them to fight all his disobedient chiefs one after another (cf. the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, p. 422); but possibly he was killed by the Turkomans in 1532 A.D. There is in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (p. 422) a Balti or Nub-ra chief of those times called Bahram. He is probably the Bhag-ram-Mir of the Nub-ra inscription (No. 41 of my collection). The Turkomans call Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal Tashi-kun, which corresponds to Bkra-śis-mgon. It is remarkable that the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (pp. 423, 460), after having told of Tashi-kun's death, goes on to speak of him as if he had never died. I believe that the Turkomans, when once they had grasped the name of a Tibetan chief, did not let it go again, but called his successor by the same name. This would also explain why they speak of Blo-gros-mchog-ldan as still living in 1532 A.D. It was his successor, whom they called by the same name.

Then the incarnate king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1532–60 A.D.) was invited to assume the royal functions. Going to war, while yet quite a young man he conquered [all the country] from Nam-riṅs in the east (*L* MS. : in the north) downwards hither, (viz.) Blo-bo, Pu-hraṅs, Gu-ge, etc. ; to the south, H̱dzum-laṅ and Ñuṅ-ti, both ; in the west as far as Śi-dkar and Kha-dkar (*L* MS. : Ḵhab-gar). He also said that he would make war against the Turkomans (Hor) north [of Ladakh] ; but the people of Nub-ra petitioned him, and he desisted. He brought the chiefs of all these [districts], (*S* MS.), having spoken to them in a friendly manner, (*A* MS.) [with him] as hostages, and placed his own representatives in [their] castles. All Mar-yul grew much in extent and flourished. Gu-ge had to pay as tribute and dues annually 300 *żo* of gold, (*S* MS.) silver, 100 three years' sheep, and one horse. (*A* MS.) Ru-thogs had to pay 260 *żo* of gold in addition to 100 three-year-old sheep, one riding horse, ten tanned skin bags, and [the proceeds from the royal domains] of H̱khar-ḫo-ldoṅ and Żiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ ; [indeed], from all sides they brought in tribute and dues in inconceivable quantities. The king came to consider : 'My ancestors have, on the pattern of Lha-sa and Mtho-gliṅ of Gu-ge, placed the bones of the Buddha-Elephant on the Rtse-mo ; but, as the people do not go there on pilgrimage, or in order to worship, or to offer up sacrifices, or perform circumambulations, I will, instead, (*S* MS.) for the benefit of the creatures, (*A* MS.) build a monastery and establish the doctrine of Buddha on a basis similar to what it had under my ancestor Ral-pa-can.' But, as his work on earth was finished, he went to heaven.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Nam-riṅs, on the road from Lha-sa to Ladakh, twenty-one marches from this side of Lha-sa. H̱dzum-laṅ, not known. May be identical with Jumla in Nepal. Śi-dkar (Shigar), a large village (and principality) in Baltistan. Kha-dkar (Khaskar, *d* preceding *k* in Ladakh being frequently pronounced like *s*). There certainly is a Kashkar (Chitral) further west, but it is very improbable that the Ladakh Empire should ever have extended so far. Trade with Chinese Turkestan is almost essential to the welfare of Nub-ra. It is in Nub-ra that all the caravans going to or coming from Yarkand obtain their supplies for man and beast. Consequently most grown-up people in Nub-ra know the Turki language fairly well. H̱khar-ḫo-ldoṅ and Żiṅ-dar-chen-dar-chuṅ are said to be the names of two estates near Ru-thogs? (Let me note that on Montgomerie's map of the Western Himalayas there is marked a place Darchan a little north-east of the Manasarowar Lake.—F.) The Rtse-mo is the Rnam-rgyal-rtse-mo hill at Leh.

Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal is supposed to have been an incarnation of Phyag-na-rdo-rje (Vajrapāṇi). Gautama Buddha, in one of his births, figures as an elephant. His bones are supposed to be the relics referred to in this passage. They were destroyed by the Baltis during the time of H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. (Communication by Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel.) Ral-pa-can is the name of one of the ancient kings of Tibet (see *ante*).

Gte-pa, 'hostages' (according to Jäschke, Dict. ; the MSS., however, are unanimous in writing *ste-pa* ; pronunciation also *ste-pa*). One *żo* of gold is stated to weigh ½ *tola*, equivalent to almost 8 grammes. Its value in silver is said to be equivalent to from 15 to 18 rupees. This would correspond to the British guinea. One *żo* of gold is the price charged, e.g., for large printed volumes like the *Mdo-maṅ*, which may be had at Leh lamasery, printed to order for this price. *Sems-can-gyi-las*, 'his work on earth.' It would be far-fetched to explain this by 'the work (*karma*) of a prior existence in their efforts being exhausted', as suggested by Schlagintweit ['the merits of living creatures (i.e. his people) were exhausted'?—F. W. T.].

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

It is not at all improbable that Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's empire extended to Kashgar (Chitral). As we know from the Balti chronicles (see Aḥmad Shah's account), the Balti kings actually held Chitral. Dr. A. Neve, of Srinagar, tells me that he was shown at Chitral a chenar-tree which, according to local tradition, had been planted by a Balti king. When the Ladakhi king beat the Baltis, he gained power, of course, over all their possessions. Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal built the Byams-pa monastery at Bab-ago, where there is a portrait of him, together with those of his two brothers. His conquest of Kulū (Lahul) is confirmed by the chronicles of Ko-loṅ (Lahul). For a song of old Bum-bha, his minister, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs,' No. vi. Rock-inscriptions referring to constructions of roads by this king are found under Nos. 44 and 77 of my collection.

Upon this all the vassal princes in one place after another lifted up their heads. H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal reigned (*c.* 1560–90 A.D.). In the time of this king two chiefs in Pu-rig did not agree. He came with the Ladakh army to the assistance of one of them, Tshe-riṅ-malig. But the time had now come when the period of darkness should supervene, the period when royal supremacy should well-nigh be destroyed. The army of 'A-li-Mir, Duke of Naṅ-goṅ (*C* MS.: of Skar-rdo), broke forth. They met, and by dint of stratagem, [ever] putting off [fighting] from one day to the next, [he succeeded in holding them on] until all the passes and valleys were blocked with snow, and the king with his army, wherever they went, were compelled to surrender. All Ladakh was [soon] overrun by Sbal-tis, who burnt all the religious books with fire, threw some into the water, destroyed all the monasteries, whereupon they again returned to their own country. After this it pleased 'A-li-Mir-Śer-Han (Khan) to give his daughter, Rgyal-Kha-thun (*L* MS.: Rgyal-Ka-thun) by name, who was an incarnation of the white Sgrol-ma (Tārā), to H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal to be his wife.

(*B* MS.) After he had sojourned there for no long while,
[It happened that] 'A-li-Mir had a dream.

[He dreamt] he saw, emerging from the river below his castle, a lion, which sprang and disappeared in [the body of] Rgyal-Kha-thun. It was at the identical time that Rgyal-Kha-thun conceived. Now, after 'A-li-Mir had prepared a feast for all the soldiers, and Rgyal-Kha-thun had put on all her jewels, he invited Hjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal to mount the throne, and then said:

p. 39. Yesterday in a dream
I saw a lion [emerging] from the river in front [of the castle];
And, jumping at Rgyal-Kha-thun, he disappeared into her body.
At the same time also
That girl conceived.
Now it is certain that she will give birth to a male child,
Whose name ye shall call Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal!

Having said this, he gave [the king] leave with the army of Ladakh to return home and to resume his royal functions. (*A* MS.) To him were born two sons: Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and Nor-bu-rnam-rgyal, these two. At that time H̱jam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal bethought himself: 'In the first instance I went with my army to the assistance of Tshe-riṅ-malig of Pu-rig; the consequence was that all Ladakh was laid waste. Now

I will employ any means that may serve towards the propagation of the religion of Buddha and make it spread. But, as the religion of Buddha is entirely dependent upon the people for its propagation, I must, on my part, relieve them from all taxation, and protect them like my own children!' Having thus resolved, he equalized rich and poor three times. This king united under his sway [all the country] from Pu-rig upwards, and from Braṅ-rtse downwards. Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-mo, the daughter of Ḫjig-rten-dbaṅ-phyug, whom he had married before he took Rgyal-Kha-thun, also bore him two sons, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Bstan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. These two sons were sent to Dbus-Gtsaṅ (Central Tibet) in order to [lay down] before the precious Jo-bo (Buddha) gold-water and cushions. At Ḫbras-spuṅs and Ra-luṅ gold, silver, pearls, coral-beads, amber, trident-banners, [tea for] tea-generals, all in numbers of one hundred. At De-rnams long prayer-flags, and also messengers to invite the Ḫbrug-pa incarnation [to Ladakh]. For the sake of his reputation during his lifetime (?) he caused a copy of the *[B]rgya-[r]tog-gser-gsum*, the *Dkar(Bkaḥ)-rgyud-gser-ḥphreṅ*, and other [books] to be written in gold, silver, and copper. For the sake of posthumous fame he would have very much liked to rebuild and present anew whatever had been destroyed by the Sbal-tis, but, his life being short, he went to heaven [without having been able to accomplish his purpose].

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Naṅ-goṅ, 'central and upper [districts],' viz. of Baltistan. Braṅ-rtse (Survey map: Tankse), well-known village east of Leh, on the road to the Paṅ-koṅ Lake and Byaṅ-chen-mo. The limits given here include less territory than there had been under the kings of Ladakh at any other time. Ḫbras-spuṅs, a Dge-ldan-pa lamasery in Central Tibet. Ra-luṅ, also written Smra-luṅ, and once Ḫbrug-ra-luṅ, an important lamasery of the Ḫbrug-pa order, near Lha-sa. De-rnams, a lamasery (Dge-ldan-pa), two or three days' journey west of Lha-sa.

Jo-bo: I am informed there are really three images called by this name; two of them, the best known of all, are the Jo-bo-Rin-po-che and Jo-bo-Mi-skyod-rdo-rje (Akshobhya-vajra), both in the Jo-khaṅ at Lha-sa, one on a lower, the other on an upper platform. The third, Jo-bo-Śākya-muni, is the one at Ra-mo-che. The Jo-bo-Mi-skyod-rdo-rje was brought by the queen Khri-btsun from Nepal (see above, p. 88, n. 1); the Jo-bo-Śākya-muni, on the other hand, by the queen Koṅ-jo from China (see above). Where the Jo-bo-Rin-po-che came from I do not know.[1] *Cab-dar*, not *Cob-dar*, a long tuft of silk threads, suspended from a trident (*kha-ṭam-kha* or *rtse-gsum*) and supported on a pole. It may be carried about or placed on the roof of lamaseries and palaces. The Ḫbrug-pa incarnation is probably an incarnation of Dpal-Ye-śes-mgon-po, the tutelary deity of the Ḫbrug-pas. *Brgya-rtog-gser-gsum* is a religious trilogy, consisting of the *Brgya-stoṅ*, the *Rtog-gzuṅs*, and the *Gser-ḥod*. Frequently the last-named title is applied to the whole. (A copy of the *Gser-ḥod-dam-pa*, written throughout in the ancient Tibetan orthography, was recently discovered at Kyelang. It was bought by the Archaeological Department.—F.) *Kar[Bkaḥ]-rgyud-gser-ḥphreṅ*: Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel, late head lama of the Stag-sna lamasery in Ladakh, and probably the most learned lama in the country, informed me that this is a kind of clerical genealogy, or a list containing the names of the chief lamas of his own order, the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, from its very commencement. The Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa, who are supposed to derive their name from this genealogy, are a subdivision of the Ḫbrug-pa order. (Let me add that in No. 128 of my collection of inscriptions the names of the 'church-fathers' of the Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa order are given as follows: (1) Rdo-rje-ḥchaṅ, (2) Ti-li (Te-lo-pa), (3) Na-ro, (4) Mar-pa, (5) Mi-la, (6) Rgam-po, (7) Thar-sab-pa, (8) Gnas-phug-pa, (9) Dpal-ldan-ḥbrug-pa. The images of several, if not all, of them may be seen at the Lamayuru monastery.—F.) Although polygamy is not common with Ladakhis—polyandry being more in vogue—yet no one objects if a man, in case his first wife has no children, takes a second wife. The first wife is then

[1] [According to Sarat Chandra Das, *Journey to Lhasa* (p. 201), it was brought by Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's wife Koṅ-jo from China; cf. also Landon's *Lhasa*, vol. ii, p. 310.—F. W. T.]

called *chan-chen* (*lcam-chen*?—F.), the second wife *chan-chung* (*lcam-chuṅ*?—F.); *chan-ma* is said to be 'a woman who prepares food'; the spelling of the word is uncertain.

Żag-ci-ḥgro, 'what day do you think [we shall fight]?'; *ḥgro*, 'it is likely' (Jäschke, *Dict.*). *Yal*, 'succumbed, lost, waned.' *Rgya-mar*, the same as *Rgya-mar-phyag-rjes-su*.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The two chiefs of Pu-rig who did not agree were the Khri-Sultan of Dkar-rtse and the Pu-rig Sultan of Cig-tan. Both had recently embraced Muhammadanism. For a song on Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's alliance with Tshe-riṅ-malig of Cig-tan see my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs', No. viii, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57–68. In this song the Ladakhi king is called Mdzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal (Cārumant). Rnam-rgyal-mgon-po seems to have reigned for a short time before Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal ascended to the throne (see the Mdo-mkhar inscription, No. 108 of my collection). For an inscription referring to Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal's marriage to a Sbal-ti princess see my article 'Rock Inscriptions at Mulbe', *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 79–80. For Ali-Mir-Sher-Khān's position in Sbal-ti history see my remarks on song No. v of my collection, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1909. The word *mtsho*, 'lake,' which is found in the 'Song of Ali-Mir', refers to the Indus. The broadest part of the Indus at Skar-rdo is called *Rgya-mtsho*, 'ocean' (see Vigne's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 268, Gemtsuh).

Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal and his wife (Kha-tun) are mentioned in a votive inscription at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ (No. 208).

His son was the king of faith, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1590–1635 A.D.). From his childhood he was very strong, and in wrestling, running, jumping, shooting with [bow and] arrow, as well as matchlock, and riding—in every kind of sport—he was to be compared with Don-grub (Siddhārtha), the son of Zas-gtsaṅ (Śuddhodana), of olden time. The king, yet a youth, made war against the back-steppes of Gu-ge. Even so far as from the northern slope of Ti-se (Kailāsa) he carried away ponies, yaks, goats, and sheep, and filled the land with them. Some time later he made war against the central provinces of Gu-ge also. Śa-waṅ (a kind of game?) and Ża-ye (*L* MS.: Ża-yas?) he allowed to be killed, and he made all La-dvags to be full of yaks and sheep. He married the princess (owner) of Ru-śod, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, and made her queen. He invited the King of Siddhas (*grub-thob*), called Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, [to Ladakh]. This Buddha, who had obtained the rainbow-body, had visited India (*L* MS.: India and China), 'O-rgyan (Udyāna), Kha-che (Kashmir), etc., and had seen all the eighty Siddhas face to face. In fulfilment of his father's intention he erected at Bab-sgo an [image of] Byams-pa (Maitreya), made of copper and gilt, in size [as he will be] in his 8th year, and adorned with all kinds of precious stones; (*C* MS.) he offered up turquoise and coral jewellery and other things. (*A* MS.) He introduced the great deities of all India, east and west. He appointed for the duration of the [present] Kalpa five lamas to be in perpetual attendance, and to offer up sacrifices and keep the sacred lamps burning both day and night. He set up sashes made of the most wonderful Chinese silks, [and also] umbrellas, long prayer-flags, etc. Again, in fulfilment of his mother's intention, he sent, to be laid down at the feet of the incarnation of Ḥphags-pa-rab-ḥbyor (Subhūti), the
p. 40. Pan-chen, Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan [A.D. 1569–1662], golden earrings, silver earrings, amber [pieces of] the size of apples 108, smaller ones 108, coral beads of the size of fowls' eggs 108, pearls of the size of Chinese peas 108, and smaller ones a great many. (*B* MS.) At . . . Lha-sa, Khra-ḥbrug, Bsam-yas, and other [monasteries], he offered up sacrifices, everywhere one thousand. To the Dge-[ldan], Ḥbras-[spuṅs], Se-r[a], Ḥbrug-Ra-luṅ, Sa-skya, and all the other lamaseries both great and small, he made presents of [tea

for] the tea-generals, and other things, all numbering one hundred, in plenty. (*C* MS.) At Wam-le, Rgod-yul, Kha-nag, Gtsaṅ-dmar, Skyu-dmar-naṅ, Me-ru, Dar-rtse, he gave the entire population [to the monasteries]; and, besides, in Upper and Lower Ladakh and throughout his dominions, he gave estates as sites for religious purposes for the duration of the present Kalpa. (*A* MS.) To the Siddha Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, the same [as mentioned before], he gave, in the several districts that belonged to himself, estates as well as sites in plenty for religious buildings; and Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, during the reigns of both the father Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal and the son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, the father then being in the decline, and the son in the prime of his life, satisfactorily completed (*S* MS.) innumerable monasteries, of which the chief were these three, the Byaṅ-chub-bsam-gliṅ monastery of He-mi, the Theg-mchog monastery of Lce-bde, and the Bde-chen monastery of Wam-le, (*A* MS.) also the Bkra-śis-sgaṅ monastery and others. Thus the law of Buddha made progress and flourished. (*C* MS.) To the great Siddha, Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen, the supreme, he presented 100 ponies, 100 yaks, 100 cattle, 1,000 sheep, 1,000 goats, 1,000 silvers (Ladakhi rupees), 100 *ẑo* of gold, 3,000 loads of grain, one string of pearls, one string of coral beads, one string of turquoises, 25 matchlocks, 25 spears, 25 swords, 15 coats-of-mail, 25 pieces of silk, 10 pieces of brocade, 25 pieces of gauze with and without a pattern, 25 pieces of broad gauze for 'scarfs of blessing', and other presents inconceivable. Then he reared the Sle-chen-dpal-mkhar (palace) of nine stories, and completed it within about three years. His own private utensils for religious worship were all made of gold and silver, and very numerous. He also caused a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* to be copied in gold, silver, and copper, and, besides, many other [religious] volumes and books. (*S* MS.) Then also, he built a *sku-gduṅ* (kind of stūpa), six stories high, furnished with copper and gilt prayer-wheels. At Leh he erected three *man-thaṅ* (Mendong, *maṇi* walls), and in Zaṅs-mkhar one, with altogether 100 millions of *maṇi* stones. As a scent-offering he erected the images of the golden chain of the Dkar(Bkaḥ)-rgyud lamas, and the great Thub-[pa] (Buddha) at Śel (Śeh). [Thus] he caused the precious teaching of Buddha to rise like the sun over all men. (*B* MS.) All his dominions lived according to the rule of the ten virtues, and thus the whole earth was filled with the saying: 'In the whole world is there a king like Seṅ-ge or a lama like Stag; the priest and the donor; sun and moon, a pair?' After this, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal bethought himself: '[My] uncle Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal ruled indeed as far as Ṅam-riṅs in the north-east; but he did not live long, and during the reign of [my] father Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal all the vassal princes again rose.' So he again went to war [and came] as far as Ṅam-riṅs in the north. At Śi-ri-dkar-mo he stopped (or, he was routed at Śi-ri-dkar-mo). Upon this there arrived an ambassador from Tibet, and it was agreed that the frontier should remain as before, and that his dominions should include all the country up to Dbu[s]-Gtsaṅ. On his return journey he died at Wam-le. (*L* MS.) Further, [this king] made many small offerings and gave many hundreds of loads of saffron, different kinds (?) of linen, and tufts of silk threads. As an 'offering of the word' [he presented]

occasions copies of the five divisions of the *Byams-chos*, and on two occasions copies of the *Brgya-[r]tog-gser-gsum*. He caused the biography of Stag-tshaṅs-ras-chen and the *Mgur-ḥbum* to be copied in gold, silver, and copper. He caused many hundred million of *maṇi* formulas to be recited, and for them offered many sacrifices of a hundred or a thousand each. Besides he built the Stag-sna [and other monasteries], although in reality he did not build them, but they came into existence by a miracle. He introduced the teaching of the *Bsgrub-rgyud*. During the time of this king, 'Adam-mkhan, the king of Sbal-ti, having brought in the army of Pad-cha-Śa-ḥjan, they fought many battles at Mkhar-bu, and, many Hor (Mughal soldiers) being killed, a complete victory was gained over the enemy. An army being sent against Gu-ge, its chief and owner was deposed, and Rtsa-braṅ of Gu-ge, as well as [the] Los-loṅ (the really blind one), were seized. The 'Aṅ-pa (chief?) of Ru-thog was also deposed, and Ru-thog was seized. [Then] war was made against Dbus-Gtsaṅ, and Śi-ri as well as Kyar-Kyar were made
p. 41. tributary. The King of Dbus-Gtsaṅ, Sde-pa-gtsaṅ-pa, presented many mule-loads of gold, silver, and tea; and after [Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal] had paid his respects (?) he went home together with the army of Ladakh. He also brought Lho-mo-sdaṅ into his power. He reigned from Bu-raṅ, Gu-ge, Zaṅs-dkar, Spyi-ti, and Bu-rig, as far as the Mar-yum pass in the east. Ru-thog and the districts as far as the gold-mines were brought under his sway, and La-dvags spread and flourished.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Ru-śod, an upland district (about 15,000 feet elevation) between Ladakh and Lahul and Spiti, usually called Rupshu (Drew) or Rukshu (Survey map). The present 'queen' of Ladakh is also a Rupshu princess. Bab-sgo, village on the River Indus, about 18 miles west of Leh (Survey map: Bazgo). The temple and image (the so-called Se-ljaṅ monastery) still remain, whilst the palace is in ruins. The place is well worth a visit. Khrag-ḥbrug is a Dge-ldan-pa lamasery at Lhasa. Bkra-śis-sgaṅ, in Tibet, about two marches from the frontier, on the River Indus (map of Turkestan: Tashigong). He-mi, famous lamasery in Ladakh (Survey map: Himis), about 18 miles S.S.E. of Leh. The Himis fair in summer is the chief attraction to sight-seers in Ladakh. This lamasery is at present still the greatest landowner in Ladakh, and its steward one of the most influential persons in the country. The lamas are of the Ḥbrug-pa order of the 'red' persuasion. Theg-mchog of Lce-ḥbre is a sister lamasery to He-mi, north of the Indus (vulg. Chemre; Survey map: Chimray). Byaṅ-Nam-riṅs; Northern Nam-riṅs: the word Byaṅ has probably come to be a compound part of the name. Śi-ri-dkar-mo, name of a small lamasery on a rock on the right bank of the River Charta-Sangpo (map of Turkestan). The difficulty of crossing the river may to some extent account for the defeat of the Ladakh army (cf. Koeppen, ii, p. 146, n. 1). Rgod-yul is the name of the Hanle (Wam-le) district Kha-nag (Drew's map: Kharnak; Survey map: Khanuk; vulg. Kharnak), a valley in Zaṅs-dkar. Gtsaṅ, abridged from Gtsaṅ-kha, a valley near He-mi. Dmar, abridged from Dmar-rtse-laṅ (Drew: Marchalong; Survey map: Marsahing), near He-mi. Of the combination Skyu-dmar-naṅ: Skyu = Skew or Skio (Survey map) in the valley of Dmar-kha in Zaṅs-dkar; Dmar stands for Dmar-kha (Drew and Survey: Markha); Naṅ, probably a hamlet in the same valley. Me-ru (Survey map: Miru), on the Rgya River, one march south of He-mi. Dar-rtse? (A village called Dar-rtse is found in the upper part of the Bhāga Valley, Lahul.—F.) The Sle-chen-dpal-mkhar is the palace of Leh, a conspicuous building immediately above the city. (A picture is given in Cunningham's *Ladak*, where there is also another of the Wam-le (Hanle) monastery.)

Grub-thob, *Siddha*, according to Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 536), seems to denote the degree next to and below Arhatship. This passage, however, properly refers to Jainism. The word occurs again in the text four lines further down, where the eighty *Grub-thob* are mentioned. The only 'eighty' referred to anywhere in Buddhistic literature are, I believe, the 'eighty great disciples', *Mahā-śrāvakas*. They, indeed, were not

supposed to have attained to Arhatship during life, but became Arhats at the moment of their death. Hence the *Grub-thob*, or *Siddha*, would seem to be 'a candidate for Arhatship', one who will obtain *Grub-pa*, i e. perfection, when he dies. Two characteristics of the *Grub-thob*, incidentally mentioned here, also prove that between him and an arhat designate is very little difference. The first is that he is able to have intercourse with the 'eighty great disciples', i.e. that time to him is of no account. The second is that he has obtained the 'rainbow-body' (*ḥjaḥ-lus*), i.e. a body which at death vanishes out of sight, not leaving any trace behind, just like the rainbow. Compare the seven Khri (thrones) in Chapter IV (*ante*). This, of course, amounts to obtaining *Parinirvāṇa*. Now, as according to Sir Monier Williams (*Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 134), the third and highest degree of Arhatship is identical with Supreme Buddhahood, it is no longer difficult to understand why Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen should be styled a Saṅs-rgyas, i.e. a Buddha. Stag-tshaṅ is said to be the author of the little book of travel, the *Śam-bha-la-paḥi-lam-yig*, referred to once or twice in these notes. (Portrait statuettes of Stag-tshaṅ may be seen at He-mi and Lce-hbre.—F.) The *Rgyal-mtshan* is a crinoline-shaped kind of parasol, but cylindrical, not conical, in form, about 3 feet in height by 1 foot in width; it consists of two or three hoops with a covering of black woollen threads or of trimmings of calico. (It is of Indian origin.—F. W. T.) It is planted on the roofs of lamaseries and palaces. The Paṇ-chen-rin-po-che at Bkra-śis-lhun-po is not usually supposed to be an incarnation of Subhūti; but, as he may be an incarnation of Amitābha, of Mañjuśrī, of Vajrapāṇi, and of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, there is no reason why he should not be an incarnation of Subhūti as well. (But see Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 207, where Subhūti is placed at the head of the hierarchs of Bkra-śis-lhun-po.—F. W. T.)

Tibetan *glog* (i.e. *klog* reading)=fire-arms. As to Śa-waṅ and Ża-ye (Ża-yas) no information was available. Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel, however, was confident that *mar-jag-la-gtoṅ-ba* means 'to kill'. *Dgoṅs-rdzogs-la* really has a much more profound meaning than simply 'in memory'. I think its primary meaning is 'to complete what may be supposed to have been the intention of the deceased person to do, but was left undone'; a secondary meaning would be 'to perform meritorious works on behalf of a deceased person, so as to benefit him or her in the *bar-do* purgatory'; and thirdly (once in *C* MS., distinctly so), 'funeral rites and prayers read for the benefit of the soul.' The litany used on such occasions is called, in the case of the Dge-ldan-pa sect, *Sbyaṅ-lam*, 'the way of removing obstacles,' viz. in the road to a happy rebirth, and is usually read for forty-nine days (as Sir Monier Williams gives it, *Buddhism*, ed. 2, p. 334). *Rgya-lha*, 'great deities'; I follow in this translation Bkra-śis-bstaṅ-ḥphel's explanation; but still some misgivings as to its accuracy remain. *Ḥbum-tshaṅ* are large earrings of silver or gold, consisting of a ring about 2 inches in diameter, on to which are strung, like beads, a large number of very diminutive rings of silver or gold. *Sa-phud*, a first offering, earnest of land. *Tsho-smad*, 'decline of life'; *tsho-stod*, 'prime of life.' 'The king was like a lion and the lama like a tiger' is an allusion to their proper names: *seṅ-ge*=lion, *stag*=tiger. *Mchod-yon*, *mchod*=lama; *yon*=donor, i.e. *yon-bdag* (*dānapati*), present lord. One Ladakh rupee is equal to ¼ rupee British coinage. *Rkyan-khab*=Urdu *Kimkhwāb*, cloth. *Men-tse*, silk-gauze with dots; *gliṅ-ri*, the same without dots. The two words combined are *men-gliṅ*. *A-śe* is a broad variety of this kind of loose gauze. For 'scarfs of blessing' see Huc & Gabet's memoirs, etc. *Lo-ṅo-gsum*, compare Jäschke's *Dict.*, sub voce *ṅo*, *zla-ba-ṅo-bcu* means 'the first half of the tenth month', hence here we probably ought to translate 'the first half of the third year'. *Naṅ-rtan* means 'his own private utensils for religious worship'.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

As regards the works of literature mentioned in the above account the following may be said: The *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* is, of course, the well-known encyclopædia. The copy in gold, silver, and copper writing mentioned above is apparently still existent at Bab-sgo. The *Stoṅ-phrag-brgya-pa* is a well-known work of Mahāyāna philosophy, the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñā-pāramitā*, comprising 100,000 ślokas. *Mdo-sde* is the name of one of the divisions of the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur*, viz. the sūtras. (*Skal-bzaṅs* is the *Bhadra-kalpa*, the beginning of the *Mdo*.—F. W. T.) *Byams-chos* is perhaps the abridged title of the work *Byams-pas-ḥus-paḥi-chos-brgyad*; but this work has eight, not five, chapters as stated in the text. For *Brgya-rtog-gser-gsum*, the well-known trilogy, see notes on Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. The biography of Stag-tshaṅ-ras-chen has not yet been discovered, but will probably soon come to light. The *Mgur-ḥbum* are the well-known 100,000 songs of Mi-la-ras-pa.

The additional lines from *L* MS. are of particular importance, for they tell us of Shāh Jahān's attempt to conquer Ladakh. He did not succeed, however, in capturing the town of Mkhar-bu. This town was built

on the top of a steep rock, and is now in ruins. On a plain below the ancient town, and above the present village of Mkhar-bu, there are many graves, possibly those of Mughal soldiers killed during that campaign. An obliterated inscription by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal is found on a rock below the entrance to the old town. It contains a date, possibly that of the battle of Mkhar-bu, viz. the water-dog year (1622 + 12 = 1634 A.D.). Cunningham, who on p. 322 of his *Ladak* gives a very similar account of that war, says that it was Jahangir who made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer Ladakh. In connexion with the tale of this war the name of a Sbal-ti chief Adam-Khan, is given. This name, however, cannot be traced in any of the tables of Sbal-ti chieftains. On the other hand, the Cig-tan chief of those times was called Adam-Khan. Cunningham, in his *Ladak* (pp. 345 sqq.), says that the name of the Sbal-ti chief was Ahmed-Khan. This is quite in keeping with Cunningham's tables of Sbal-ti chiefs, for the most important of Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's sons was Ahmad-Khan. The note on the conquest of Tsaparang (Rtsa-braṅ) is also of great importance. This is in all probability the conquest which led to the end of d'Andrada's mission at Tsaparang. *Los-loṅ*, 'the really blind one,' is apparently the nickname of the Tsaparang king, who was favourably inclined towards Christianity. Two inscriptions, evidently referring to the same king, the last vassal king of Gu-ge, Khri-bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde, and to d'Andrada's mission, were discovered by me on my Spiti journey in 1909. In Duka's *Life of Csoma de Körös* (p. 96) we read that a work by a Romish missionary on Tibet, the Speculum veritatis, dated 1678, was discovered in an obscure spot of Kunawar, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dr. Gerard believed it to be connected with d'Andrada (or his mission ?). It was sent to Csoma. King Seṅ-ge's Central Tibetan expedition was directed against Sde-pa-Gtsaṅ-pa, 'the king of Tibet.' This Sde-pa-Gtsaṅ-pa is a well known historical personage. He is mentioned in S. Ch. Das' article, 'The Hierarchy of the Dalai Lama' (JASB., 1904, pp. 85, 86), as having fought against the yellow-cap church from 1615–41 A.D. Whether Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal was successful to the very end of his expedition or not, I find it as yet impossible to decide, the text not being sufficiently clear.

As regards dates referring to Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign, the following may be mentioned. (It must be understood, however, that Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's reign overlapped that of his son Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. This son had taken charge of part of his father's work before the latter died.) According to part xi of the chronicles, the famous willow-tree at Leh was planted in 1594. In the same year, under Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the Kashmir mosque of Leh is stated to have been built. This is somewhat doubtful. In Schlagintweit's inscription from the He-mis monastery the following dates are given : Erection of the monastery in the water-tiger year (1602 + 12 = 1614 A.D.) ; completion of the building in the water-horse year (1642 + 12 = 1654 A.D.) ; erection of the great maṇi wall at the Seṅ-ge-sgo doorway (at Leh or He-mi ?) in the iron-dog year (1610 + 12 = 1622 A.D. or 1670 + 12 = 1682 A.D.). Above the door of the Lce-hbre monastery there is a silver plate, which contains nothing but the following date, possibly that of the completion of the building : The water-ox year (1613 + 12 = 1625 A.D.). The Jesuit mission at Tsaparang came to an end in 1652 or 1656, according to H. Hosten's *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India* (p. 17, n.). Thus it lasted from 1624 to 1652 or 1656 A.D.

In K. Marx's *B* MS. the great Buddha statue and the great stūpa, both at Sheh, are stated to have been erected by Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Their construction was possibly begun under Bde-ldan's father, Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The Bkaḥ-brgyud lamas are the nine church-fathers of the Hgrug-pa sect of Tibet. See notes under Hjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal. According to the text, given above, this king introduced all the great deities of India. It was probably during his reign that 'the Ladakh people imbibed faith in the doctrine of Guru Nanak', as stated in the *Hdzam-gliṅ-ye-śes* (JASB., vol. lvi, p. 192). Even nowadays the Golden Temple at Amritsar is a Ladakhi place of pilgrimage. King Seṅ-ge's orders regarding the dress of his subjects are found in my manuscript collection of proverbs from Rgya. A picture of the royal household of his times is found on a temple flag at Ño-ma in Ladakh. The history of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's step-brother, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, is to be found in my 'History of Lahul', written for the *Ind. Ant.* Ṅag-dbaṅ's name is also connected, according to tradition, with the Ladakhi monasteries of Stag-sna and Ṅod. The following inscriptions of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's time are found in my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions* : No. 50, Report of the construction of a bridge at Sa-spo-la ; No. 51, Hymn addressed to the king from Bab-sgo ; No. 52, Votive tablet from Liṅ-sñed ; No. 53, Decree from Stag-ma-gcig ; No. 54, Hymn addressed to the king from Skyu-bu-can ; No. 55, Historical inscription from Mkhar-bu ; No. 56, Votive tablet from Boṅ-do, Nub-ra ; No. 57, Votive tablet from Hun-dar, Nub-ra ; No. 58, Votive tablet from Sa-spo-la.

VIII. The Last Independent Kings of Ladakh

(*B* MS.) To him were born three sons, Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1620–45 A.D.), 'In-da-bhoti-rnam-rgyal, and Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal. Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal was made king. (*S* MS.): He lived according to the ten virtues, even during his youth. He protected his subjects according to religion. He wrote a biography of his father, in accordance with his [father's] character (or acted after the manner of his father's life.—F. W. T.). He showed unceasing kindness to others, and his courage was as great as that of four heroes combined. (*B* MS.) 'In-ḍa-bhoti-rnam-rgyal was ordained lama by Chos-rje-Smug-ḥdzin of Stag-sna, and came to be the most prominent amongst the disciples of Stag-[tshaṅ]-ras-[chen]. At the time of the erection of the He-mi and Theg-mchog [lamaseries] he was proclaimed [head lama ?], and became the most excellent amongst the clericals who delight in the doctrine. (*L* MS.) According to the teacher Stag-tshaṅ's advice (*B* MS.) he was made ruler of Gu-ge. To the youngest son, Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal, Spyi-ti and Zaṅs-dkar were allotted, and he ruled there. Then Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal resided in Ru-thog in summer, and in La-dvags in winter. He united under his sway [all the country] from Bu-rig to Mar-yul (*L* MS. to the Mar-yum pass). (*C* MS.) He united under his sway Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, Ku-ge, Ru-thog, Maṅ-yul, Spyi-ti, Zaṅs-dkar, Bu-rig(s), Hem-bab, Skar-rdo, Śi-gar, Bhal-ti, all these countries, and protected them like children; they were happy. (*B* MS.) In fulfilment of an intention of his father (or in memory of his father) he erected at Śel an image of [Śākya]-Thub-pa, made of copper and gilt, three stories high; also a relic-receptacle (*mchod-rten*), five stories high, of which the thirteen wheels, the canopy and the crowning-piece were of copper and gilt. Carrying out an intention of his mother, (*C* MS.) he built on the plain at the head of the Lte-bar gorge a 'long maṇi wall' 500 paces long (*B* MS.), having at either end a stūpa, one of the great Byaṅ-chub, the other of the great Rnam-rgyal [type]. At the Leh palace he put up an image of [Śākya]-thub-pa made of copper and gilt, two stories high. As it had been customary with his father, so he likewise appointed permanently for Ldum-ra, Zaṅs-dkar, Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo), Gtiṅ-sgaṅ, and other places 108 lamas each, who were to perform the 100 millions of *Om maṇi padme hūṃ* incantations there once a year. Furthermore, for the sake of his own reputation with posterity, he erected at Slel an image of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita), made of copper and gilt (*C* MS. a silver Spyan-ras-gzigs), two stories high; an assembly-hall, and a silver stūpa, two stories (*C* MS. three stories) high. Also at that time he appointed his minister, Śākya-rgya-mtsho, field-marshal. In the female water-ox year (1613 + 12 = 1625 A.D.) the Ladakh army took the field. Many men and women of Mkhar-bu were carried away captive. He-nas-ku and Stag-rtse were reduced and brought into subjection. Next, Cig-gtan and Śa-dkar (*L* MS. Śa-gar) were taken (broken). Then he led his army on to Sod-pa-sa-ri. He took Sod castle and gathered in the harvest of the fields. On his way back he sent his army against Sum-ḥbraṅ and conquered it, then attacked Dkar-rtse and again was victorious, bringing away with him its chief, the Khri-Sultan. In the male wood-tiger year (1614 + 12 = 1626 A.D.) he marched against Kha-pu-lu and conquered Chor-ḥbad (Chos-ḥbad) and Mtho-rtse-

mkhar. These districts he assigned to Hatam-Khan (Hetan-Khan?), Sultan-Khan, and (*L* MS.) 'A-li-Khan (*B* MS.), these three severally. The chieftain of Skar-rdo and all the Sbal-tis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawābs (Nawāb of Kashmir) [of these high-handed proceedings]. In anger [thereat] an army of Hor (Mughal) numbering 200,000 arrived at Pa-sa-ri; but the minister Ḫbrug-rnam-rgyal of La-dvags and the forces occupying [the castle] fought a battle against the Hor army, and killed many Hor soldiers. They captured ensigns and kettle-drums, winning a complete victory over the enemy.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The Śākya-thub-pa of Shel is an image of Buddha at Shel which is still there, as well as the *mchod-rten*. The thirteen wheels of a *mchod-rten*: in Ladakh, wherever there are any, there are always thirteen of these wheels; but many *mchod-rtens* are entirely without them. They are almost always red, and decrease upwards in size from below, so as to form a slender cone. In this case they are of copper and gilt. I believe their number is in some way connected with Shamanism. Radloff, in speaking of the Shamanists in Siberia, mentions thirteen worlds, through which the man who strives to obtain perfection has to press upwards. The top ornament of a *mchod-rten*, which resembles a large open flower (lotus), is called *zar-ra-zag* (*za-ra-tshag*). There are eight types of *mchod-rtens* (stūpas); the *Byaṅ-chub* is distinguished by square steps, the *Rnam-rgyal* by circular steps. The name 'long *maṇi*' for *maṇi* wall is given in contradistinction from the 'round *maṇi*', the *maṇi* driven by water, wind, etc. The 'long *maṇi*' mentioned above is the most conspicuous *maṇi* wall in the whole country.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Local names. Hem-bab is the half Tibetan, half Dard name of the town and district of Dras, on the Tibetan side of the Zoji pass. It means 'snow (*hem, hima*) falling'. The Lte-bar (Te-bar) gorge is situated half-way between Leh and the Indus bridge, on the road to Chu-śod. Ldum-ra (lit. 'fruit-garden') is the classical Tibetan name of Nub-ra (lit. 'western realm'), a province of Ladakh in the Shayok valley, north of Leh. He-nas-ku is a castle and town in a side valley at the eastern end of the Bod-Mkhar-bu valley. It formed part, apparently, of either the principality of Cig-tan, or that of Dkar-rtse. After its conquest a branch line of the West Tibetan dynasty resided there (see later). Stag-rtse was a castle of the chiefs of Cig-tan, situated on the right bank of the Cig-tan River in the Bod-Mkhar-bu valley. Śa-dkar (Sha-gar) is another castle of the Cig-tan chiefs. It is situated in a side valley on the right bank of the Cig-tan River, a few miles below Cig-tan. Śod is a castle in the vicinity of Kargil (Dkar-kyil). Sum-ḫbraṅ is not known to me. Kha-pu-lu is a Sbal-ti principality on the lower Shayok. Chor-ḫbad is a district in the Shayok valley, north of the Chor-ḫbad pass. The situation of Mtho-rtse-mkhar is not known to me.

With regard to the war mentioned in the above account, it is, in my opinion, identical with Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's Mughal war. Here we hear of Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal's exploits in that same war. The general drift of events seems to have been as follows:—At first Prince Bde-ldan marched against the two Pu-rig chiefs, those of Cig-tan and Dkar-rtse, who were subdued. Then he crossed the Chor-ḫbad pass and conquered part of Baltistan. The conquered districts were made over to three Muhammadan chiefs, possibly younger brothers or relatives of the reigning chiefs of those districts. Then the Sbal-ti chiefs asked the Nawāb of Kashmir to intervene. In consequence of this Shāh Jahān sent a large army of Mughal soldiers against the Ladakhis. Then King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal himself had to march against the enemy, and, in the end, the Mughal army was compelled to leave Ladakh without having conquered it. I do not yet know of any clear account of this war from a Mughal point of view. It is incidentally mentioned by Bernier (London, 1914, pp. 421 sqq.). But the date given by Bernier evidently refers to the battle of Bab-sgo (see later). 'In-ḍa-bhoti-rnam-rgyal was made vassal-king of Gu-ge, on Stag-tshaṅ's recommendation. His Lamaist training made him particularly fitted for the post of exterminator of Christianity in that principality. Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal became vassal-king of Zaṅs-dkar and Spi-ti. Several inscriptions containing his name were discovered by two Tibetan munshis, sent to Spi-ti by Mr. G. C. L. Howell, Assistant Commissioner of Kulū. The line of Zaṅs-dkar kings which ended with Rin-chen-don-grub-rnam-rgyal in 1841 A.D. was probably descended from him.

Also King 'Añ-phyug-rnam-rgyal of Zañs-dkar, a contemporary of Mi-pham-mgon, who is mentioned in a document from Phug-thal, was apparently a descendant of Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal. The following inscriptions of my collection refer to King Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal:—No. 59, votive tablet from Da-ru: No. 60, votive tablet from Da-ru: No. 61, votive tablet from Tag-ma-cig; No. 62, votive tablet from Dpe-thug; No. 63, edict of Kha-la-rtse, relating to the irrigation water; No. 64, hymn in honour of Bde-ldan; No. 65, votive tablet from Phe; No. 106, votive rock inscription from Mdo-mkhar. The campaigns under this king are also related in two land-grants addressed to the generals Śâkya-rgya-mtsho and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje.

His son Lha-chen-Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal (c. 1645–80 A.D.) came to the capital. p. 42
At that time the people of Lho-hbrug (Bhutan) and the Tibetans had a dispute. Now, [the head-lama of] Lho-hbrug was the patron-lama (patron-deity) of the King of Ladakh. The latter sent a letter to Tibet, saying that he was prepared to take up his quarrel. The Tibetans carefully considered the matter: 'Supposing,' they said, 'the king's army should arrive here first, it would, in accordance with his name, lead to an overturn of the State (*Bde-legs*, lit. 'good fortune', and *Sde-brlags*, 'overturn,' may have a similar sound in Tibetan pronunciation). Would it not, therefore, be well to raise an army [here] first?' To this suggestion they all agreed. At that time there happened to be at Dgah-ldan lamasery a Mongol lama, called Tshe-dbañ. The calculations pointed out him [as the destined leader]. He, accordingly, turned layman, and, heading the Mongol tribe and a powerful army [of Tibetans], he [soon] reached [Ladakh]. After a first engagement at Żva-dmar-ldiñ the Mongol army in due course arrived at Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo). At that time the king was staying at Gtiñ-sgañ castle, whilst the Ladakhi general and some forces following him seized Ba-mgo castle. Although they fought for three years, the Mongol army would not return [to Lha-sa]. So the King of La-dvags despatched a messenger to the Nawāb of Kha-chul (Kashmir). Then, an immense army appearing on the scene, a battle ensued on the Bya-rgyal plain near Ba-mgo. The Tibetan army was routed; they left behind them a large quantity of armour, bows, and arrows. Their rout continued until they reached Dpe-thub; the Mongol army in its flight [eventually] reached Bkra-śis-sgañ. There they built a fort, shut it in with a wall, and surrounded it with water. Inside they made it secure against an assault of armies, and there they abode. Upon this the Sde-pa-gżuñ (Lhasa government), apprehending that the King of La-dvags might once more come and bring succour, and that thus another war might ensue, desired the Hbrug-pa-Mi-pham-dbañ-po to go and negotiate for peace. Accordingly the Ḫbrug-pa Omniscient [undertook the journey] and arrived at Gtiñ-sgañ. Simultaneously some other messengers of the Tibetans arrived there as well. (*C* MS.) The King of La-dvags heard that the patron-lama of his forefathers had arrived. What these two agreed upon was not to be overturned again. [The result of their deliberations was as follows:—] As in the beginning King Skyid-lde-ñi-ma-mgon gave a separate kingdom to each of his sons, the same delimitations still to hold good. (*B* MS.) The Tibetans have come to consider that, since Tibet is a Buddhist, and Kha-chul (Kashmir) is a non-Buddhist country, and since Buddhist and non-Buddhist religions have nothing in common and are hostile to each other, if at the frontier the King of La-dvags does not prosper, Bod (Tibet) also cannot enjoy prosperity. [This being so], the occurrences of the recent war should be

considered things of the past. The King, [on the other hand], shall in future keep watch at the frontier of Buddhist and non-Buddhist peoples, and out of regard for the doctrine of Buddha must not allow an army from India to proceed to an attack [upon Tibet]. As to privileges of Kha-chul (Kashmir) [the following agreement was come to]:—The fine wool of goats of Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum shall not be sold to any other country; the price of fine and coarse wool mixed shall be fixed at eighty *ñag* to two rupees (*C* MS.) [or] the price of fine and coarse wool mixed be fixed at forty *ñag* to one rupee, (*B* MS.) [to be paid in both money and kind]; the Byaṅ-[thaṅ] people shall not be allowed to use the *ñag* of Roṅ (Indus gorge ?); it shall not be said of the wool of Byaṅ-[thaṅ] that it contains soil, stones, or moisture. To Ru-thog proper none but the court merchants [of Ladakh] are to be admitted. [Regarding] the goat wool [trade]:—four Kashmiri merchants shall reside at Dpe-thub, and do the trading with the Kashmiris of Kashmir. Besides these men, who are called Kha-chul-ḥgro-rgya, no Kashmiri of Kashmir shall be allowed to go to Byaṅ-thaṅ. Those Ladakhi-Kashmiris who go to Byaṅ-thaṅ shall not be allowed themselves to go down to Kashmir with loads of wool of goats. Regarding Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po's stipulations were to this effect:—It shall be set apart to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers [offered] at Lha-sa; but at Men-ser (*C* MS. Smon-tsher) he king shall be his own master, so that the kings of La-dvags may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Gaṅs-mtsho [lake]; it shall be his private domain. With this exception the boundary shall be fixed at the Lha-ri stream at Bde-mchog. From Tibet the government trader shall come with two hundred loads of tea; and nowhere but by La-dvags shall rectangular tea-bricks be sent across the frontier. Should the government trader fail to come every year, then the above stipulations shall no longer be binding. The King of La-dvags, on the other hand, shall on the occasion of the *Lo-phyag* (biennial embassy) offer presents to the clergy. (*C* MS.) This embassy has to be sent with presents from La-dvags to Tibet every third year. (*B* MS.) As regards presents to ordinary lamas, the quantity is not fixed, but to the Bla-braṅ steward shall be given ten *thur-żo* of gold (*C* MS. two *thur-żo* of gold) (ten *tolās*); ten *sraṅ* of scent (saffron); six pieces of calico from Hor (the Mughal empire ? or Turkestan ?); and one piece of soft cotton cloth. Throughout their sojourn [the members of the Lo-phyag] shall receive [daily] rations. For the road [shall be supplied] [beasts of burden, to carry] 200 loads; (*C* MS.) 25 riding horses; 10 men [to act as] groom, cook, and servant; (*B* MS.)
p. 48. 15 baggage ponies, 10 riding ponies, and 3 men to act as groom, cook, and servant. (*B* MS.) There [in Tibet] the horses shall have fodder without restriction. For the steppe-districts (Ḥbrog-sde) [will be given] one large tent and [three] small tents for the leader, the head-cook, and the treasurer. The baggage ponies [will be supplied] according to stages and (*C* MS.) both going and coming the goods shall be transported on well-trained docile ponies. (*B* MS.) It also had been stipulated that with every mission (Lo-phyag) one of the three [provinces of] Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum should be made over to (*C* MS.) Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po; (*B* MS.) but the King entered a request with the Sde-pa-gżuṅ that he, begging to differ from Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po's decisions, would prefer

that they should give three districts in Tibet proper to Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po, in the place of Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum. Thereby a provocation to Mṅaḥ-ris-[skor-gsum] might be avoided. Accordingly, the Sde-pa-[g]żuṅ made over to Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po three estates. Gu-ge, Ru-thog, etc., were annexed to Lha-sa in order to defray [from the revenue derived from these districts] the expenses of sacrificial lamps and [the reading of] prayers. Then the Nawāb of Kha-chul sent his army back [to Kashmir], and the Nawāb and the King of La-dvags became friends. Likewise, the King of La-dvags had to send his filial share to Kashmir every third year, and along with that 18 piebald horses, 18 pods of musk, and 18 white yak tails; (*C* MS. or 6 every year); whilst it was also settled that 500 bags of rice (*C* MS. 300 bags of rice each year), being the revenue accruing to the King of La-dvags from his *jagir* Na-gu-śa-har (Naushahr) should every year be sent up from Kha-chul. This rice ceased to be sent when the Ladakhi kingdom was overthrown by the Siṅ-pa (Dogras). Peace and prosperity being restored, the king in all his acts and plans had no superior, and his kingdom received great extension and flourished. (*S* MS.) When this Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal began to reign, the Mongol Dgaḥ-ldan-tshaṅ, who had eyes like a bird, brought an army.

The king, occupying Bab-sgo,
With the assistance of an army from Kashmir,
Beat the Mongols,
And the Mongols had recourse to flight.

Again the kingdom flourished as before, and enjoyed the highest felicity of virtue and happiness.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The treaty between Lhasa and Ladakh is still in force to this day: only a few slight alterations in favour of Ladakh have been made. The Bla-braṅ steward is an official of the Dalai Lama; see Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, ii, p. 384. Instead of 200 loads, as stated in the above contract, the caravan conveys 260 loads nowadays. *Thur-żo*, 'delicate pair of scales,' gold weights. Twelve *ñag* are equal to one *batti* (4 lb). Żva-dmar-ldiṅ is situated half-way between Bkra-śis-sgaṅ and Gar-kun-sa. Sde-pa-gżuṅ, the palace of the Dalai Lama, has usually the meaning of 'Supreme Government'.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

Of this campaign we have a fuller account in the grant of land to General Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje (see 'Minor Chronicles', *infra*). From the grant to Śākya-rgya-mtsho (*infra*) we learn that the names of the Nawābs were Ibrāhim Khān and Tīmūr Beg.

The date of the battle of Bab-sgo:—Moorcroft says (vol. i, p. 336) that it took place one and a half centuries before 1820 A.D., viz. 1670 A.D. The Chronicles of the Bashahr State place it in the middle of the seventeenth century, viz. 1650 A.D. As regards Bernier's account (ed. 1914, pp. 421 sqq.) of a Mughal campaign in Ladakh, it shows traces of the battle of Bab-sgo as well as of Shāh-Jahān's siege of Mkhar-bu. He says that the Mughal army besieged a castle. This might refer to the siege of Mkhar-bu; but, when he adds that they took it, the account reminds us of the battle of Bab-sgo, when the Mughal troops were victorious. According to Bernier this expedition to Ladakh had taken place seventeen or eighteen years before 1664, viz. in 1646–7 A.D. It is quite probable that the people who told Bernier of these campaigns were unable to distinguish between the two. That the battle of Bab-sgo must actually have taken place before 1664 A.D. is moreover indicated by Bernier's note on the Leh mosque. He says that the representative of the King of Ladakh who treated with Aurangzib in 1664 A.D. again promised (p. 424) that a mosque should be built at Leh. This was

one of the conditions of the 'Peace of Gtiṅ-mo-sgaṅ'. The present mosque of Leh was erected, according to a Persian inscription, in 1077 A.H. I believe that we shall not be mistaken, if we accept *c.* 1650 A.D. as the probable date of the battle. It is remarkable that, whilst Cunningham gives (*Ladák*, pp. 327–8) a Tibetan date of the battle, none of the MSS. at my disposal contain such a date. If Cunningham's dates were correct, we should have to place the battle about ten years earlier. But Cunningham's account is not quite trustworthy; for he places the battle in King Bde-ldan's reign, whilst it certainly took place under King Bde-legs, as stated in all my MSS. Mir-Izzat-Ullah, who wrote in the *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* (vol. iii, pp. 103 sqq.), adds the following items with regard to Bde-leg's dependence on the Mughal emperor:—(1) Bde-legs had to accept the Muhammadan name of Akabet-(or Akabal) Mahmūd-Khān; (2) he had to coin the *jau* (a Ladakhi coin worth 3¼ annas, pictured in Cunningham's *Ladák*, pl. xii) in the name of Mahmūd-Shāh; (3) a mosque had to be erected at Leh; (4) one of his sons, Hjig-dpal (? Cunningham's Jigbal), had to go to Kashmir as a hostage. A document with Aurangzīb's seal was discovered at Lamayuru by Moorcroft (ii, p. 14). It testifies to the dependence of the Ladakhis on the Mughal emperors after the battle of Bab-sgo. Inscriptions containing the name of Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal as King of Ladakh have not yet been discovered; but some mentioning Mi-pham-mgon (Mi-pham-dbaṅ-po) as regent of Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo have been found at Sñur-la, Rgya, and Phug-thal (compare No. 108 of my collection). After the battle a treaty was concluded between the Tibetan and the Bashahr State. Several documents of this treaty have come to light recently. A fresco representing the treaty is to be found in a garden house of the Rājā's palace at Rampur. A song of the siege of Bab-sgo (Ba-mgo) is found in my article 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from W. Tibet', *Indian Ant.*, 1909, song No. X. According to popular tradition the numerous ruins at Mkhar-rdzoṅ in Nub-ra are connected with the Mongol general Dgah-ldan-tshe-dbaṅ, of whom a portrait head may be seen at the Bde-skyid monastery, where it is placed in the hands of the ogre Mgon-dkar.

(*B* MS.) His sons were Lha-chen-Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, Ṅag-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (*L* MS. Ṅa-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal), Dbaṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal, (*L* MS.) Don-grub-rnam-rgyal, and (*B* MS.) Dgaḥ-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Of these four (five) brothers Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1680–1720 A.D.) was made king. (*S* MS.) Through the prayers of the brave-minded religious kings (Mahāsattvas) he erected all kinds of religious buildings and statues, according to the religious merit of all beings. (*B* MS.) In accordance with the rule of acting upon the model of the biographies of the ancient kings of faith,

He lauded the virtuous,
And suppressed evil-doers.

In pronouncing judgment even he never merely followed what first presented itself to his own mind, but [always] in the first place consulted his state officers. From every village he appointed as elders men of superior intelligence to assist him, and such as wanted his decision in rescripts, questions relating to field or house [property], he did not leave at the mercy of interlopers or partial advisers; but, having instituted [the councils of] three state officers and elders, he introduced the oath on the three symbols (body, mind, and word); first he investigated the primary origin [of any dispute], and extracted the root whence future [evil] report might spring. This edict surpasses in excellence any of those that were passed by all the dynastic kings of Tibet.

(*C* MS.) He lauded the virtuous
And showed honour to excellent men.
p. 44. Old men were respected
And devotion was shown to the lamas.
Evil-doers were suppressed;

The laws were purified.
He was impartial towards the nobility.
And his subjects he loved like children.
He was appreciative to both master and servant.
Sacrifices were offered to the gods on high.
And alms were given to the poor below.

And so on. Continually, and without break, innumerable *mchod-rtens* and other monuments were erected. At Lha-sa the great lamas received offerings of one hundred severally. To the monasteries of the Uplands, as well as to those of his own dominions, he was merciful and appreciative without partiality towards particular districts. He extracted beforehand the root of the tree of [future] evil reputation, and in its place planted good report. (*B* MS.) This same King of Faith presented to all the monasteries in Tibet, but especially to Lha-sa and Bsam-yas and similar(?) lamaseries, gold-water and sacrificial lamps. To all the great lamas without distinction he made presents, whilst the brotherhoods were invited to tea-generals. The congregations that were under his own sway, great and small, received honours without distinction. [He erected] images of the Lha (god) that he himself worshipped out of gold and silver, [caused] holy books [to be written, and built] the Rdza-naṅ-gi-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo (a maṇi wall). Materials were collected for erecting the symbols of body, word, and spirit (the image, the scriptures, and the stūpa); printing blocks were made for the *Hjam-sdud-bzaṅ-gsum*, the hymn to *Ḥjam-dbyaṅs* called *Gaṅ-blo-smon-lam*, the *Śes-bya-kha-dbyiṅs*, the *Gser-ḥod-gyaṅ-skyabs*, the *Bkaḥ-sgyur-ro-cog* (*mchog*) and the *Le*(= *Las*?)-*bdun*. All these having been satisfactorily completed, he distributed sacred books amongst all the laity. He [also had] a *Ma-ṇi-then-skor* (prayer-wheel) put up, made of gold, silver, and copper. (*C* MS.) Many *Dhāraṇīs*(?) were completed (engraved), and Maṅ-yul clave together like curdled milk and was happy. (*B* MS.) Again, amongst all the people there occurred neither strife, nor robbery, nor theft; it was a life passed in happiness such as that of a child with his fond mother. After this, when the king's wife had given birth to a son, Lha-chen-Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, she died. He having afterwards married Zi-zi-Kha-thun of Bu-rig, she bore a son, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and a daughter, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-mo, in all two children.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The *maṇi* wall called Rdza-naṅ-gi-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo is found near the Leh bridge over the Indus. [This must be a mistake. People tell me that it is found near the village of Dga-ra (Skara). Thus we had better say, 'near the bridge over the Leh-brook'.—F.]. It is generally asserted that it was built by the Mongols, which is an error.

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

The Jesuit Desideri visited Leh in 1715 A.D. He calls the king Nima-Nimghial, and testifies to the absolute independence of the Ladakh Empire. The Latin Bible found by Moorcroft (vol. ii, pp. 22–3) in Ladakh was probably left there by Desideri. It came from the Papal Press, and was dated 1598 A.D. For a legal document and inscriptions of this king see my article 'Archæology in W. Tibet', *Indian Ant.*, vols. xxxv, xxxvi. Inscriptions of the time of this king are very common. The following are found in my collection :—No. 66,

votive tablet from Tag-ma-cig; No. 67, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal from Sa-spo-la; No. 68, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 69, construction of a road under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal A-ci-na-thaṅ to Ha-nu; No. 70, votive tablet from Skyur-bu-can; No. 71, hymn addressed to Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, from Bde-skyid in Nub-ra.

In the list of the king's brothers at the beginning of the paragraph the name of Ḥjig-dpal is missing. It was probably erased on account of his conversion to Muhammadanism.

Regarding the works of literature I must confess that I cannot trace them anywhere. The *Bkaḥ-sgyur-ro-mchog*, 'sweet commandments,' must not be confused with the *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* itself. The *Gser-ḥod-dam-pa* has been mentioned previously; the *Gser-ḥod-gyaṅ-skyabs* is perhaps a chapter of that work. [Possibly *Ḥjam*, *Sdud*, and *Bzaṅ* are abreviations for three several works.—F. W. T.]

The modern castle of Charasa in Nub-ra is said to have been erected by this king: of his treasury at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ we read in Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra war (see 'Minor Chronicles', *infra*).

(*B* MS.) Later on Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1720–40 A.D.) married Ñi-zla-dbaṅ-mo of Lho-mo[n]-sdaṅ (*C* MS. Lho-mon-thaṅ), and himself was appointed king. After a son, Sa-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, had been born, [the two] separated on account of disagreement of temper, and the queen returned to the south. (*C* MS.) Then Kun-ḥdzom was asked to become queen, and a son, Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, was born. (*B* MS.) Subsequently the king married another wife and a son, Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, was born; (*L* MS.) [and also] Rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal. (*B* MS.) The state officials, council of elders, and the people having sent in a request that Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal should be ordained and become a lama, or else reside at Gtiṅ-sgaṅ palace, the father, Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, [once more] turned king of faith. Prince Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's mother having died prematurely, Zi-zi-Kha-tun took care of him; consequently, whatever his kind [foster-]mother said could not be refused. The government was good. Soon, through the persuasion of the queen-mother, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal was appointed to rule from the Pho-tog pass over all Bu-rig. At the Dṅul-mdog palace of Mul-bhe he built a reservoir (?) (or subterranean granary ?). He married a daughter of the minister of Tog, but had no children. Princess Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-mo was taken by the King of Kasṭawar as his consort. Although prayed not to give her away, because the language as well as the religion of the people of India were different, the queen, saying, 'A child's
p. 45. rulers are father and mother!' would not listen, but gave her away. [Soon after, however], several servants, with Dgaḥ-phel as their leader, were sent to her. They said that she was not even allowed to see the light of day, upon which an army was despatched with orders to bring the girl back by whatever means. When the girl was being carried off, the king and queen of Kasṭawar, who were both very fond of her, said, 'Let us also go to La-dvags!', and set out with a few chiefs. But Zi-zi-Kha-tun here [in Ladakh] gave secret orders to this effect:—'If the King of Kasṭawar should arrive here, and not be killed in some clever way [beforehand], it might injure my son Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal's rule [over Bu-rig].' So without the knowledge of the authorities [at Leh] a servant of the queen went, and at the bridge on the frontier, between Kasṭawar and Pa-ldar, the servant, approaching the king in the manner of a servant with a request, threw him into the water. The fatal rumour soon spread all over the country. Consequently, although Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal and the elder son Sa-skyoṅ

deserved to be made lords of the castle, the younger brother, Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, through treachery of his mother, made him (Sa-skyoṅ) lama at He-mi.

NOTES

Lho-mon-sdaṅ, or Lho-mon-thaṅ, is a town situated a few miles north-west of Muktināth of Nepal. Pho-tog-sa is situated on the road from Lamayuru to Zaṅs-dkar. The above passage seems to refer to a pass in the vicinity. A pass named Pho-tho is found in Pu-rig, just above Lamayuru. Kaṣṭawar (Kishtwar) is a principality in the Chenab valley, between Kashmir and Chamba: nowadays it forms part of the Kashmir State. Pa-ldar is a town on the Chenab, a little east of the town of Kaṣṭawar.

For a song on little Prince Bde-skyoṅ see *Lad. Songs*, No. XVI, 'The Girl of Sheh.' According to an inscription at 'A-lci Bde-skyoṅ restored the outer court of the Rnam-par-snaṅ-mdzad temple at 'A-lci. Votive inscriptions mentioning this king are found under Nos. 72, 78 of my collection.

(*B* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal reigned (*c.* 1740–60 A.D.). But his uncle Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal tried to seize the rule over the Kashmir traders and [Phun-tshogs'] Ladakhi subjects by soft means as well as by beating. (*C* MS.) Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal and Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal were quarrelling about the government. (*B* MS.) The report reaching the Rgyal-ba-rin-chen (the Dalai Lama), viz. that a disturbance with the king on the frontier (in Ladakh) had arisen, and that this might be made an occasion for an Indian army to enter Tibet, at that identical time, just when he was in contemplation as to whom amongst the Bkaḥ-rgyud lamas he should give an order to act as peacemaker, it happened that the 'great man of wisdom' (*rig-ḥdzin*) of Bkaḥ-thog, Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu, arrived from Kham[s] on his way to Nepal, where he intended to replace the 'Wood of Life' on the great *mchod-rten* of Bal-yul (Nepal). At the same time the Rgyal-ba Omniscient (Dalai Lama) sent word to the 'great man of wisdom', 'The task of making peace in La-dvags being laid upon you, you should go!' He, extolling the word of the Rgyal-ba, promised to go to La-dvags. He arrived at Sgar. There, following the suggestion of the King of La-dvags, Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, and the ministers, the ministers of Zaṅs-dkar and Graṅ-dkar went as chamberlains to meet the saviour, the great wise man. They explained to him the condition of Upper and Lower La-dvags. Thereupon, together with messengers of the two governors of Sgar, he arrived at Wam-le lamasery. There he met with the King of La-dvags and his ministers, and in due course the Bu-rig king and minister arrived. They then deliberated upon the terms to be made. They all agreed to the decisions and obligations imposed upon them by the saviour, the 'great man of wisdom'. The results arrived at through these deliberations were :—Whatever the number of sons born at the castle of La-dvags may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become lamas at Dpe-thub, Khri-rtse, etc., but there shall not be two kings. The King of Zaṅs-dkar, having his dominion at the Indian frontier, shall remain king as before. The He-nas-sku [rulers], obviously being of royal descent, and their kingdom of little importance, shall also remain. With these two exceptions, it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Bkaḥ-thog is a district in Tibet. *Rig-ḥdzin* is the name of an order of married lamas. (As the dictionaries are not in keeping with this rendering, I have preferred to take the word in its ordinary sense, viz. 'Man of wisdom'.—F.)

NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR

King Phun-tshogs' name is connected with a rock sculpture of Mañjuśrī in the Mañ-rgyu valley. The inscription below the sculpture is found in my *Second Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 118. This inscription was re-examined in 1909, and a few errors in my first reading of it were corrected. Other votive inscriptions of the reign of this king are found under Nos. 74, 75, and 114 of my collection.

Grañ-dkar is the capital of Spi-ti. Sgar is the Garthog of the maps, in Gu-ge.

(*L* MS.) His son was Tshe-dbañ-rnam-rgyal. (*B* MS.) He was elected king. (*S* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal's sons were Tshe-dbañ-rnam-rgyal (*c*. 1760–80 A.D.) and Mi-ḥjigs-tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, the two. The elder son reigned in La-dvags, and the younger in Zañs-khar(dkar). (*B* MS.) Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal, mother and son, having equally divided the property at the castle of Slel (Leh), appropriated it, afterwards residing at the castle of Khri-rtse (Gser-khri-mkhar [1]), Bañkha (?). Sa-skyoñ entered at He-mi the order of the Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa; and queen Kun-hdzom bore a son, Skyabs-mgon-rgyal-sras-mi-hpham-tshe-dbañ-[ḥphrin-las]. Clerical authority (?) increased. Another son was born, who became very clever in medicine, and went to Lha-sa. There was [also] a daughter, who was taken to Tibet as a wife of a Hor-khañ-gsar. King Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, as long as he lived, remained ruler at Bu-rig. Afterwards it was united with La-dvags. By this settlement and agreement all the noblemen and the council of elders, as well as the whole empire, were rendered happy and contented. The princes were reconciled, and the lamas and chiefs went to the Śel palace. At that time a messenger of the Nawāb of Kha-chul arrived with the request that the [plain] 'A-phi-chen-moḥi-thañ should be cleared of water. On the occasion when the messengers had their audience
p. 46. the tea from one silver teapot [miraculously] in consequence of a blessing sufficed for all the men who took part in the banquet (were sitting in their order). The messengers believed, and went home. After that, the great *Rig-hdzin* deposited a copy of the settlement at the palace of Slel (Leh), one at the palace of Mul-bhe, one in Zañs-dkar, and one at He-mi lamasery; thereupon he returned to Tibet. Later on [a princess from] Bzañ-la castle was asked to become King Tshe-dbañ-rnam-rgyal's wife. About that time it happened that the devil entered the king's mind, and, giving way to the influence of bad servants, he married a [woman] called Bhe-mo-rgyal, (*C* MS.) a Bhe-mo from Tshañ-ra. (*B* MS.) The Bzañ-la queen consequently returned to Bzañ-la, and became the wife of the king of Zañs-dkar. His doings, etc., were not as before; unusual and strange. He had one groom only for each 500 horses, and a lamp, etc., in grandest style [at night]. The horses' feet and genitals (?) were paid much attention to (for finding felicitous days ?). [Text very uncertain.] The princes and the people could not endure such doings [for long], and once, when the king, through his royal prestige, made the taxes payable by the people three times [in one year], (*C* MS.) the noblemen and the subjects offered a petition, praying him not to do such things. But he would not listen. As no other means remained, they collected many soldiers, pressed into the palace, turned the Bhe-mo out and imprisoned her. The minister of Tog also was deposed and

[1] Additions in parentheses without reference to a particular MS. are taken from Dr. K. Marx's English translation. Such names or dates cannot yet be traced elsewhere.

imprisoned. (*B* MS.) Then they asked Bhe-kim-dbaṅ-mo (Bhe-khyim-dbaṅ-mo) (*C* MS. Bi-kim-dbaṅ-mo) of Sod (Śod) to become queen. She had three daughters and two sons. The name of the elder son was Lha-chen-mi-ḫgyur-Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal; that of the younger son, Tshe-dpal-mi-ḫgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal. The lesser queen, Kha-tun-Tshe-riṅ, had one son, who was called Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal. Then king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal died, and Skyabs-mgon of He-mi held a council with the princes and the noblemen.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

Hor-khaṅ-gsar is the name of an important family in Lha-sa. Bzaṅ-la is a castle in Zaṅs-dkar (Drew's map: Zang-la). A Bhe-mo is a Mohamedan woman of the lowest caste, masc. Bhe-da. Tshaṅ-ra is a village in Bu-rig. Tog (Stog) is a village opposite Leh, south of the Indus. Sod is a village and castle in Bu-rig, near Kargil. The Council of Elders (Rgan-gsum) is in Ladakh polity the lowest grade of councillors of the king. The Council of Elders consisted of about three or four persons of some standing and experience, specially selected. The second grade were the hereditary Blon-pos (ministers), also a small number; the first grade were the Bkaḥ-blons (prime-ministers), likewise four or five only, and also hereditary.

NOTES BY THE PRESENT AUTHOR

The above account contains a number of doubtful passages. Whenever I could not obtain any certainty concerning them, I have followed Dr. K. Marx's translation. The following renderings are doubtful:—*mo-spyid*, clerical authority; *ti-bi-chag*, horse; *gsaṅ*, genitals.

In the above account the word *Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa* is used as if it actually signified an order of lamas. This does not imply, however, that *Rig-ḥdzin* must have the same meaning. The word *Bhe-kim*, etc., is explained by the natives as the Tibetan pronunciation of the Urdu word *Begam*, lady. According to an inscription Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal restored the Likir monastery after a fire; and the restoration of the Maṅ-rgyu monastery was apparently also carried out during his reign (inscription). The following votive inscriptions of my collection mention king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal:—No. 76 from Pho-tog-sa, No. 78 from Mdo-mkhar, No. 79 from Skyur-bu-can, No. 80 from Skyur-bu-can, No. 115 from Skyur-bu-can. Inscriptions of the time of this king are not at all rare. In 1915 Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh discovered an interesting document treating of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal's marriage of a low caste woman which lead to his abdication.

(*B* MS.) On behalf of Prince Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal (*c.* 1780–90 A.D.) they asked at Pas-kyum castle in Bu-rig for a consort, and that prince was appointed to the government. (*C* MS.) At that time there arrived from Tibet the Hbrug-pa Omniscient Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba, who stayed at the He-mi monastery. King Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal made him a present of 50 ponies, 50 yak-cows, 1,000 goats and sheep, 25 ingots of silver, 3,000 Nānak-Sāhi rupees, 100 *zo* of gold, one string of coral beads, 15 pieces of brocade [*kinkhāb*], one piece of red broadcloth, [one piece of yellow broadcloth], 25 pieces of calico, 25 pieces of silk tafetta. Besides there were presents from the nobility more than can be conceived. (*B* MS.) The younger prince Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal became lama at He-mi. The son of Kha-tun Tshe-riṅ became lama at Khri-rtse. One daughter was given in marriage at Pas-kyum castle, and another [daughter] was given to the minister (Bkaḥ-blon) Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, the young nobleman (No-no) Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, who was made minister. The third went and stayed at Gzims-cuṅ. Afterwards, when king [Tshe-brtan]-rnam-rgyal was grown up, his personal appearance was very beautiful. (*C* MS.) This king was very strong, and he was clever at [fighting with] a sword, or a spear, or [bow and arrow], all three.

(*B* MS.) He was diligent, and obtained proficiency in Tibetan grammar and mathematics, Persian letters and language, the Kashmir language, (*C* MS.) the Yar-khen language, and (*B* MS.) other such languages, which he knew thoroughly. (*C* MS.) He was devout, and knew well the duties of kings. Before the enemy he was fearless. His solicitude for the welfare of his people was great. Between himself and another he saw no difference. As there had been thus far no principle regulating the taxes and revenue, he [made a rule] that henceforth taxes should be raised only [in accordance with the income], great or little proportionately. It is certain that this king was superior to all the kings that preceded him in their order. (*B* MS.) With a view to fulfilling an intention of his father he built a great *maṇ-thaṅ* at the lower end of the Kyi-gu (*C* MS. Kyiu) [gorge]. (Kyi-gu-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo). (*C* MS.) It was 350 paces long, (*B* MS.) with high *mchod-rtens* at either end of the *rnam-rgyal* and *byaṅ-cub* types. (*C* MS.) At the palace he erected a silver *stūpa*, two stories high. (*B* MS.) He also knew well how to govern, and he gathered merit through overpowering foreign foes by
p. 47. his splendour. He had no son. An epidemic of small-pox breaking out in the country in consequence of want of merit in the people, he died in his 24th year at Kar-zu. Then the Ḫbrug-pa Omniscient [Kun-gzigs-chos-kyi-snaṅ-ba], being present at He-mi lamasery, (*C* MS.) performed the funeral rites in grand style.

NOTES BY DR. K. MARX

The castle and village of Pas-kyum (Dpal-kyum) is situated near Kargil in Bu-rig, on the Wakha brook. The Kyi-gu-ma-ṇi-riṅ-mo is found opposite Leh. At its head is the Muhammadan graveyard. Kar-zu (Dkar-bzo) is the old royal garden at Leh. At present it is the British Joint Commissioner's compound.

NOTES BY THE PRESENT AUTHOR

Gzims-cuṅ is not known to me. Yar-khen is Yarkand. The Yar-khen language is the Turkoman language. In the seditious placard at Leh in Moorcroft's time (vol. i, p. 458) King Tshe-brtan's reign was compared favourably with that of his younger brother. Tshe-brtan was a great polo-player. There is a song still known, according to which he used to play on the polo-ground of the Mu-rtse garden, below Leh. Popular tradition says that once his pony shied, ran away with him, and threw him off. In this accident he is said to have lost one eye. The following votive inscriptions from the times of this king are found in my collection:—No. 81, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 82, from Skyur-bu-can; No. 88, from Bde-skyid in Nub-ra; No. 116, from Ñur-la; No. 117, from Skyur-bu-can.

(*B* MS.) Thereupon Tshe-dpal-[mi-ḫgyur-Don-grub]-rnam-rgyal, the monk of He-mi, was induced to turn layman, and was invested with royal power. (*S* MS.) As the life of the first son, Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal, was uncertain (he died soon), the younger one, Tshe-dpal-mi-ḫgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal [reigned] (*c.* 1790–1841). (*B* MS.) A daughter was born to Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal after his death. While he was king, a daughter, Bhil-cuṅ, and a prince, Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan[-rnam-rgyal], were born to him. Through the profound wisdom of the Prime Minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub [the kingdom] was united in friendship with the kings on the frontier (neighbouring states), and letters as well as presents were exchanged in a virtuous manner from both sides. Like a mother, he brought the kingdom to prosperity and to the side of virtue. Then, beginning at a certain time, some deleterious influence (*C* MS.: the devil) took possession of the king's mind.

All the servants in his presence were upstarts, and with them only he took counsel. In the country many fields and houses became ruined ('went wrong'). No oath was ever observed. In judgment also he regarded the riches of men. (*C* MS.) Until an oath was sworn, the king himself would not allow [the culprit] to go anywhere; he was sealed up and put aside. (*B* MS.) The private servants in the palace were not allowed to sleep or lie down at night, as in the daytime they had to sign a written contract [that they would not sleep?]. The king also did not sleep the whole night. He rose when the sun grew hot. In the morning, when washing his hands, he required twelve buckets (*C* MS.: 12 or 13) full of cold and hot water mixed to wash his hands. A regulation [of the water-buckets] was established, lasting from the first till the twelfth supply of water: in this way he washed his hands. When he travelled about in the provinces, he went only at night with lamps and torches held aloft. With the officials of the old régime he could not agree. This king took the privy seal from the Prime Minister [to the palace], and himself consulted with the headmen of villages, lords, etc., all men of a new type. The noble families he did not attend to. The king of Zańs-dkar, the minister of Bu-rig, and others were kept in La-dvags imprisoned. The new men that stood before him were made governors of the palace, and everywhere the old good customs were destroyed. At that time, having passed through Ñuń-ti (Kuḷū) and Dkar-żva (Lahul), the Baḍa-Sahib (Moorcroft) and the Choṭa Sahib (Trebeck) came with great wealth to Sle (Leh). They gave all sorts of rich presents to the noblemen of La-dvags and others. 'We must see the king!' they declared. It was said, 'What evil may come from men (India?), one cannot know?'; and, all having consulted, an audience was for several months refused. At last they saw the king. They presented a variety of things, chief among which were a penknife, scissors, and a gun. They said, 'We have come to see the way in which you yourself, your ministers, workers, and servants manage things, and your own wisdom; and, as there is some danger of this country being conquered by others, we might build a tower (fort) here, which in the end might prove useful to the king.' The king and ministers, considering the case, said, 'If they build a fort, no one knows what harm may come!', and did not allow them to build. Then they gave him (the king) a letter in a box and said, 'May the king himself accept this; it may cure the king's mind!' After staying through both summer and winter, they departed. These were the first European Sahibs who came. Next the army of Ñuń-ti (Kuḷū) invaded Spyi-ti, and, after having destroyed the villages and carried away all the property, returned home. They petitioned [the king] that he should wage a war of retaliation, but he said, 'You yourselves are of no use,' and punished them. Later on, Ñuń-ti (Kuḷū) and Khu-nu (Kunawar) of Dkar-żva conspired against Zańs-dkar, and laid waste [Dpal-ḥdum-mkhar] and the central districts. The symbols of Body, Word, and Spirit were destroyed. They robbed ponies and yaks and whatever there was of property, and again returned home. Later on Ratan-Ṡer-Khan of Pa-ḍar brought an army, and destroyed every village from 'A-tiń to Dpal-ḥdum. Throughout Dkar-żva and the central districts, on both sides of the river, they fought; and, although afterwards peace was concluded and they went back, yet the king said, 'You yourselves are of no use,' and punished them. One year later a Manḍe

p. 48. and Waran army came and devastated Upper Zaṅs-dkar up to Duṅ-riṅ. They burnt the villages with fire; and whatever they got of wealth and cattle they carried back with them. As the king again paid no special attention, the treasures he had passed into the hands of other nations. At that time the treasure was lost beyond recovery. Afterwards, as a memorial for himself, the king rebuilt the palace of Tog. He lived at the Dkar-zu [garden] of Sle, and there he built a palace, a Kha-tun-ban (*khaṭmband*), etc. The queen sent a messenger to Tibet to ask for a wife for her prince. A request relating thereto was addressed to the Sde-pa of Lha-rgya-ri. As a residence for the same the Sku-mkhar-so-ma (New Palace) was built at Sle above the temple of Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokita). In the end, however, through some accident happening in Tibet, the Lha-rgya-ri princess could not be asked to come here. The king erected an image of his own patron deity, Phyag-rdor (Vajra-pāṇi), in size like the king himself, made of gold and copper above the throat, which was of silver. He also erected a *stūpa* of silver, with a top ornament of gold, variegated with precious stones, one story high. In the Iron-Tiger (Water-Tiger) year (1770 + 12 = 1782; or 1782 + 12 = 1794 A.D.) he erected at Sle in the Theg-chen-goṅ-ma (hall) an image of Guru Padma-ḥbyuṅ-hbar, made with thirteen maunds of silver. At Śel he erected an image of Rgyal-ba Tshe-dpag-med, made with seven maunds of silver. And at Tog palace he erected an image of the revered White Sgrol-ma (Tārā), made with nine maunds of silver. Then, after a while, in the Wood-Ox year (1805 + 12 = 1817 A.D.) the Master of Perfect Insight, Yaṅ-ḥdzin (Yoṅ-ḥdzin)-lṅa-pa, realized that the prince was an incarnation of Sku-żabs Bhil-ba-rdo-rje of He-mi. He then made his residence at both He-mi and Theg-mchog. [Having thus become] so important a personage, he found it difficult to obey even father and mother. The queen travelled about in Bu-rig, Ldum-ra, and La-dvags, never remaining at one and the same place. She also asked the prince to join her, and took him with her. For the sake of the prince's amusement they passed their time, both day and night, in dancing and singing. Not heeding the king's command, the queen herself listened only to the repeated suggestions of her own steward, Bsod-nams-dbaṅ-phyug, and Prince Mchog-sprul's mind turned in the same direction. Even before this the king, the ministers, and others had for some time attempted to induce him to marry, for the sake of the dynasty; but he refused and would remain at He-mi. But, as there was no other son, and as a Rig-pa-ḥdzin-pa must reign in the sphere of the world (kingdom), as well as in the sphere of religion, he consented to the [united] intercessions of the king, the ministers, the council of elders, the lords, the stewards of the twin lamaseries, the *Sgrub-dbaṅ*, the *Atsaryas* (*Ācāryas*, teachers), and others, and married the younger daughter of Prime Minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma by name. Before one year had elapsed the princess conceived. After that he married Btsun-mo Bsod-nams-dpal-skyid of Pas-kyum castle and Zo-ra Kha-tun. These three ladies he married in one year. In the following (Water-Horse) Wood-Horse year a Siṅ (Dogra) army arrived in La-dvags (1822 + 12 = 1834 A.D.). (*S* MS.) During the time of his (Tshe-dpal's) son, Mchog-gi-sprul-sku, the army of the Siṅ (Dogras) tampered with his minister (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), and robbed the king of his dominion.

NOTES

Local names:—Dpal-ḥdum is the capital of Zaṅs-dkar, the Dpaḥ-gtum of the Zaṅs-dkar chronicles, and the Spadum, Padum, Padam of the maps. 'A-tiṅ is a town in Zaṅs-dkar, situated on a tributary from the left-hand side to the Zaṅs-dkar river. Waran is the Wardwan valley. The Wardwan river is a tributary of the Chenab in Kashmir State territory. Manḍe is probably a valley or town in the vicinity of Wardwan. Duṅ-riṅ is a village in Zaṅs-dkar, but I do not know its exact situation. The Dkar-zu (Dkar-bzo) garden at Leh once contained a royal palace and a *khaṭmband*. The latter kind of building is distinguished by its ceiling, as Joseph Tshe-brtan tells me, Most of the Tibetan houses have ceilings made of twigs only. A *khaṭmband* has a ceiling made of a number of little boards put together in such a way as to form geometrical patterns. The Lha-rgya-ri province of Tibet is not known to me; nor do I know where is the Theg-chen-goṅ-ma hall at Leh.

During the reign of king Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal Ladakh was visited by Moorcroft and Trebeck, between 1820 and 1822. Moorcroft mentions a war between Ladakh and Baltistan, see vol. l, p. 336. He was asked to interfere. A Tibetan document referring to this war was published by me in my article *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse*, ZDMG., vol. lxi, pp. 583–614. Another document, treating of wars between the Ladakhis and Baltis during that period, is entitled "The services of Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, minister of Sṅon-dar". A tender of allegiance from the Ladakhis to the British Government was communicated by Moorcroft, but not accepted by the East India Company. A letter from the Czar of Russia to the king of Ladakh was shown to Moorcroft. Trebeck witnessed a war between Kuḷū and Ladakh: see Moorcroft, vol. i, p. 456, vol. ii, pp. 63–4. Rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Mchog-sprul-rnam-rgyal are two different names of the same person. Rab-brtan probably received the name Mchog-sprul when he was discovered to be an incarnation of Bhil-ba-rdo-rje. As we know from Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra war, Prince Mchog-sprul was made Regent of Ladakh a short time before Zorawar overran the country.

A seal of this king in Tibeto-Mongolian character is still in the hands of the present ex-king. The following votive inscriptions of my collection refer to the reign of this king:—No. 84, from the road between Mdo-mkhar and Skyur-bu-can; No. 85, from Hun-dar in Nub-ra; No. 86, from Dpe-thub; No. 87, from Da-ru, in honour of the minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub; No. 118, from Mdo-mkhar; No. 119, from Skyur-bu-can. This king is mentioned in *Ladakhi Songs*, Nos. i and ii. The latter song contains also the names of his son Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, of his minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub, and of his wife Dpal-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo. The name of Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan's wife, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, is found in Song No. xvi.

IX. The Dogra War

(*Ca* MS.) History of the war waged by Mahārādza-Gulāb-Siṅg's soldiers against Ladakh and Tibet.

After that, there arrived at Man-ldra-baḥi (Mandre and Waran), together with a great host of soldiers, Zo-ra-war (*Ca* MS.: Zo-ra-war of Gu-lo-ri), the wazir of the reigning Maharaja Gu-lāb Siṅ, and generals Ne-rdab Siṅ, Mi-yan Siṅ, Mi-ya-no-ta, Ba-sti Ram, 'Ab-dar-bi-zar, and Mir-za Ra-sul Beg. At that time Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug of Sa-phud, father and son, were in command of the castle of Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru [valley]. When they heard [of the appearance of the enemy], they sent a report to the king at Slel (Leh). The king appointed the minister of Tog, Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, chief of the army, and sent him off with a great army. Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug of Sa-phud, father and son, gathered together about 200 soldiers at Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru [valley]. Then the Wazir [Zorawar] also arrived there. They fought for about two days; but [the Ladakhis] could not resist. Father and son both died in that battle. Then the minister of Tog p. 49.

arrived with his army at Lañ-gar-(mkhar)-rtse. Three or four great battles ensued. But neither side gained a victory nor was beaten. They remained equal. Then during one or two days snow fell more or less. The Wazir sent Lasu-mandru, a merchant from Kastrawar, to Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, to tell him [as follows]:—'If you are ready to pay a tribute [*nazar*] of 1,000 silver [rupees] to my government, we shall certainly go back [to Jammu]!' Then the minister of Tog wrote to the king of Slel (Leh) in a letter, 'If you will graciously pay a tribute of 1,000 rupees, they will go back! Therefore do graciously pay the money! If you will not show us this favour, I shall take six *jau* (a coin) from every soldier here.' Although the king as well as Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal and Don-grub-rnam-rgyal could see the necessity of this, queen Zi-zi would not listen. She said, 'The minister of Tog is of no use. Therefore Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin and the minister of Ldum-ra both shall go and bring the Wazir [Zorawar's] head!' Night and day reinforcements were sent [to the army]. Then both [the new generals] arrived at Lañ-mkhar-rtse. On the following day a great battle was fought, which lasted from sunrise till past noon. On the other side many Si-pas were killed. Then they remained one day without fighting. The following day they fought from dawn. A little after noon Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal, the minister of Tog, was hit in his right shoulder by a bullet. Although Mi-ya-Ne-rdab-siñ at once surrounded the minister with twenty-five sword-bearing youths, he, standing on a boulder and seizing his sword with his left hand, did not allow anybody to come near him. But, a certain Rohila firing a bullet, the minister died. Then Dṅos-grub-bstan-hdzin also with his army appeared on a mountain ridge, and he [also began to] fight. About fifty Si-pas were killed. Just before sunset Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin was hit by a bullet in his right wrist. [Then] the minister of Ldum-ra as well as Ḫgur-med, together with their army, fled; and Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, his servant Bya-luñ-(Bya-ruñ)-tshañ, and Myur-lha, these three, were left alone. As no other choice remained, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin gave his servant a packet of 100 rupees, which he had carried in his breast pocket, and sent this money, together with his humble salutations, to the Wazir [Zorawar]. The Wazir showed him [much] respect, and guarded him like the apple of his eye. The minister of Ldum-ra with his great army went across the river, and escaped through La-luñ-bsil-mo. Later on No-no Ḫgyur-med also went before Wazir [Zorawar]. But Rta-mgrin, the Wazir of Mul-bhe, was in command of 300 men of Upper Bu-rig. While he stayed [in the valley of] Srin-po-sna-ḫgugs (sna-khuñ), the Wazir [Zorawar] arrived there unexpectedly by way of Sar-re (?). The Wazir Rta-mgrin with his army attacked him on the road and killed between fifty and sixty Si-pas. Two bullets at least hit the Wazir [Zorawar]'s palanquin, without hurting his person. [Zorawar's] treasurer (quarter-master ?) died there also. On that day the Wazir [Zorawar] became stupified (?) and did not know what to do. [Text uncertain.] But the Wazir Rta-mgrin, seeing the great army of the Wazir [Zorawar], ran away over night. Then the Wazir [Zorawar], who had no more fighting men against him, marched to Pas-kyum by way of Dkar-skyil. He broke the castle of Pas-kyum, and turned the chief (*Jo*) out. All the treasures that he found he sent to Kastrawar, [accompanied by] 100 Si-pas. Then Bañ-kha-pa, heading 300 soldiers from Gśam (Lower Ladakh),

marched across the Sod pass. He pursued those 100 Si-pas and caught them at Bhatura. He killed them all, not leaving a single one. Carrying away the treasure, as much as he found, he fled to Skar-rdo. Then, in course of time, the Wazir [Zorawar] arrived at Bab-sgo. The king of Slel (Leh) went there also, and both met. All went to Slel, the capital, and there they remained for several days. The kingdom was returned to the king, and not a single Si-pa or other man was placed in the fort as a guard. It was arranged that 5,000 Rs. should be paid uninterruptedly as tribute to the [Jammu] government. Then [Zorawar] returned to Su-ru.

NOTES

Place-names:—Man-ldra-baḫi stands for Mandre and Waran, as I am told. Sa-phud seems to be the name of the territory on the Manasarowar Lake, which remained in the hands of the Ladakhi kings after the peace of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ. Laṅ-mkhar-rtse is a town in the Suru valley, below Dkar-rtse. La-luṅ-bsil-mo seems to be the valley of a small tributary of the Indus from the left; it falls into the Indus opposite to Chulichan. (Map: Laloo–Simool.) Bya-luṅ or Bya-ruṅ is the name of a house at Leh. Srin-po-sna-hgugs (sna-khuṅ) is the name of a rock in the Suru valley, as I am told. The Sod pass is probably identical with the Hamoting pass. Gu-lo-ri = Kahlur, Bilaspur, the home of Zorawar in the Panjab.

With the above account of the campaign the accounts of Bastī-Rām and Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse should be compared. Bastī-Rām, a Dogra officer and governor of Leh, wrote his reminiscences of this war at the request of Cunningham, who published them in his *Ladák* (pp. 332 sqq.). All the numbers given by Bastī-Rām are evidently wrong, either exaggerated or diminished. But the general course of events seems to be accurate. Both accounts are to be found in the Minor Chronicles (*infra*).

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
1. On the 16th August, 1834 A.D., the first battle in the Suru valley. The Tibetan general was Maṅgal (?).	1. First battle at Saṅ-khu.	1. First battle near Dkar-rtse. The Tibetan general was Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-phyug.
2. The Dogras advance to Suru, where they stay eight days.	2. Dogras advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	2. Three or four battles near Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.
3. Conquest of Pas-kyum and Sod; capture of 6,000 (?) Ladakhis.	3. Dogras advance to Pas-kyum, remain there for fifteen days.	
4. Negotiations at Mul-bhe.		4. Negotiations about 1,000 Rs.
5. Baṅ-kha-pa attacks the Dogras in the rear.		
6. Dogras retreat to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	6. Dogras retreat to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse.	
7. Baṅ-kha-pa advances to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. Battle at Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. 1,200 Ladakhis are made prisoners, among them Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and his son Ḥgyur-med.	7. 9,000 Ladakhis advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. Battle at Skyid-mar-rtse; 300 Ladakhis are killed, among them the minister of Tog.	7. Ladakhis under the minister of Tog, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, and Baṅ-kha-pa advance to Laṅ-mkhar-rtse. The minister of Tog is killed in the battle. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and Ḥgyur-med are made prisoners.
8. Dogras advance to Pas-kyum, Mul-bhe, Mkhar-bu, Lama-yuru, Bab-sgo.	8. Dogras advance to Mkhar-bu, Lamayuru, Wanla, Sñe-mo, near Bab-sgo.	8. Conquest of Pas-kyum. Baṅ-kha-pa recaptures the treasure of Pas-kyum.
9. At Bab-sgo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar; both go to Leh (April, 1835).	9. At Sñe-mo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar.	9. At Bab-sgo the Ladakhi king meets Zorawar.

Bastī-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
10. Zorawar remains at Leh for four months. Peace concluded. The Ladakhis have to pay an annual tribute of 20,000 Rs., and 50,000 Rs. for the expenses of the war.	10. Peace negotiations in the Kar-bzo garden at Leh. Every peasant has to pay an annual tribute of 10 Rs. 6 As. 2 Paisa.	10. Peace negotiations at Leh. The Ladakhis have to pay an annual tribute of 5,000 Rs.
11. Zorawar goes back to Suru, by way of Sod.		11. Zorawar goes back.

On the whole, the agreement between the three versions is all that could be desired. The only difficulty is the conquest of Pas-kyum, followed by an attack of Baṅ-kha-pa, which in Bastī-Rām's account (see his Nos. 3 and 5) is placed before the battle of Laṅ-mkhar-rtse, and in the *Rgyal-rabs* after that battle (see No. 8). Possibly Pas-kyum was conquered twice.

Then Baṅ-kha-pa and Bsod-nams-dbaṅ-phyug became chief councillors and gave the bad advice that an army should be sent after the Wazir [Zorawar]. A *si-pa* [called] Dam-bha and several others who did not wish the king well sent a secret letter to the Wazir. At Raṅ-ḥdum this letter reached the Wazir's hands, and he, passing through Zaṅs-dkar, reached Sle [again]. He turned the king out of the castle and gave orders that [the village of] Tog only was to provide him with provisions, wheat, and butter for
p. 50. food, and with grass, wood, etc. He also assigned [to the king] a *jagir* of 1,159 Rs. 11¾ as. and established him there. Prince Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan fled to Spi-ti, passing through Ldum-ra and Draṅ-tse. (*Ca* MS.) After having stayed there for one or two months, Mchog-sprul died. (*Cc* MS.) Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was elected viceroy. At Kara (Dgar-ba) a Ki-la (Qila) was erected and handed over to Magna, the Tha-na-dār. It was agreed that an annual tribute of 9,000 Rs. was to be paid to the [Jammu] Government. The Wazir [Zorawar] then returned [to Jammu, travelling] through Z̀iṅ-spyan. (*C* MS.) To Queen Zi-zi (Mchog-sprul's wife) a son was born, whose name was (*Cc* MS.) H̱jigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge-mi-ḥgyur-kun-dgaḥ-rnam-rgyal. (*C* MS.) To another Zi-zi was born (*Cc* MS.) Bstan-sruṅ-gyul-rgyal, who became king of Maṅ-spro. They also received a *jagir* of 507 Rs. 12¼ as., together with wheat, butter, grass, wood, etc. Then Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin reigned for five years.

NOTES

Raṅ-ḥdum is a monastery on the road from the Suru valley to Zaṅs-dkar. Ka-ra (Dgar-ba, Skara) is a village one mile below Leh. Z̀iṅ-spyan is said to be a village on the Zaṅs-dkar River near Phyi-gliṅ. Maṅ-spro is a village on the left bank of the Indus, immediately above He-mis. It is still the residence of Bstan-sruṅ-gyul-rgyal's descendants.

The following is a comparative table of the above campaign, according to the three authorities:—

Bastī-Rām (*Ladāk*, pp. 340 sqq.)	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
1. The Sikh governor of Kashmir excites the Ladakhis to revolt.		1. The Ladakhi king is calumniated.
2. Zorawar marches to Zaṅs-dkar. The chief promises to pay a tribute. News of insurrection at Leh.		2. Zorawar marches to Zaṅs-dkar.
3. Zorawar marches to Leh.		3. Zorawar marches to Leh.

Basti-Rām	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs*
4. The Ladakhi king waits on the Wazir at Chu-śod. He is deposed.		4. The Ladakhi king is deposed.
5. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin is made king of Ladakh.	5. Drag-śos of Kha-la-rtse refuses to be made viceroy of Ladakh. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin accepts the dignity.	5. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin is made viceroy.
6. The queen and her son go to Leh (?).	6. Mchog-sprul's flight towards Lahul. Drag-śos is punished.	6. Prince Mchog-sprul's flight to Spi-ti, where he dies.
7. A fort is built outside Leh.	7. A fort (Kyi-la) erected at Leh.	7. A fort (Ki-la) built at Leh (Dgar-ba).
8. Zorawar goes to Jammu. Basti-Rām is sent against Balde (?).	8. Zorawar on his way home destroys the treasury of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ.	8. Zorawar returns to Jammu.
		9. Two sons are born to Prince Mchog-sprul's wives.

Ladakhi Songs No. i is a song written by minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin. No. xviii is addressed to the same person.

In the sixth year the Wazir himself came back [again to Ladakh], and reached Zaṅs-dkar. The [old] king of Slel (Leh) went to meet him. At Pi-pi-tiṅ he met with the Wazir, and the Wazir showed him great kindness. Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin and the minister of Ba-mgo arrived there one day later, and met with the Wazir at Pi-pi-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar. [He] would not accept their presents. He pretended to be angry, and they all travelled to Slel. [Then the Wazir] said to Raja Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin: 'The tribute of five years has not been fully paid!' Having abused the rāja, he fined him 50,000 Rs.: the minister of Ba-mgo (Bab-sgo) was fined 30,000 Rs., the Jo (chief) of Rgya 15,000 Rs., and all the other officials proportionately. [The old] king was made king again. [Then] the Wazir's army, as much as there was, marched off to make war against Baltistan, together with the king and the ministers of La-dvags. The chief of Khar-maṅ led the way, and the castle of Skar-rdo was ruined. The chief 'Ag-mad-Khan (of Baltistan) was dethroned, and, after all Baltistan had been conquered, [the armies] marched back to Slel. The father-king of Ladakh was taken ill in Baltistan with small-pox and died. Mgon-po, the steward, escorted the corpse to Tog, where it was cremated. Then Hjigs-med-chos-kyi-seṅ-ge-mi-ḫgyur-kun-dgaḫ-rnam-rgyal-ba was appointed king, and invested with throne and power. The Wazir, rising himself, presented him with a suit furnished with gold trimmings [*kinkhāb*], a double girdle of wool, a piece of velvet, and a pair of golden finger-rings. He said:

"Thy father fled, and left thee alone (behind).
During my life-time I have had the pleasure of seeing thee grow up.
Thou art a king even over me: reign over me!

18,000 Rs. annually have to be paid to the high government! What can be got out of La-dvags beyond this sum may be considered as the king's own property!"

NOTES

Pi-pi-tiṅ is a little village near Spadum in Zaṅs-dkar. Mkhar-maṅ is identical with the principality of Khartakchan and Parkuda. The Jos of Mkhar-maṅ (or Parkuda) are a family of Balti chiefs, from whose daughters the kings of Baltistan used to select their wives. When the Balti Prince Muhammad-Shāh was disinherited in favour of his younger brother Muhammad-Alī, he fled to the chief of Mkhar-maṅ, his uncle, who took up his cause. It was only natural for the chief of Mkhar-maṅ to assist the Dogras in their campaign, because in particular the latter professed to defend Muhammad-Shāh's right to the throne of Baltistan. Bastī-Rām's narrative ends immediately before the Balti war. The remainder of the history was compiled by Cunningham from 'Other Information'.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE BALTI WAR ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Bastī-Rām (pp. 348 sqq.).	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. Gulāb Singh is displeased with Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin's election.		
2. Zorawar conquers P... and Chatrgarh, then Zaṅs-dkar.		2. After six years Zorawar goes to Zaṅs-dkar.
3. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin runs away, but is seized at Ta-bo.		3. The old king, as well as Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, both go to meet him at Pi-pi-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar.
4. The old king reinstated, the taxes being raised to 23,000 Rs. annually.		4. The old king is reinstated. Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin is punished.
5. Zorawar goes back to Jammu.		
6. Next year he comes to Leh again, to make war against Baltistan.	After six years the Ladakhis and the people of Pu-rig start an insurrection. Zorawar arrives at Leh, coming from Zaṅs-dkar. War is made against Baltistan.	6. War is made against Baltistan.
Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 346 sqq.).		
7. Prince Muhammad-Shāh is to be placed on the throne of Baltistan.		
8. Submission of the chiefs of Khatakchan and Khapulu.		8. The chief of Mkhar-maṅ acts as guide to the Dogra army.
9. Mia-Nidhân-Singh with 5,000 men is beaten by the Baltis.	9. Battle of Tse-tse-tsan: several Si-pa are killed (Dogras beaten).	
10. Bastī-Rām builds a bridge across the Indus. The Baltis are beaten at Marwan.	10. Zorawar beats the Baltis.	
11. Skar-rdo surrenders for want of water. Muhammad-Shāh is placed on the throne of Baltistan.	11. Skar-rdo surrenders after a siege of twelve days. The chiefs of the insurgents are cruelly punished.	11. Skar-rdo is conquered.
12. Don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh dies of small-pox.	12. The father-king and Baṅ-kha-pa both die at Skar-rdo. They are cremated at Tog.	12. The father-king dies of small-pox. He is cremated at Tog.
13. Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal is acknowledged king of Ladakh.	13. Back to Leh. Zorawar spends the winter at Leh.	13. Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal is acknowledged king of Ladakh.

The chief difficulty with regard to the events told in this chapter is the tale of Dṅos-grub-bstan-hdzin. According to Basti-Rām he was deposed a long time before the Balti war; but according to the Tibetans it was immediately before the war, after a reign of five or six years (1835–40 or –41). According to Basti-Rām he ran away to Spi-ti as soon as he heard of Zorawar's approach; but according to the *Rgyal-rabs* he went to meet him in Zaṅs-dkar. With regard to Prince Mchog-sprul, Cunningham says in this chapter that he went as far as Kotgur, where he died in 1839, being 21 years old. A 'Song of Prince Mchog-sprul's flight' is found in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 152), where we find also (p. 160) a song on King Ḥjigs-med-rnam-rgyal.

No long time after [that event Zorawar] deliberated with regard to the question of sending an army against Yar-khen (Yarkand) and Byaṅ-thaṅ. As it was a long way to Yar-khen, he resolved to send an army against Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum. Therefore the Wazir with as many officers and soldiers as he had with him; the Ladakhi [chieftain] No-no-Bsod-nams; the minister of Ba-sgo (Bab-sgo); Go-lam-Khan; Mgon-po, the steward; the minister Sa-bi; and all the other great councillors and soldiers went to make war against Mṅaḥ-ris. (*Ca* MS.) Mi-yā-Mag-na, the Tha-na-dār, was made responsible for all Ladakh. (*Cc* MS.) The He-mi monastery contributed 12,000 bushels of grain, 300 horse-loads, and 70 horses. At first they marched across the Byaṅ-la [pass]. Ru-thog was destroyed; and the minister of 'A-lci was stationed there as commandant of the castle. It was very doubtful whether a Tibetan army would ever arrive [there], excepting the 500 soldiers who were natives of Mṅaḥ-ris. The Wazir marched off with a great army, fought against Mṅaḥ-ris-skor-gsum, and brought it under his sway. At Sgar (Garthog) he built a fort (*qila*). Si-pas, soldiers, and castlewards were stationed in Bu-raṅ, Ru-thog, and other places, and then he retired to Sgar, together p. 51. with his army. Four days after the Wazir's return from Bu-raṅ, a Tibetan from Bu-raṅ, the chief of the archers, with 300 cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers, arrived there. Those fifty Si-pas who were stationed at Stag-la-mkhar (*Ca* MS. Dvag-la-mkhar) in Bu-raṅ were attacked and everyone of them killed. The Tibetan army remained [there]. Eight days later a minister, a *ru-dpon*, three responsible commanders, with 500 cavalry and 7,000 foot-soldiers, arriving from Bu-raṅ as reinforcements, are said to have been in Gro-śod. More [soldiers] were expected to arrive by and by. Meta Basti-Rām with 300 Si-pas was stationed at Do-yo. Basti-Rām uninterruptedly, by day and by night, sent reports to the Wazir. At that time two or three days had elapsed since the Wazir's arrival at Sgar. Then a letter with news arrived from Basti-Rām. It was conveyed by Ran-thag-(Raṅ-ḥthag)-Bkra-śis-don-grub, a Ladakhi, together with four men. On the following day the Wazir together with his army and the Ladakhi noblemen went back, not leaving a single soldier [at Sgar], and once more he arrived in Bu-raṅ. The queens (Zorawar's wives) were sent to La-dvags with No-no Don-ldan of Phyi-dbaṅ. A little below Do-yo he established a camp and remained. Then five or six great skirmishes took place. The Tibetan army, remaining inside the castle, did not incur much loss; but on the Wazir's part, being outside, many Si-pas were killed. Then snow fell, and the old men among the Wazir's Si-pas perished of cold. The stronger men [among the Dogras] and the Ladakhi noblemen, wearing their armour [fought ?] day and night without a break. (Text uncertain.) One day very early, at first dawn, the Tibetan army left the castle of Stag-la; 3,000 cavalry,

about 5,000 infantry, a captain of the archers, a *ya-po* (hangman, executioner), two *ru-dpons*, and two captains. They surrounded the Wazir's camp. From early dawn till sunrise both sides were engaged in fighting, and the firing was without intermission. Those who died on both sides were equal. When the sun rose on the mountain peaks, the Tibetan officers, as many as there were, and 3,000 cavalry, came out [of the castle], and Mig-dmar-tshes, the steward, without looking back or hesitating, leaped into the [Dogra] entrenchments. They fought for one or two spaces of three hours. [Then] the Wazir uttered the following vow: "Either the Tibetans will take my head and neck, or I shall take it myself (commit suicide)!" Then, shouting Sri-Gu-lāb-Siṅ's name, [he said]: "The omens are not good!" The Wazir fought on horseback with a sword in his hand. After he had killed four or five Tibetans, the executioner, knowing that he was the Wazir, hurled his spears against him, regardless of his own life. Then, going in front [of the Wazir], he thrust his spear right through the Wazir's chest. The Wazir fell to the ground, not uttering a single sound; his sword escaped his hand. Once more the thought occurred to him to seize his sword; but he could not. The executioner, drawing out the spear, took his sword from the belt, and, cutting off [the Wazir's] head, carried it off. Then the Dogra soldiers lost their heads (thoughts). When the Tibetan infantry also pressed into the entrenchments, the [Dogra] officers as well as the Ladakhi noblemen became confused. He who could save [his life] fled; the remainder were killed. On that day, a little after noon, the battle came to an end. The Tibetans had gained a victory. On the following day the captain of the archers and the *ru-dpon*, and 300 cavalry, in pursuit of the fleeing Siṅ-pas, reached Sgar. But, as this took place in Byaṅ-thaṅ (a desert country), they could not capture a single Siṅ-pa. After they had finished examining [the desert], they remained at Sgar. At that time reinforcements from the Upper and Lower gold-mine [districts] reached the camp, 300 horsemen arriving all at the same time; and it wa eported that 3,000 infantry would follow soon. Then Mgon-po, the steward, No-no-Bsod-nams, the minister of Ba-mgo, Go-lam-Khan, the minister of Sa-spo, several other noblemen, several officers of the Siṅ-pas, and all those Siṅ-pas who had been taken prisoners were despatched to Tibet.

NOTES

Local names:—Yar-khen is Yarkand (or Turkestan in general). Byaṅ-thaṅ is the districts north and east of Ru-thog. The Byaṅ-la [pass] is found on the road to the Paṅ-koṅ Lake, soon after Sak-ti. Sgar is the same as Garthog of the maps. Stag-la-mkhar (Dvag-la-mkhar) is stated to be situated in Bu-raṅ. It is found exactly south of the Manasarowar Lake. Gro-śod is a Tibetan province north of Bu-raṅ. Do-yo (Toyo) I cannot trace on a map. Sa-spo (Sa-spo-la) is a large village on the Indus, opposite A-lci, the seat of a minister.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 351 sqq.).	Tshe-brtan	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. Zorawar threatens to invade Yarkand and Tibet.		1. Zorawar threatens to invade Yarkand and Tibet.
2. In May, 1841, he marches to Wam-le, Bkra-śis-sgaṅ, Ru-thog and Sgar.	2. Ru-thog is seized and plundered.	2. Ru-thog is conquered; a fort is built at Sgar.

Cunningham's 'Other Information'.	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
3. He establishes his headquarters at Tīrthapur on the Sutlej.	3. The Dogras dam up the water of a river in Grog-po-rab-gsum and the Tibetans retire.	3. Zorawar goes to Bu-raṅ, and comes back to Sgar, where he establishes his headquarters.
4. Bastī-Rām is stationed at Stag-la-mkhar, on the Karnali river.		4. Bastī-Rām is stationed at Do-yo.
5. Rahīm-Khān and Ghulām-Khān of Chu-śod plunder Spi-ti.		
6. On the 7th November No-no-Bsod-nams' force is annihilated at Kar-dam. On the 19th November he and Ghulām-Khān are taken prisoners.		6. The garrison at Stag-la-mkhar is annihilated by the Tibetans.
7. Zorawar advances from Tīrthapur. On the 12th December he is beaten and killed.	7. The Dogras follow the Tibetans to Upper Grog-po-rab-sum; Zorawar is beaten and killed.	7. Zorawar is encamped at Do-yo. The Tibetans from Stag-la-mkhar beat and kill him.
8. Among the prisoners are Ahmad-Shāh of Baltistan, General Rai-siṅ, Ghulām-Khān, No-no-Bsod-nams, the minister of Bab-sgo.	8. Peace is concluded and an agreement written.	8. Among the prisoners are Mgon-po No-no-Bsod-nams, the ministers of Bab-sgo and Sa-spo, and Golām-Khān.

As certain place-names, in particular Do-yo and Grog-po-rab-gsum, have not yet been traced on any map, we do not yet know how far the agreement between the three accounts extends. A song on Zorawar's death is found in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 169).

Between Mgon-po, the steward [of He-mi], and the Tibetans an agreement was made, and Mgon-po sent a secret letter to La-dvags: "The Wazir is dead, and the Tibetan army is reported in pursuit. Therefore, Upper and Lower [Ladakh], on all sides, should be made ready for war." The astrologer Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan was sent in advance [with this letter]. Mgon-po himself intended to watch events, saying, p. 52.
"The Tibetans will gather an army!"; and so he arrived later. Lha-bdag-Tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, the Wazir's quartermaster, had to supply the garrison of the castle of La-dvags and the Si-pas with food, grass, and wood. When the Wazir was dead, and no grass or wood arrived from Upper and Lower Ladakh, he said to the Kumidan and Magna, the Thanadār: "I am not sure whether grass and wood will arrive! It looks like a rebellion. I do not know what will happen!" Then these two became reflective also. They sent a petition to the Ser-kar [Jammu], and asked for an army. In accordance with what had been said [before] Mgon-po, the steward, and the noblemen of Gśam (Lower Ladakh) held a consultation. During winter, they equipped an army; and in the spring they sent the hosts from Upper and Lower Ladakh, Sbal-ti, Kha-pul, and Ldum-ṛa [to Leh]. A Tibetan captain of the archers, 100 cavalry, and 500 infantry were posted at Lce-ḥbre. Then the Ladakhi army surrounded both the Ki-la and the Cha-ḥon, and threw up entrenchments. Then they fought for twelve days without intermission. (*Ca* MS.) In the Ki-la there were 50 Siṅ-pas under Magna, the Thanadār; in the Cha-ḥon there were 300 Pal-ṭan Si-pas under a Kumidan. (*Cc* MS.)

On the following day [the Tibetans] surrounded the Cha-ḫon. The Kumidan was stationed at the Chag-rab (?) of the Cha-ḫon, and the Sbal-ti army was [encamped] round the gate of the same. Suddenly Miya-Ranu, together with 30 Si-pas sword in hand, issued from the Ki-la, careless of life and death. At first they surprised the Sbal-tis; and after they had killed several Sbal-tis the Sbal-tis fled. Then half the Pal-ṭans left the Cha-ḫon; but the combat came to a stop, and all the Ladakhi soldiers returned to their encampment. From that day for six days they fought night and day without intermission. At that time a letter arrived [at Leh with the news] that Dewan Hari-cand and Wazir Tunu had reached Kha-la-[r]tse with a great army (*Ca* MS.) and several guns. (*Cc* MS.) At night all the [Tibetan] soldiers encamped around the Ki-la assembled in the castle. On the next morning the King's minister, the Tibetan Lhags-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, destroyed the bridge at Lig-tse and remained [there] for several days. The Dewan Sahib arrived at Slel (Leh) and pursued the fugitives. Within two days he annihilated every trace of the [Tibetan] entrenchments and started in pursuit. At first he fought against those 500 Tibetan soldiers who were stationed at the Lce-ḫbre monastery, and killed as many as possible. The remainder were seized and sent to Slel. Then the Dewan Sahib, the Wazir Sahib, and the soldiers marched across the Byaṅ-la [pass] to Ḫdor-khug. Also the Tibetan army, the king, and the ministers of La-dvags fled from Lig-tse and went to Kluṅ-gyog-ma. Together with them an auxiliary force, consisting of the minister Zur-khaṅ and Ra-ga-śa and 5,000, arrived at Kluṅ-gyog-ma. They established a camp, and remained there. Afterwards about 2,000 Tibetan soldiers were sent off to fight [the Dogras]. On the plain of Rdo-khug they fought against the Dewan's soldiers for one day; but, being no match for them, they retired to their encampment. On the following day the soldiers of the Wazir and Dewan Sahib marched to Kluṅ-gyog-ma. There were mountains close on both sides of the brook, and they established their camp on both banks. For ten or eleven days they fought together; but neither side gained a victory or was beaten. One day, when the Si-pas, breaking up their camp, engaged in skirmishes, the cold of the plain caused much harm to the Si-pas, and an officer, Kumidan Maca-Siṅ, died. The cook of the Žib-chod (commissioner) cast fire [into the Dogra camp], and caused a conflagration in their camp, which did much harm. So they went back to the camp. After that Thaṅ-pa Bsod-nams-ḫbyor-ldan advised [the Dogras] to flood the Tibetan camp with water. He spoke to the Wazir and the Dewan, and the brook was dammed up; the narrow place [between the hills] was closed, and the water forced upwards. After three nights and days had elapsed the Tibetan camp on the plain became flooded with water. Their equipment, the powder, etc., became wet. As no other course was left, the Tibetans bowed their heads. The Wazir and the Dewan carried the following off to Slel: Pi-śi-śa-kra, the captain of the archers, Ra-ga-śa, Zur-khaṅ, and together with them fifty officers and men. The bulk of the army was allowed to retire, and they returned [to Tibet]. When Ra-ga-śa arrived at the steep defile of Wam[-le], he swallowed the diamond of his golden finger-ring and died.
p. 58. The captain of the archers and Zur-khaṅ were both escorted to Slel, and there peace

was concluded. The conquered La-dvags, according to the frontiers it had during the times of the [Ladakhi] kings, was annexed by the high government. On the Tibetan side of the frontier everything remained under Tibet. From Tibet the Tibetan government-merchants and from Ladakh the bi-annual merchants (*lo-phyag*) were to travel according to the former custom. The Ladakhi merchants were allowed to travel to Sgar, Ru-thog, and wherever they pleased; and the Tibetan merchants of Byaṅ [thaṅ] were allowed to travel to La-dvags. Everything was arranged exactly as it had been during the times of the former [Ladakhi] kings, and a contract was written. Then the captain of the archers was set free. Zur-khaṅ was taken to Jam-bu, where he was presented to Serkar Mahārāja Gu-lab-Siṅ. He was shown grace, and, having been presented with a brocade suit [*kinkhāb*], a golden ring, a girdle, and several other suits, he returned [to Tibet]. (*Ca* MS.) Ever since that time the Tibetans and Dogras have lived in peace (good order) without war; the bi-annual trade (*lo-phyag* and *gżuṅ-tshoṅ*) going on as before, according to the contract made. The Dewan Haricand promised to reinstal all the Tibetan ministers, and the Ladakhi king and queen with their whole court. From Gaṅs-ri in Tibet used to be sent via the king of La-dvags several men as servants, whom the king passed into the hands of the Dewan Haricand and the Wazir, and they then went to the castle of Slel. Henceforward in La-dvags not a single one of the old nobles retained the power which he had possessed during the old king's reign. However, the Dewan Haricand and the Wazir said, 'Only the minister Rig-ḫdzin, formerly a servant of the late Wazir Zorawar, who died in Pu-raṅ (Bu-raṅ), shall remain for ever, without change, a servant of the government!'; and so they committed to him the entire government of La-dvags and made him minister. Then the Dewan and the Wazir both took the Ladakhi noblemen, among them the Leh minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, 'A-jo-Mgon-po, and Bslab-dag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas along with them, and returned to Ḫjammu. In La-dvags they left the minister Rig-ḫdzin, and Magna the Thanadar, together with the soldiers in the Ki-lā.

NOTES

The Dogras had two forts at Leh, the Ki-la and the Cha-ḫon. The Cha-ḫon forms part of the present town of Leh; the Ki-la is situated about a mile below the commissioner's compound in Dgar-ba. Lig-tse village is on the Indus, above Leh (Map: Likchey). Rdo-khug (Ḫdor-khug), village west of the Paṅ-koṅ lake, on the river of the same name (Map: Durgo). The river is a tributary of the Shayok. Kluṅ-gyog-ma, the valley of the same river. Ḫjam-mu (Jam-bu, Dzam-bu), the capital of the Dogra State. The Wāzīr's name seems to be Ratunu, not Tunu. Lhags-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, Lha-bdag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas, or Bslab-dag-tshe-riṅ-stobs-rgyas seem to be one and the same person.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THIS CAMPAIGN ACCORDING TO THE THREE AUTHORITIES

Cunningham's 'Other Information' (pp. 354-5).	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs.*
1. In spring 1842 the Chinese and Tibetans, numbering about 3,000, lay siege to the fort of Leh.		1. The Tibetans as well as the Ladakhis lay siege to the two forts of Leh.
2. The Baltis rise. They are soon reduced by Wāzīr Lakpat.		

Cunningham's "Other Information."	Tshe-brtan.	*Rgyal-rabs*.
3. Dêwân Haricand and Wâzir Ratanu arrive with fresh troops.	3. Dêwân Haricand and Wâzir-Ratun arrive at Leh with 8,000 soldiers.	3. Dêwân Haricand and Wâzir-Tunu arrive at Leh with a great army.
	4. Lce-ḥbre is conquered by the Dogras.	4. Lce-ḥbre is conquered by the Dogras.
5. The Tibetans flee towards Ru-thog, and take up a strong position.	5. Battle of Chu-śul. The Tibetans are beaten.	5. The Tibetans receive reinforcements, numbering 5,000. Battle of Rdo-khug, the Tibetans are beaten.
6. The Lhasa commander is taken prisoner.	6. Ra-ga-śa, the Tibetan general, is seized and killed by the Dogras.	6. The Tibetan camp is flooded by the Dogras. Ra-ga-śa, Zur-khaṅ, and Pi-śi-Śakra are taken prisoners. Ra-ga-śa commits suicide.
7. Peace is concluded. The old boundary between Ladakh and Lhasa-Tibet is re-established.	7. Peace is concluded. Exchange of prisoners.	7. Peace is concluded. Trade-contract and old boundaries re-established.

General Notes.—An interesting song on the minister Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin in prison is among my collection of historical folklore. A Sanskrit inscription in the Cig-gtan monastery possibly refers to the Dogra war. It speaks of an army and the crossing of a river on inflated skins. Rayim-Khan of Cig-gtan, the hero of the 'Polo Song' (*Ladakhi Songs*, No. 3), is probably identical with Rayim-Khan of Cig-gtan, of whose tragic fate we hear in Tshe-brtan's account of the Dogra wars. The Râjâ of Baltistan, Ahmad-Khân, who was taken to Lhasa as a prisoner, possibly returned to Kashmir State territory. His grave is shown in Kashtawar, as Dr. J. Hutchinson tells me. In Sherring's *Western Tibet* (p. 198) is reproduced a photograph called 'The tomb of Zorawar Singh', taken near Taklakar. As Dr. Longstaff points out, the ruin looks far too old to be Zorawar's grave. He connects the ruin with Haidar's Tibetan campaign in 1532 A.D. A 'Song of Zorawar's wife' is found translated in my *History of Western Tibet* (p. 169). A document relating to the peace-contract between Tibet and Jammu is found in S. Ch. Das' *Yig-bskur-rnam-bźag*, p. 52. This reproduction is so full of mistakes that it is practically unintelligible; but the names Zur-khaṅ and Lde-mkhan (Dêwân) Haridzan may nevertheless be deciphered.

X. (*C* MS.) The Later History of La-dvags, beginning with the Rule of Mahārādza Gulāb-Singh

During the lifetime of Sri Mahārādza Gulāb-Sing (*c.* 1842–57 A.D.), reigning over the capital; Jam-bu, Ka-śir, La-dvags, Sbal-ti-yul, Bu-rig, Zaṅs-dkar, Kastrawar, Bdur-ka, Dza-srod-dri, and Spyi-ti, in La-dvags the taxes of the great peasants amounted to 7 Rs.; of those who had only half [a portion of fields and houses], to 3 Rs. 8 As.; and of those who possessed only a quarter portion, to 1 R. 13 As. The nobility, the Prime Ministers, and the [other] ministers had to pay taxes in conformity with the monasteries; the taxes of the greater [noblemen] amounting to 70 Rs., of the ministers to 30 Rs.; while those of the smaller nobility were fixed at 19 Rs. All the monasteries were treated proportionately.

NOTES

Most of the place-names mentioned in the above account are well known. Only Bdur-ka and Dza-srod-dri are unknown to me. The spelling Ka-shir (Kashmir) is interesting, as pointing to the hypothetical Prākrit spelling Kaśvīra. It is strange to find Spi-ti mentioned among the possessions of Gulāb Singh. At present it certainly does not belong to Kashmir, but to British India.

From Cunningham's 'Other Information' (p. 855) we learn that 'in the autumn of 1846, during the rebellion of Shaikh Imām-ud Dīn in Kashmir, there was a slight disturbance in Zaṅs-dkar, which was promptly repressed by the Wazīr Bastī-Rām, who is now "one of the confidential servants of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh". Since then the whole country has been quiet; and the passive Tibetans have yielded to a power which they find it unsafe to resist.'

When his son, Mahārādza Rāmbīr-Siṅ, reigned (*c.* 1857–83 A.D.), all the Ladakhi villages and peasants' [estates] which had suffered during the time of the former Dewans (during the Dogra war) were re-established. The village taxes were removed, and the custom-house fees of La-dvags were abolished. The register of peasants which had been previously drawn up by the Thanadār Magna and the Prime Minister Rig-ḥdzin and which had remained [in force] till Basti-Rām's time was abolished. In the Bi-kir-mi (Vikrama) year 1922 (1865 A.D.) Meta Maṅgal-Siṅ, the son of Meta Basti-Rām, drew up a new list of peasants. The taxes on a full [share of] fields and houses were fixed at 7 Rs. 11 As.; on half [a share] 3 Rs. 5 As. 3 Paisā; on a further half (half of p. 54.
half = one quarter) [share] 1 R. 15 As. 3 Paisā. A full share of victuals [to be paid as taxes] was fixed at one bushel and 20 *bre* of wheat; 5 *ser* of butter; 2 *sraṅ* of wood of roots, and 20 *ser* of wood of Tar. (As this is wood brought from [the village of] Tar in Gśam, having to be paid annually as a kind of tax, it was called Tar wood.) Things remained as stated above for twenty-one years, down to the Hindu Bi-kir-mi year 1941 (1884 A.D.). This king ruled in great happiness and power; his dominions spread and flourished; the harvests and the years were good; the water even became soft (or abundant ?); and not a hand's breadth of ground remained unploughed. He made a law-[book] called *Kanun*. All the soldiers were forbidden to take anything except their proper wages from anyone in the country, be he strong or weak! During the reign of this king the salt mine of La-dvags (*tshva-kha*), borax, soda, iron ore, and a gold mine were discovered. Water was led [in canals] to the [dry] plains; and Meta Maṅgal-Siṅ founded Rāmbīrpur (the town of Rāmbīr-Siṅ); Rāmpur (the town of Rām-Siṅ at Chu-śod); [the garden] Maṅgal-Bāg (the garden of Maṅgal-Siṅ near Caṅ-ga); and Partābpur (the town of Partāb-Siṅ in Ldum-ra). Great numbers of merchants came from all the frontiers, and cheats abounded; valuables arrived from the great cities, a vast store. People became clever and sharp; [they learnt] Persian and Drug-ra (Dogra, Sanskrit) grammar and arithmetic; they became haughty and bad in many respects. In Pal-dar a mine (treasure) of *iṇḍa-nila* (sapphire) was discovered. With regard thereto that [event] Bla-ma Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel of the Stag-sna monastery of La-dvags in the year 1938 (1881 A.D.), or in the ninth month of the Tibetan earth-snake year (1869 A.D. + 12 = 1881), made a petition. He was equal in character to the teachers of old. He wished to meet with the great Śri-Mahārādza and on the occasion of accompanying the high government (the Mahārāja) out of Kashmir, in 1938, when [leaving] Pāmpur of Kashmir, he told [the Mahārāja], without letting it become known to anyone of the nobility (?)—I myself (Munshi Tshe-riṅ-dpal-rgyas) was travelling from Pāmpur with the great lama. The lama was sent to Pal-dar, and by way of clever tricks and prayers to the Jewels (*dkon-mchog*,

i.e. the deity) on the part of the great lama he succeeded in examining [the mine] and carrying away from the mine along with him about 20 maunds of *nilim* (sapphire). At Jammu he presented them to the high Mahārādza, who was much delighted. The lama, whilst living at Jammu, received a monthly salary of 120 Rs., and was promised an annual donation of 60 Rs., if he should prefer to live at a different place. It was arranged that henceforth people should be prohibited from taking *nilim* (sapphire) from the mine. It is rumoured that for a long time the superintendents of the Lahul trade, beginning with Bsod-nams-dṅos-grub, had through obtaining sapphires lived in affluence and enjoyment like gods. (A few words uncertain.) The Mahārādza, having secured this mine [for himself], posted there an officer with 100 Si-pas as a guard; so the government became owner of the mine. The precious sapphires, being polished, were passed on at 200–500 Rs. a *tolā*. Thus this king was exalted beyond his great forefathers. In the Darbār of the great English queen he ranked before all the other minor kings of India. He had a throne, number 1, and a salam of 41 guns. He [also] received the title of "Great King". No other rādza was equal to Dewān Kirpa-Rām, Wazīr Punu, and the Dewān's son, 'A-nat-Rām, these three; they were of one mind and skilled in affairs. From the time of the acquisition of the sapphire mine in Pal-dar the Mahārādza's health became weak; he became unhappy, and the regularity in affairs suffered (was shaken). He introduced a *Koṅ-sol* (council or councillor) to do the government work. [All this happened] in accordance with a Tibetan prophecy, where it is said:—

In the kingdom of Modu-Hor
There appeared an incarnation of a Bodhisatva,
And the law [of Buddha] as well as the government began to spread!

p. 55. This king reigned for about 28 years. The Kingdom of Pu-nac (Punch) was given to the king's brother, Rādzā Muti-Siṅ. He himself had three sons. When he was [still] in good health, the eldest son, Mahārādza Partāb-Siṅ, was made Lord of the kingdom; the second, Rām-Siṅ, became field-marshal; and the third (youngest), 'A-mar-Siṅ, became the head of the Darmarthas (Dharma-'āt-mas). Each of them received a jāgir, and all their wishes were fulfilled. During the reign of this king salaries were given, ranging from 2,000 Rs. in the case of the higher (nobility) to 8 Rs. in the case of officials and soldiers (*si-pa*). Everywhere the higher officials (nobility) were placed in higher positions than those held by their forefathers. Accordingly, they received their spheres of work in their home-lands (own lands); and could show kindness [to their people] as before. Their salaries were also raised. The wazirs (viz. the wazir of La-dvags, etc.) were given between 900 and 1,000 Rs. monthly. These were granted only when their services were approved. The king did not wish that taxes should be imposed in the kingdom of La-dvags according to the particular pleasure of the wazirs and other people, as had been the case formerly. In the year 1938 (A.D. 1881) Jonsen-Sahib became wazir of La-dvags, and he acted according to the Mahārādza's orders (viz. according to his orders that he should survey the ground). In his opinion the Ladakhis were honest men and free from deceit. On the other hand, the expenses

of the government were great. And, as he knew [beforehand] that later on a dispute would arise [on account of the raising of the taxes], he assembled the nobility of La-dvags and [other] people of high rank, the wardens of the He-mi and Lee-bde [monasteries], the Kardārs and others, and told them what was going to happen. The country people agreed together, and were ready to pay four annas in addition to each four or five rupees [of their taxes]. In addition to this they wrote a letter, and everything was in good order. In the year 1939 (1882 A.D.) several influential and several ordinary people held a council under Nand-Rām, the prime minister of Slel (Leh), and the prime minister of Ba-sgo. As they did not agree with the wazir (Jonsen), they went to Kha-chul (Kashmir) to put up a petition. The great protector of the earth said half in fun that they [should pay] two annas [only] in addition to each rupee. They saying, 'We shall not even accept that (turn to that)!', the government became angry, and the wazir himself even, Nayib Deru-Mal, Munśi Don-chod, Biśin-Dās, and other munśis, numbering thirty [in all] were sent to survey the country. The ground was surveyed in such a manner as had never been seen before. At first turrets (seals) were erected along the frontier. Then square turrets [were erected] between the countries (provinces ?), and the various villages were divided by turrets [from one another]. Inside these the lands good and bad, according to the existing plans, the fertile valleys (water-valleys), the water canals, the willow groves, the lucerne fields, [in short] in those places of which plans, etc., existed from the times of the [Ladakhi kings], were marked off by little turrets of blue *pise* with flags of *al-wan* attached. The ground between the turrets was measured (divided); the names of the peasant, of the ground, and a number was written, and a ticket, to be produced on demand, was given. The peasant who held it was frightened on his [own] ground, and for the future a law was introduced for punishing wrongs. The taxes were fixed in accordance with the excellence of the harvest. In the year 1941 (1884 A.D.), by order of the Lord of La-dvags, the seven[fold] Mahārādza Rāmbīr-Siṅ. Dewan 'A-nat-Rām, whose paternal home was at 'Amritsar, a man well acquainted with Persian and English, was instructed to make a law-book like the *Kanun*. The taxes weighed heavily [on the country]; while formerly for sixty-one villages with the monasteries they were 26,942 Rs. 3 As. 2 Paisā, together with wheat 2,510 *maunds* 29 *ser* and 2 *pao*, butter 282 *maunds* 14 *ser* and 2 *pao*, 'wood of roots' 4,395 *rdo-sraṅ* and 25 *bati*; 'wood of Tar' 837 *rdo-saṅ* and 54 *ser*, at that time for those same sixty-one villages the taxes were fixed at 44,340 Rs. 5 As. 2 Paisā, barley to the value of 1,633 Rs. 1 A., 173 Rs. 1 A. as taxes on mills, 319 Rs. 5 As. 2 Paisā as taxes on food, and the equivalent of 312 Rs. 6 As. in provisions; total, 46,778 Rs. 3 As. [in cash], wheat 2,639 *maunds* 3 *ser* and 3 *pao*, butter 275 *maunds* 25 *ser*, 'wood of roots' 4,240 *sraṅ* 5 *bati*, 'wood of Tar' 985 *sraṅ* and 29 *batis*. In the year 1942 (1885 A.D.) the English reigned for a time (in between). As bad omens of the destruction of the flower of the life of the p.
Sri-Mahārādza the fields in the whole country [suffered from] rust and cold winds; the sky and the earth became red. On the fourth day of the eighth month of the wood-hen year (1883), [or] on the 29th day of the month Bād-ruṅ of the year 1942 (1885 A.D.),

the day when the flower of his life was destroyed, hail fell in La-dvags, and in several villages the harvest was not satisfactory. In the same year, in Pāmpūr of Kha-chul (Kashmir) [a child] of unusual shape, neither male nor female, was born. A great earthquake took place in the country, and the fort, the king's own castle, as well as the little palace (Gzim-chuṅ), etc., were destroyed. At Slel the bad news of the destruction of the flower of his life was heard on the 14th day of the eighth month. Then the nobility and the great man, the Wāzīr, the Hindus as well as the Tibetans, cut off their beards. It was forbidden to wear coloured clothes, and they lamented for several months. The shops of the bazar were closed for three weeks (?). After that cheerfulness was resumed.

NOTES

Place-names:—The village of Tar, which is famous for its wood, is situated on the left bank of the Indus, in a side valley opposite to Sñur-la. Of the three towns founded during the reign of Rambīr Singh, viz., Rambīrpur, Rāmpur, and Partābpur, I have seen only Rambīrpur. It is situated on the right bank of the Indus, a little above Khri-rtse. It is already evacuated and in ruins. In 1870 the Rev. Heyde found it well peopled, see *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeinde*, 1871, p. 86. I do not believe that the other towns are in a better state. The garden, Maṅgal-Bāgh, is still existing. It is situated in the Indus valley, not far from He-mi. The sapphire mine is situated in Zaṅs-dkar, on the Pal-dar (Padar) frontier. The lama's action in betraying its existence to the Mahārāja was a kind of treason to his countrymen, who thereby lost a source of income. The lama was guided in his action by the wish to make the Kashmir king favourably inclined towards the monasteries. Pāmpur is a town on the Jhelum, twelve miles above Srinagar. Modu-Hor, the kingdom of the prophecy, is not known to me. The word 'Hor' would point to Mongols, Turkomans or Mughals. But I cannot see a connexion of this name with the Dogras.

The Ladakhis have not yet forgotten the Sanskrit school which was established at Leh during the first years of Dogra rule. The Tibetan pupils received Sanskrit names, which were kept up during their lifetime. Some of the Sanskrit MS. books of that time are still found in houses at Leh. In 1861 Heyde found forty pupils in the Sanskrit school. Of particular interest is the note that maps of the cultivated districts existed as early as the days of the Ladakhi kings. Such maps have not yet come to light. Mr. Johnson, wāzīr of Leh and first settlement officer of the country, must have been a remarkable man, in spite of a few faults. What I know of him was obtained from the Ladakhis, and for this reason I do not know whether it is authentic. He is reported to have been an ordinary English soldier, a corporal, who found favour in the eyes of the Mahārāja. He was made wāzīr of Ladakh, and in that position he gained the confidence of the Ladakhis to a remarkable degree. He actually took the trouble to study them. At the same time he was a great mountaineer, and ascended several of the high peaks around Leh. According to the opinion of the Ladakhis Johnson was poisoned or murdered by some other officials, who had become jealous on account of his high position in the Mahārāja's confidence. In 1875 a native of Ladakh made to the Rev. Heyde the following remark regarding Mr. Johnson:—'Johnson does not take care of the little stones which give stability to the wall' (*Missionsblatt*, 1876, p. 82). He meant that Johnson ought to have interested himself more in the state of the ordinary peasant, instead of making friends with the nobility. In 1877 Heyde found Johnson at Chu-Śod, where he built a fort (*ibid.*, 1878, p. 108). The inter-relations of the different lists of the taxes of Ladakh, as given at the end of the account, are not known to me.

As to the restoration of the villages which had suffered during the Dogra war, it was not so easily carried out. In the *Missionsblatt*, 1856, p. 49, we read that the Rev. A. W. Heyde, when he passed through Ladakh in 1885, found several villages of twenty to thirty houses absolutely empty. In 1865, when he visited Zaṅs-dkar, he was told that one-half of the inhabitants had left the country, being driven to despair by the Dogras. Lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel was apparently the lama who, as early as 1854, instructed the Moravian missionaries in Tibetan, and who read the *Rgyal-rabs* with Dr. Karl Marx. In the *Missionsblatt*, 1881, p. 49, Reb-slob in his account referring to 1880 gives an interesting characterization of Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel. According to Reb-slob this lama was very polite in the presence of the missionary and false behind his back.

On the 7th day of the fourth month of the fire-dog year (1886), [or] in the year 1943 (1886 A.D.), the high Sri-Mahārādza-Partāb-Siṅ-Bahādur was placed on the throne at Jammu. To be invested with the Tika (the coloured daub on the Hindu's forehead, see notes), he went to the old former Mandri (Mandar), and there a plate full of [various things], different musical instruments, a gun, jewels, gold, pearls, and diamonds, was twirled round his head and then thrown outside. Simultaneously there was a salām of forty-one guns; and then the representative of the great English queen, the 'secretary' who lives in India, having presented a garment [to the new ruler], read before the assembly: 'All the possessions (patrimony) of your father are your own dominion,' and so on. Then 101 guns and the lancers made a salām. The other great kings, etc., and the Rājā of Kaphurthala made their presentations, viz. horses, mules, jewels, crowns made of birds' tails, kinkhābs, and various things of which I do not know the specific names. The army was present at the meeting-place, and there were conjurers, Persian mimics, somersault-jumpers, and wrestlers. Fights of elephants, horses, buffaloes, rams, and cocks took place. At night there were lamps, and along the roads, wherever you went, on both sides, flag-ornamentations. I do not know what wonderful tricks were performed by the horses, elephants, and soldiers. For strength and dexterity the buffaloes were particularly remarkable. The somersault-jumpers performed three somersaults [at a time] in the air, and jumped through circles (?) formed by the outstretched arms of nine men. Poles were placed on men's heads, and [others] climbed up them. [There] was rope-walking and other wonderful feats. At the same time many vessels of fire (paper lanterns ?) were lit; and on occasion of a banquet in the theatre 3,550 sky-going fires (rockets) were sent off mingling with the stars. On the following day the high Mahārādza was invited to dine with Ram-Siṅ, the chief of the army. On the following day, when he went to dine and dance at Rājā 'A-mar-Siṅ, Rājā Muti-Siṅg, and other people's invitation, the King of La-dvags, Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal, and Bkra-śis-lha-dbaṅ, the King of Maṅ-spro, were present in Kha-chul (Kashmir). At Jammu, Rata-Kriśna-Kol, the wāzīr of La-dvags; Ṅag-dbaṅ-chos-bzaṅ, the warden of He-mi; the great lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḥphel; the prime minister Nand-Rām; the minister of Śel; the Ladakhi captain Sulacan; munśi Don-grub; munśi Dpal-rgyas, the Kardār of Chu-śod; Ḥbrog-mo, the chief of the [wood] gardens of La-dvags; the students of the monasteries, numbering forty persons; Bkra-śis, the chief of the petitioners (the speaker), and several people from various villages, all presented coronation offerings. On that occasion the students performed mask dances and Ladakhi games. Then they were made to perform also before the Rājā of Kapurthala, who gave them presents and clothes. The taxes weighed heavily on La-dvags, and the monks of the monastery and the warden of He-mi offered a petition. As it was known that the Ladakhis were not on good terms with their wāzīr (Rata-Krishna-Kol ?), they were sent to the Nawāb of Kha-chul (Kashmir), Sri-Dewān-Lekhman-Das, who was to listen to them. The Hakīm did not agree with the petition of the Ladakhis, which was as follows:—'If [the taxes of] the monasteries are not settled in the previous way, there can be no more large presents (?) of the monasteries [to the government], no

regular sacrifices, no sacrificial lamps, no annual support, no salaries of 12 Rs. for each monk annually, no food and drink for the water-carriers and goat-herds, and, moreover,
p. 57. no more tilling of the ground !' Such and other petitions were offered before the highest authority, [who replied], 'From the taxes of the country in general one or two annas in every rupee [may be] remitted ; as regards the monasteries, one half of the new taxes [may be] remitted ; the other half will be paid !' As they could not agree even on that, the great man became angry, and, using oaths, he said, 'I will not decide !' The government blamed its own servants, and the proverb of 'God and the hungry man' was being fulfilled. The wāzīr and the people of the country could not agree in their speech, and the old proverb

When the falcon and the little bird wrestle,
The ground becomes covered with feathers!

was being fulfilled. Whilst Lekhman-Dās, the Nawāb of Kha-chul, was investigating the case of the Ladakhi petitioners, who had come to Kha-chul from above (La-dvags), a letter was actually issued, and a Si-pa and an order were sent to the Ladakhi nobility, who were assembled at Jammu, commanding them to start at once [for Kha-chul]. They were not even allowed to wait for their house-mates; and the nobility, after they had spent two or three nights on the [open] ground, all huddled together, arrived in Kha-chul. There they met with the [ordinary] people of La-dvags. But at that time the relatives, near or distant, or people who lived in the same house, would not look at one another. The Dewān made a drawing and gave orders that any petitions were to be in writing, commanding the two Ladakhi kings, the warden of He-mi, and ten leaders (chiefs ?) to write a petition [of their own], and the ordinary people of the country to write separately. Thus the Ladakhis, being pressed on three sides, had no more consideration for near or far (neighbours or relations). They wrote that there were various estates in the country, that there were sites [which had been seized] by beating, bribing, or favouring a certain party ; [and they wrote] many bad things about the wāzīr, which ought never to have been said. In his decision the Dewān [said], 'The Kings of Tog and Maṅ-spro both shall retain the jāgīrs given to them by the government. For it was right,' he said, 'that a king should have power to impose taxes.' But the 42 [Rs.] annually which they had taken in addition [to what was due to them] they were admonished to return to the people. To the descendants of Golām-Khān of Chu-śod, (viz.) Salām-Khatun and Golām was given a *jāgīr*, [which has remained in their hands] down to the present day. Through the intercession of Śer-Siṅ, who had formerly been in La-dvags as wāzīr, the Dewān said to the kings, the Kardārs, and the ordinary people, 'Tell me how much has been added to the taxes of the subjects in La-dvags in the former year 1941 (A.D. 1884) beyond what had been imposed by Meta-Maṅgal-Siṅ ? Besides, how much do you want me to deduct from the taxes imposed by wāzīr Rādhā-Kriśna ?' Thus he said. Then the nobility [of Ladakh] and the ordinary people with one accord [answered], 'Formerly Maṅgal-Siṅ fixed the taxes in proportion to the property [of the taxed] ; but, since the survey was undertaken, through excessive partiality things have not gone straight. The rich people having paid bribes, some of their former

taxes have been remitted. The poor people have been falsely accused and beaten. Women without husbands have been compelled to marry, and those who refused have been sent to prison, and . . ." Thereupon the wāzīr and his retinue would not listen to the petitioners any longer. He rose and beat [the Ladakhis]. What had not been heard of since [the days of] Zorawar, viz. beating and main force (auction ?), were practised on the occasion of collecting the taxes. Not a jot of the new taxes were remitted. In addition to the old taxes imposed during the time from Meta Maṅgal to Wāzīr Jon-sen four annas had to be paid on each single rupee. Without having consulted with any of those [officials] who had at some former time lived in La-dvags the great Dewān on the 14th day of the fifth month of the Fire-Dog year (1886 A.D.) replied to the petition, "We have certainly listened to the petition of the people of the country, and the high and great Sri-Mahārāja Partāb-Siṅ loves his Ladakhi subjects and protects them with love; but in accordance with a council held with Dewān Lekhman-(Legman)-Dās, Meta Śer-Siṅ, Dewān Herānand, and Mīrzā 'Ag-bar Beg he has decided that they should be charged four annas in addition to each rupee of the old taxes." Down to the year 1942 (1885 A.D.) the taxes had been 32,887 Rs., 2 As., 1 Paisā. There being an increase of four annas (to each rupee), the increase was 8,221 Rs., 12 As., and the sum total for one year became 41,108 Rs., 14 As., 1 Paisā. Victuals, as butter, root-wood, wood from Tar, etc., were fixed at the rate of the old taxes. What had been taken in addition to these taxes was returned to all the kings and the nobility. Stamp duties, police [contributions], horse-taxes, sheep-taxes, mint-annas (they were formerly paid by the ordinary people, the nobility being exempted) were imposed on all, great and p. 58.
small. Then the people became as happy as before and full of cheer. They were ordered to return to La-dvags. In the year 1943 (1886 A.D.), on the fourth day of Har,[1] they all left Kha-chul. In their lot-casting at He-ḫbab (Hem-ḫbab ?) castle the lama Bkra-śis-bstan-ḫphel recognized the following:—It was found that the Lha (god) Lha-btsan-rdo-rje of the Mkhar-rdzoṅ-pass said the following:—

At first the weight of the taxes is like a thumb;
In the end it is like a little finger!

So it was found: it was the Lha who discerned it. In the year 1941 (1884 A.D.) a rumour spread that the Mhâdi of the Musulmans had arisen.

NOTES

Local names:—Kaphurthala (Kapurthala), a well-known native state in the Panjab. The Mkhar-rdzoṅ pass is found in the range between Ladakh and Nub-ra, north of Leh.

As regards the great quarrel about the taxes, it is of particular interest that the antagonism between the nobility and the peasants of Ladakh thereby became evident. It was probably of more ancient origin. In the prophecy at the end of the account I have taken the word *chuṅ-ma* as meaning "small". The proverb of "God and the hungry man" I do not know.

The first borrowed Urdū word in the *Rgyal-rabs* is found in the account of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. But Urdū borrowings have been on the increase ever since. In the last chapters of the *Rgyal-rabs* even a few English words are found.

Borrowed Urdū (or Persian) words are the following (for reff. see Index):—'*ab-brag* (*abrā*), outer fold of

[1] [Perhaps this represents the Panjābī or Kāshmīrī *Hāhr* or *Hār* (Sanskrit *Āṣādha*), the name of a month covering halves of June and July.—F. W. T.]

garment; *'al-wan* (*alwān*), flag, colours; *'a-na* (*ānā*), anna; *'aṅ-re-zi* (*angrezī*), English; *'ar-zi* (*'arẓī*), petition; *bab-ta* (*bāft*), cloth; *ban-do-bast* (*bandobast*), arrangements; *ba-ra-sa-hib* (*baṛā ṣāḥib*), great person; *bā-zār* (*bāzār*), market; *be-khyim* (*begam*), lady; *bha-bha* (*bābā*), father; *bhā-dur* (*bahādur*), brave; *bāg* (*bāgh*), garden; *cha-ḥon* (*chhā'onī*), cantonment; *choṭa-sa-hib* (*chhoṭā ṣāḥib*), unimportant personage; *de-wan* (*dīwān*), minister; *ha-kim* (*ḥākim*), chief; *hu-kum* (*ḥukm*), command; *ja-gir* (*jāgīr*), rent-free land; *ka-nun* (*qānūn*), law; *kar-dar* (*kārdār*), magistrate; *kha-tun* (*khātūn*), lady; *kha-tun-ban* (*khātamband*), a kind of house; *kha-ya* (*khiyāl*), thought; *rkyen-khab* and *kiṁ-khab* (*kamkhvāb*), gold-embroidered silk cloth; *ma-he* (*mahisha*), buffalo; *mal-mal* (*malmal*), muslin; *ma-na* (*man*), maund; *man-dri* (*mandir*), temple; *ma-śu-ra* (*mashhūr*), famous; *mas-jid* (*masjid*), mosque; *me-ta* (*mihtar*), headman; *mir-za* (*mīrzā*), prince; *mi-yā* (*miyān*), master; *mun-śi* (*munshī*), writer; *nag-śa* (*naqsha*), picture; *na-yib* (*nā'ib*), deputy; *na-nak-shaḥi-dṅul*, Nānak Shāh rupee; *na-wab* (*nawwāb*), governor; *na-zar* (*naẓar*), tribute, present; *ni-lam* (*nīlām*), auction; *ni-lim* (*nīlam*), sapphire; *no-kar* (*naukar*), servant; *pal-kyi* (*pālkī*), palanquin; *paḥo* (*pā'o*), quarter; *pe-ne* (*paṇa*), a coin; *ra-sūm* (*rusūm*), customs; *sag-lad* (*saqalāt*, etc.), scarlet cloth; *sa-lam* (*salām*), salutation; *sa-na* (*sanat*), year; *sa-ra* (*sarā*), mansion, rest-house; *sar-kar*, *ser-kār* (*sarkār*), government; *ser*, a measure; *tha-li* (*thālī*), tin-plate; *tha-na-dar* (*thānādār*), officer of police; *ti-ka* (*ṭīkā*), tilak mark on forehead; *wa-zir*, *wa-zīr* (*wazīr*), minister; *za-min-dar* (*zamīndār*), landlord; *zar-rab* (*ẓarrāb*), mint-master; *zi-zi* (reduplication of *zī* on analogy of *jo-jo*), lady; *zu-lum* (*ẓulm*), oppression, injustice.

English words are the following:—*ra-pad*, report; *nam-bar*, number; *thi-ket*, ticket; *si-ke-ther*, secretary; *kap-tan*, captain; *ka-miś-nar*, commissioner; *ba-ro-me-tar*, barometer; *bi-gul*, bugle; *koṅ-sol*, council; *ku-mi-dan*, commandant; *kam-rag*, cambric.

English names are:—*Jon-sen*, Johnson; *Ma-ka-ra-phad*, Moorcroft; *'I-lai*, Elias; *Ke-li*, Cayley.

For page-references see the Index.

XI. Chronological and Taxation Tables

From the time when King Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal gave a site for the Kha-che-mas-jid [Kashmir mosque] to the present year, A.D. 1910, 316 years	A.D. 1594
From the time when the Gtsug-gtor willow (near the Chu-tha mill) was planted to this year, 316 years	A.D. 1594
From the time when Ma-ka-ra-phad (Moorcroft)-Sā-hib arrived, during the reign of King Tshe-dpal-don-grub, 168 years	A.D. 1742
From the birth of King Ḥjigs-med-kun-dgaḥ, in the time of Zorawar, to this year, 70 years	A.D. 1840
From Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan's flight to Spyi-ti and death there to the present day, 70 years	A.D. 1840
Since Bastī-Rāṁ turned the king's best field (mother-field), which was called Yaṅ-ma or Te-tses-źiṅ, into a bazaar, to this year, 68 years	A.D. 1842
Since Ke-li (Cayley), the commissioner, lived at Leh (at first, during two years, Mun-śi Ka-rīm-Bakś was in the place of a commissioner) to this year, 46 years	A.D. 1864
Since the meteorological station (barometer) was established and a house built for it at Leh, to this year, 31 years	A.D. 1879
Since Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal was born (formerly the [royal] salary was 312 Rs., 8 As.; after that year it was 1,800 Rs.) to this year, 33 years	A.D. 1877
Since the great Sara was built by 'I-lai, the commissioner (Elias), and Jon-sen (Johnson) to this day, 43 years	A.D. 1867
Since Pandit Rādhā-Kriśna made the polo ground at Leh to this year, 25 years	A.D. 1885

NOTES

The above table is of the same type as that given by Csoma de Körös at the end of his Tibetan Grammar. Not all the dates are correct. With regard to the first date let me note that it does not refer to the erection of a mosque, but to the grant of a site for the same. As to the date of the erection of the Kashmir mosque at Leh, it is contained in an inscription above the door of the mosque. According thereto the erection took place in the year A.H. 1077 (1667 A.D.), probably during the reign of King Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal. But possibly the site for the building was granted seventy years earlier by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, whose mother was a Muhammadan lady. The willow called *Gtsug-gtor* is still in existence at Leh. A pen and ink drawing of this tree by Dr. K. Marx was published in *Periodical Accounts*, a Moravian Mission magazine (1890, p. 65). The date given for Moorcroft is certainly wrong. He visited Ladakh in 1820-2 A.D. King Ḫjigs-med-kun-dgaḫ, etc., was born in 1835, and according to the chronicles his father Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan died in the same year; but according to Cunningham he died in 1839 A.D. The bazaar laid out by Bastī-Rām is the present principal bazaar of Leh, 1,080 feet long and 170 feet broad. At first the buildings of the meteorological station were erected on a hill south-east of Leh. At present the meteorological tower is found in close vicinity to the Moravian Mission buildings. The missionaries act as superintendents of the station. They entered Ladakh in 1886 A.D. The great Sarai built by Mr. Elias is probably that which is found directly south of the government hospital. From the *Missionsblatt* (1870, p. 84) the following dates may be gathered: the Rev. A. W. Heyde met Dr. Cayley at Leh in 1869; in 1878 he found Mr. Elias, as Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Johnson, as Wazīr, in Leh (*ibid.*, 1879, pp. 45–6). Thus Munshi Dpal-rgyas' date, 1867, for the erection of the Sarai is probably wrong.

The taxes imposed by Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin, for six years, amounted to 9,000 Rs. annually . . . . A.D. 1835–1841

Magnā, the Thānādār, was for six years wāzīr at Leh . . . A.D. 1841–1847

Bastī-Rām was wāzīr for fourteen years. During the time of these two the taxes amounted to 18,000 . . . . A.D. 1847–1861

Maṅgal-Siṅ remained for five years; the annual taxes rose to 24,000 Rs. A.D. 1861–1866

'A-li-'Ag-bar remained for four years . . . . A.D. 1866–1870

Gaṅgā-Siṅ remained for one year . . . . A.D. 1870–1871 p. 59.

Jon-sen remained for twelve years . . . . A.D. 1871–1883

Rādhā-Kriśna remained for three years . . . . . . A.D. 1883–1886

During the time of these four the annual taxes amounted to 32,887 Rs., 2½ As.

After Rādhā-Kriśna had surveyed the ground the additional taxes were 8,821 Rs., 14 As., or the sum total of the taxes was then fixed at 41,108 Rs., 14 As.

NOTES.

The Ladakhis are not very clever at arithmetic, as we see. In the above example, for instance, the sum total should, of course, be 41,109 Rs., ½ Ana. The numbers relating to the taxes, as given in the above table, are in close agreement with those given at the end of the account of Partāb-Siṅgh's reign. But the high numbers given at the end of the account of Ranbīr-Singh's reign cannot be traced elsewhere. Possibly those high numbers were obtained by adding the value of the taxes in provisions to the taxes in cash. According to the *Missionsblatt*, 1883, p. 58, Johnson left Leh in 1882; Rādhā-Kṛishṇa arrived there in October, 1882.

During the time of the [Ladakhi] kings the peasants had to pay as taxes 1 *jaḫu* (3¼ As.) each.

During the time of the kings each peasant had to give 1 *sraṅ* of straw.

As a special kind of forced labour, all the peasants had to bring from Phyi-gliṅ (Ci-liṅ) 800 *sraṅ* of wood, and from Tar of Naṅ-śiṅ (?), Sṅon-dar (Hundar) of Ldum-ra, two outlying places, as much wood as was needed. Beyond this no taxes or tribute were taken, it is said, from the zamīndārs.

During the six years of Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin the taxes were 9,000 Rs.

From Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin till Bastī-Rām, during twenty-six years (?), the annual taxes were 18,000 Rs.

After the new list of peasants was drawn up, the new taxes together with the *Spaṅ-bcag* [tax on meadows] were 24,000 Rs.

The taxes paid till Jon-sen['s wazirat] were 32,887 Rs., 2 As., 1 P.

The sum total was finally fixed at 41,108 Rs., 14 As., 1 P.

In the year 1957 (1900 A.D.) an arrangement [survey] was made: the taxes were fixed at . . . [Has not yet been ascertained; will be reported as soon as known.]

In the year 1966 (1909 A.D.) an arrangement [survey] was made: the taxes were fixed at . . . [Has not yet been ascertained; will be reported as soon as known.]

This register, [based] upon inquiries addressed to Mun-śi Dpal-rgyas, was written down by me, Yoseph Tshe-brtan.

(Later addition.) Table of taxes for Ladakh, from [the country] above Gyuṅ-druṅ (Lamayuru).

In the year 1966 (1909 A.D.) the taxes were fixed as follows:—

In cash annually	43,256 Rs.,	12 As.
Wheat annually to the value of . . .	2,977 Rs.,	8 As.
Barley annually to the value of . . .	7,022 Rs.,	8 As.
Wood annually to the value of	3,000 Rs.,	0 As.
Mill-tax annually amounting to . . .	3,119 Rs.,	12 As.
Tax on goats and sheep annually amounting to .	1,833 Rs.,	0 As.
Sum total . . .	61,209 Rs.,	8 As.

NOTES

With the above account of the state of taxation during the times of the Ladakhi kings Tshe-brtan's account, referring to King Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal's reign, should be compared. There can be no doubt that the Ladakhis had a better time under their own rulers. It is difficult to see how the twenty-six years between Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin and Bastī-Rām come in. From what is said under *Later Addition* it seems to follow that all the numbers given above refer only to a small part of the country, viz. Ladakh from Lamayuru to the Paṅ-koṅ lake.

MINOR CHRONICLES

CONTENTS

I. The Chronicles of Zans-dkar

INTRODUCTION

In 1907, when stationed at Kyelang, Lahul, I made the acquaintance of a member of a family of chiefs of Ste-sta (Ti-sta) in Zaṅs-dkar, who passed through Lahul on his journey to India. As the chiefs of Ste-sta claim to belong to the family of the former kings (vassal-kings) of Zaṅs-dkar, I asked their representative to tell me if they were in possession of a chronicle. The kingdom of Zaṅs-dkar came to an ignominious end in the Dogra War, and at Dpaḫ-gtum, the capital, no ancient documents seem to have escaped the ravages of time. The chief of Ste-sta said that his family kept an old chronicle at Ste-sta, which, as he believed, was somewhat similar to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*. The latter assertion does not hold true; but my informant had probably never taken the trouble to read the document.

When the Rev. G. Hettasch of Kyelang, in 1908, went on an itinerant tour to Zaṅs-dkar, I asked him to make inquiries about the chronicle at Ste-sta, and, if possible, to have it copied. Mr. Hettasch did according to my wish, and had the chronicle copied by my munshi, Bzod-pa Bde-chen of Kyelang. The accompanying text is based on Bzod-pa's copy, which consists of two folio sheets of Tibetan paper.

As a glance at the copy shows, the original at Ste-sta must be in a perilous condition. Whole passages are in quite the wrong place, and the orthography leaves very much to be desired. In many parts the writing is almost illegible, and Bzod-pa had to re-write many words and even sentences, which he had at first misunderstood. The text contains a great number of local names, which in many cases it would have been impossible for me to recognize as such, had not Bzod-pa thoughtfully marked a good number of them by adding the word *yul* ('land,' 'town') above or below them. In the same manner he also marked the clan names, by adding the word *rus* ('bone,' 'clan'), and some of the house-names, by adding the word *groṅ*.

As we learn from a note at the end of the MS., the Ste-sta chronicle is only an extract from a larger book, which once existed (or still exists ?) at Phug-thal. The book of Phug-thal is called *Bo-yig* (more correctly *H̱bo-yig*), which means 'letter of measure.' It is apparently a book containing a list of the numbers of bushels which each peasant in the dependent villages had to send annually to the Phug-thal monastery. For this reason the historical portions of the book centre about Phug-thal. They tell the story of the various grants that were made at various [illegible] that monastery.

As regards the history and archæology of Zaṅs-dkar very little has as yet been done. I may mention an article of my own entitled 'Kleine archäologische Erträge einer Missionsreise nach Zangskar in Westtibet' (*ZDMG.*, vol. lx, pp. 645–61, and vol. lxi, pp. 645–7). Then a note on some ancient sculptures at 'A-tiṅ in Zaṅs-dkar appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1908, pp. 332–3; and, in addition, I am in possession

of a few hand-written notes by the Rev. G. Hettasch, which he made during an itinerant tour along the Dkar-rgyags brook. The brook is repeatedly mentioned in the chronicle. As Mr. Hettasch passed through a district which is of particular interest in connexion with the chronicle, I will briefly give his notes: 'Leaving the Lahul valley, and crossing the Shinggo (Siṅ-kun) pass, we first reached Kargyag (Dkar-rgyags). Here we noticed the foundations of an ancient castle. The walls are very well built. Then we went to Draṅ-rtse. This is the seat of a Ga-ga (nobleman). Above the present village is situated an ancient monastery, if not a whole town. Ste-sta, on the left bank of the stream, is the seat of a No-no (chief). Between Ste-sta and Bya (Bcaḥ-ba), the next stage, ancient rock carvings were noticed. Bya is situated on the right bank of the stream. Above Bya the ruins of an ancient monastery, and below Bya those of an ancient castle, could be seen. On the bank opposite Bya ancient rock-carvings and inscriptions were noticed. Copies were made of the latter. (These inscriptions remind us of those at 'A-lci, in Ladakh; they are written in an ancient type of *dbu-med*, and cannot be later than A.D. 1000.—F.) From here a road branches off to the Phug-thal monastery. At the celebration of the *Tshes-bcu* festival a dried human hand, which once was cut off a Mongol, is publicly exhibited at Phug-thal. Spaṅ, the next stage, is situated on a brook with a stone bridge. Above it may be seen the ruins of a castle and deserted fields. Opposite Spaṅ, on the other bank of the stream, rises the town of Ichar (Gyi-char). The town is still in its ancient position on the top of a steep rock. Above it we noticed a deserted monastery and a square tower. The well-known Mu-ne monastery is situated between Ibcha (Bib-cha ?) and Re-ru.'

Zaṅs-dkar has the honour of having housed Csoma de Körös at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The place where he is said to have lived is given in Duka's *Life of Csoma* as Yaṅ-lha. I have not yet been able, however, to trace a town of that name on any map of Zaṅs-dkar, nor does it occur in the chronicles. Possibly Yaṅ-lha is a clerical error for Bzaṅ-la, a well-known village of Zaṅs-dkar: see the next chapter.

As regards the many names of places contained in the chronicle, we may refer to the map, in which are entered all the names which it is possible to locate.

TEXT

ཟས་དཀར་ཆགས་ཚུལ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བྱུར་ཙམ་ཕྱོགས་གཅིག། བདེ་ལེགས་ཡོན་ཏན་ཀུན་ཏུས། རྗེ་བཙུན་བླ་མ་དང་། ཡི་དམ་
མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཆོས་སྐྱོང་བསྲུང་མ་ལ། འཇུ(འདུད་དགུ)་འཚོགས་མཐུན་དངོས་གྲུབ་རྩལ་ཏུ(སྩོལ་ཏུ་)་གསོལ། དེ་ལ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་གཡང་ཆགས་
ཟས་དཀར་གདམ་ས་ཆོས་འབྱུང་འདིར། རང་སྔོན་གླིང་གི་སར་ཐེབས་ནས། ས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་བཅགས། སྤྲ་རྒྱུད་པ་རྫུ་ཐེབས་
ནས། མི་མ་ཡིན་རྣམས་དམ་ལ་བཏགས་སྟེ། ས་བཀྲ་ངན་པ་རྣམས་མནན་ནས། གླིང་མོ(གླིང་མོ)་གནད་ཁྱལ་དུ་འཁྱིལ་བ་ལྟ་བུ། ས་གཞི་
མགོའི་ཁར་ས་དེ་ཀ་དེ་ཀ། སྐྱིད་ཁར་པི་པི་དིང་གི་གཞལ་ནམ་ཀྱུ་རྩ། སྟང་བཞི་ཁར་ཟམས་གླིང་གི་གཞལ་ནམ་ཀྱུ་རྩ་རྣམས་ཞེངས་
ནས། ཀྱ་གར་གྱི་ཏུར་ཁོད་བདེ་ལྡན་འདུ་བར་ཕུང་བསྐུན། དེའི་སྒོ་ཕུང་ཤར་ཏུ་ཙོ་རེ། སྟོ་ན་དཔལ་ལྡ་མོ། ཏུས་ན་ཏུར་ལྡ་
བྲག་པ། ཟང་ན་ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ནོར་བུ་ཡོད་དེ། དེའི་ཀོར(དཀོར)་བདག་ཧུ་རྩེ་མོ་སྒྲུན་གཅིག་མ། ས་དེ་ཚོག་དང་ཟ་རྣམས་ཏུར་མེད་

དང་དུར་ཐ་ཙ་ཤུང་བསྟན། མཁའ་འགྲོ་འདུ་བའི་གནས་སུ་ཤུང་བསྟན། ཡུལ་ཆགས་ཚུལ་བྱང་ངོས་སུ་རན་ཐག་ཁ་དང་རི་ནས། ལྷོ་ངོས་སུ་ཞིབ་ཅ་དང་ཀུ་མི་ཆགས་པའི་ཐོག་མ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་གཞན་རྣམས་རིམ་པར་ཆགས།།

ད་རྒྱས་སུ་སོང་བའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཁ་ཆུལ་གྱི་གཡོག་བྱས། རྡང་རྩེའི་མཁར་ཁམ་པས་ཟིན(འཛིན)་པའི་དུས་སུ། བར་རྩོད་ནས་རྒྱ་ཤོར་མི་ཤོར་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བས། སྟོབ་ཉེ (?)། བར་ལ་གནོད་པ་སྒྲ་ཚོགས་བྱས་པས། ལན་དུ་གུ་གེའི་ཞིང་དམག་ཕྱིངས་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་ཡུལ་རྣམས་དང་། མཁར་ཐམས་ཅད་མེ་ཡིས་སྲེག། མི་མང་པོ་བསད། ལྷག་ལུས་ཆེར་ནས། ཡུལ་སྟོང་དུ་སོང་། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཕྱོགས་ཕྱོགས་ནས་མི་མང་པོ་ཡོང་བ་ལ་རྟེན། ཡུལ་ཆགས་པས། དཔའ་གཏུམ་ཉང་རྩང་གིས་བཙུང་། བྱང་ངོ[ས]་སྒོ་པས་བཟུང་། སྟོང་སྡེ་ལྷ་ས་དང་གུང་བློན་ཁྲི་ཁང་གསུམ་གྱིས་བཟིན།།

དེའི་སྐབས་སུ་ཀུན་དགའ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྟེན། མཁས་དམན་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང་བ་ལ་རྟེན་པ། སྤྱི་ཏིའི་གུ་གེའི་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལྷ་ཆེན་ཀླུ་ཀུ་ཐུབ་པ་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་གདན་ཞུས་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་རྒྱལ་པོར་ཁུར། དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་མོ་འབྲུ་ཁལ་ནས་ཕྱིངས། ནང་པར་བག་ཆགས་ལ་བྱིན་པས་ལམ་དུ་ཡབ་སྐྱོད་པས་རྒྱལ་མོ་ཤོག་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁག་ཐུབ་གྲོངས་སུ་བཞུགས། དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་རྒྱལ་མོ་སྲས་བུ་ཞིག་བལྟམ་ནས། ཆུང་བའི་དུས་སུ་བསོས། ལོ་ཆུ་པའི་དུས་སུ་ཡབ་སྐྱོ[ད]་པས། ངའི་བུ་མིན་ཟེར་ནས། བདག་མ་ཐུས་པའི་རྒྱན་གྱིས་ཁ་ཏུལ་དུ་སོང་ནས། ག་དོག་ཀུན་གྱི་སེབ་ཏུ་བསྡད་པས། བྱད་གཟུག[ས]་ངན་པའི་སྐྱབ་གྱིས་རིགས་བཟང་ངན་མ་ཤེས་ཏེ། གླང་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་ཞག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པས། ཚུལ་པ་བསྟན་ནས། ཐུས་མོ་བཙུག་སྟེ་དེ་ནས་ཁག་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་བུ་ལ་ཐུས་མོ་བཙུགས་པས། དེ་ཀུན་གྱིས་རིགས་ཅན་ཡིན་པར་ཤེས་ནས། མིང་སེང་གེ་ལྡེར་བཏགས་ཏེ། ཁ་ཏུལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བུ་མོ་བཏང་། ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་སྐྱོང་ནས་དེར་བཞུགས།།

དེ་ལ་བུ་གསུམ་བྱུང་བ་ལ། ཆེ་བ་ལ་ཀ་སྐྱ་བར་བསྐོད། ཁོང་དང་གཉིས་བུ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཐོན་པ། བློ་བཟང་ལྡེ་ལ་དཔོན་ཙའི་ཆུའི་བཅད་ས་ཚུན་ཚོང་ལྷོ་ངོས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་བསྐོད། ཁྲི་ནམ་ལྡེ་ལ་ཆུ་ཕྱིངས(བྱང་ངོས)་དང་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཚོ་ཟར་བཟང་ལ་མི་ལྡེའི་ཕྱོག་པོ་མན་ཆད་བསྐོད། བློ་བཟང་ལྡེའི་དུས་སུ་གུ་གེ་ནས་ཇོ་དཔལ་དར་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་དེར་བྱོན་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་གསེར་སྐྱ་དང་། གཡུའི་སྤབ་ཐུལ་ནས། ཞིབ་ཅ་མཚའ་བ་ཁྲུན་གསུམ་གསོལ་བ་ཡིན། ཇོ་དཔལ་དར་ཡུལ་དེ་གསུམ་གྱི་མི་དང་སྨོམ་སྟེ། ཡར་ཡུལ་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ཚོང་པ་མི་བརྒྱ་བརྒྱད་བསད་ནས། གད་ཐམ་དུ་བསྒྲས་ནས། དབྱར་ཆུས་ཕྱིང་ནས། དངོས་མི་དེའི[དགེའི ?]་རྗེས་སུ་ཅན་མཆོད (ཆད་པ་ཆོད)་བྱུང་བས། ཁྲུན་དུ་མ་ཆགས་པར། མར་གཞུང་ལ་ཐོས་པས།

དེའི་སྐབས་སུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་བློ་བཟང་ལྡེའི་སྲས་གསུམ་ཡོད་པས། ཆེ་བ་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་དཔོན་ཙའི་ཆུ་བཀགས་ཚུན། དབྱེ་ཁལ་མར་གླིང་གི་ཙན་ལྡན་འབྱུང་ཨག་ཙོའི་ཤུང་པ་མན་ཆད། བཅའ་བ་ཡང་དེའི་དུས་བསྟན། [བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་ཟེར་བ་ལ · · · ། ཆེ་བ་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ། བར་པ་ར་དུག་རྒྱལ་པོ། ཆུང་བ་བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབ[ས]་པ་ཟེར་བ་ལ · · ·]། ཞིབ་ཅའི་ནང་སོ་དཔའ་དར་གྱི་བུ་ལ་བོར་བ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་དུག་ལ་མར་ཐང་གི་ཐུགས་སུ་ཤུང་པའི་མན་ཆད། ཚོ་ཟར་མི་ལྡེ་ཤུང་པ་ཡན་ཆད། ཐུག་ཐལ་གྱི་སྟོང་སྡེ་སྨང་ཡན། ཉ་ཐུག་གི་ཞག་ནག་ཚུན་ཚོད་ཡ་ནམ་མཚོ། གར་ཉ་ཆུའི་ཕོ་མོ་ཆེ་མན་ཆད། སྟོང་སྡེའི་ས་ཁྲད་ཡིན། དེ་སྐབས་སུ་སྟོང་སྡེའི་ཞིང་དཔོན་ཇོ་གྲོས་དཔལ་སྐྱབ་ཡིན། བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབ[ས]་པ་ལ་སྐྱེ་སྨད་ཨག་ཙོ་ཤུང་པ་མན་ཆད། གར་ཉ་ཆུ་ཚུན་ཆད། ཁང་ཀུན་ལ་ཚུན་ཆད་བསྟན་པ་ཡིན།།

ཁྲི་ནམ་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རྒྱལ་བསམ་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཨ་མ་འཛོམ་པ་རྒྱལ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་དུས་སུ། བྱང་སེམས་ཀྱི་སྙིང་བདག་མཛད་ནས། དགས་རྐང་ཀར་ལང་ཚོ་ཟར་གསུམ་ཆོས་པའི་ལ་བྱུལ་བ་ལ་རྟེན་པ་ལ། ཚོ་ཟར་གྱི་དགོན་པོ་ཆེ་བཏབ། དེའི་

རྗེས་སུ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་སྐུ་ལ་རྟེན་པ། བྱི་བ་དཀར་མོ་ཞིག་གི[ས]་ལམ་སྟོན་བྱས། ཕྱག་འཚོལ་སྣང་དུ་ཕེབས་པ་དང་། །བྱི་བ་གར་སོང་ཆ་མེད་དུ་སོང་། །ཕྱག་ཐལ་ནས་གྲྭ་ཧྲི་བརྡུང་བྱུང་བ་དང་། །ཡར་ཕེབས་ནས། །དྲང་སྲོང་གསུམ་གྱིས་བསུ་བ་དང་བཅས། །ཕྱག་ཐལ་དུ་བྱོན་ཕེབས། །དྲང་སྲོང་གསུམ་གྱིས་སྙན་བཀུར་བྱས་ནས། །རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་ཁྱོད་ལེགས་སོ་བྱས་ནས། །དགོན་པ་དང་གཡུ་མཁར་གྱི་ཞིང་ཁང་གཅིག་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ་ནས། །དེང་གསུམ་གྱི་འདུལ་བྱ་རྫོགས་ནས། །བྱི་འདུག་པའི། །ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་འདི་རྣམས་ལ་བསྟན་པ་དང་། །སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་མཛོད། །ཅེས་གསུངས་ནས། །དྲང་སྲོང་གསུམ་པོ་ཐུག་པ་གཞན་དུ་ཕེབས། །དེའི་དུས་སུ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་ནས་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོས་མར་གླིང་ཕུལ། །སྟེ་སྟེའི་བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་སྐྱིད་ཉེ་གྲོ་བྲ་མ་ཅན་དང་ཡན་དང་། །ཐང་སོ་མན་ཆད་ཕུལ།།

དེ་རྗེས་སུ་བྱང་སེམས་དང་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་བཀའ་གྲོས་མཛད་ནས། །བདེ་མཆོག་སྐྱབ[ས]་པ་ལ། །ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་དེང་གཉིས་ལ་དགོང་དཔོན་བཙུག་དགོས་པ་འདུག་པས། །ས་གཞི་ཞིག་བྱིན་ཅེས་ཞུ་བ་མཛད་པའི། །ཀོ་རང་ལ་ཞིང་དང་ལས་མི་ཁྱལ་པ་བཅས་ཕུན་སུ་བོར་ནས། །དེ་ལྷག་ཐམས་ཅད་རྒྱལ་པོ་བླ་མ་གཉིས་ལ་ཕུལ་ནས། །ཡུལ་དང་དེ་ཚང་མ་ཕུལ། །ཞིང་ས་གང་ཡིན་དེ་ཀོ་རང་ལ་བོར་བ་ཡིན།།

ཁྱལ་ཡན་སུ་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་སུ་ཡར་ཀྱེན་ནས་མིག་ཟ་རྡུར་དམག་གསུམ་སྣོང་ཁྱིར་དེ། །འོངས་ནས། །ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡུལ་མི་དང་བཅས་ལྷའི་ལུང་པར་བྲོས་པས། །རྗེས་སུ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་གྱི་མཁར་ཁས་ཟིན་པས(འཛིན་པས)། །ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོས་བཅའ་བ་མཁར་པའི་ཆོས་གྲྭ་དཔོན་པོ་འཛོམ་པའི་རྒྱུད་དུ་བཏང་བྱུང་བས། །ང་ལ་གདམ་སྙན་ཤུ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད་བྱས་ནས། །གཞོད་དུ་བཙུག་པས། །རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛོ་ཁྱུང་ནོག་པོ་དང་འགར་ཁ་ཞེབ་གཉིས་ང་ལ་སྐྱུལ། །ཁྱེད་རང་ལ་གཡུ་མཁར་གྱི་གྲོང་གཉིས་རྣམས་ཕུལ་ཞུ་འདུག་བྱས་པའི། །མཛོ་ཁྱུང་ནོག་དང་འགར་ཁ་ཞེབ་ཕུལ་བའི་མཆོག། །གཡུ་ཁར་པ་གྲོང་པ་གཉིས་ང་ལ་མི་དགོས། །ང་སྐྱེ་སྐྱ་པ་དང་ཡོན་མཆོད་ཡིན་པས་མི་དགོས་ཞུ། །མཛོ་དང་རྒྱལ་ནོར་གཞན་མ་ཡང་གསལ (གསོལ ? སྐྱུལ ?)་ནས། །རང་མིག་ཟ་རྡུར་ཁྱོད་མི་སྐྱུང་པོ་ཞིག་མིན་ནམ། །འདི་རྩ་མ་བསྟུད། །ལོག་ལ་སོང་། །མོན་པ་དུ་སྒྲུག་དང་དམག་མང་པོ་དེ་རིང་རང་སློབ་ཡོད་ཟེར་བས། །མིག་ཟ་རྡུར་ཉིན་མཚན་མོར་ནས། །སུ་རྩ་དཀར་ཅོ་ལ་བྲུད་སོང་བ་དང་། །དེའི་རྗེས་སུ་ཨོན་པོ་ལ་ཨག་ཅོ་མན་ཆད། །ཁ་ཅེ་ལྷུབ་ཅོ་ཡན་ཆད། །ཕྱག་ཐལ་པ་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན།།

ཡང་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དུས་སུ་ཨུ་པ་རག་གི་ཛོ་འཛམ་དབང་པ་དཀར་ཅོ་མཇོར་སོང་བའི། །དེའི་རྗེས་ཏ་ཞི་ཛོས་དམག་བསྐུལ་ནས། །ཁྱོང་པའི་དུས་སུ། །དཔའ་གཏུམ་ན་ཁ་བ་བྲུ་རེ་བྱུང་ཡོད་པའི། །དེར་བསླེབ་པ་དང་། །དཔའ་གཏུམ་མཁར་ལ་ཐུགས་ཡོད་པས། །ཐུར་མེད་བཞི་ཡིས་འགའ་ར་རྣ་སྨོ་རྩ་རྒྱན་རྟེ་ཤང་པའི། །ཛོ་འཛམ་དབང་དེ་རྩ་མི། །མཁར་ཡུལ་མེད་པ་དམག་གིས་གང་། །ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱི་ལོག་ཏུ་བཅིང་ནས། །སྦྱར་སྤྲིའི་འགྲོག་མདའ་ལ་བཏགས་ཡོད་འདུག་པས། །ཕྱག་ཐལ་ནས་རྒྱང་པ་རབ་བསྟན་མར་སྐྱོད་ནས། །རྒྱལ་པོ་འགྲོགས་མདའ་ནས་བཀྲོལ། །ཕྱག་ཐལ་ན་འཚོགས་བཟང་གིས་མགོ་བྱས། །ནོར་མང་པོ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ་ཏ་ཞི་ཛོ་ལ་རྒྱ་པ་ཕུལ་ནས། །རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞུས་ནས། །ཡུལ་མི་ཐལ་ཆེན་སློག། །དེ་ལྷག་ཁྱེར་ཏེ། །དཀར་ཅོར་བསླེབ་སོང་བ། །འཚོགས[ས]་བཟང་ . . . ཚང(ཆང ?)་བསྐྱན (བསླང ?)་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བྱས་པའི། །འཚོགས[ས]་བཟང་ཡར་འགྲོ་ཚུར་འགྲོ་བྱས་པའི། །དེ་རྗེས་སུ་ཡུལ་དེར་མི་མང་པོ་ཤི་བ་དང་། །འཚོགས་བཟང་ཕྱག་ཐལ་དུ་སྐྱུལ་བ་ཁྱོང་། །དཔེ (དཔེར ?)་ཀ་དཔའ་གཏུམ་པ་གྲགས་པ་དཔལ་བཟང་སོ་ཉ་ལ་སོགས་ཏ་ཞི་ཛོ་ལ་ཕྱག་བྱས་པ་འབྱུ་ཛོས་ཡོངས། །ས་ནས་ས་ལ་སྤྱད་པའི། །ཡང་འབྲུ་ཛོས་ཅོས་སྣ་ཉེ་གྲུ་ཚ་ཅིག་(བཏང་མིག་གསུངས་པ་དང་། །དེ་ལྟར་སྣང་བས)་སྐུ་མདུན་གྱིས་མི་ཐམས་ཅད་རབ་རྡོད་བྱས་ནས། །ཐུགས་ཉེས་ནས། །ས་དེ་པ་ཨུ་པ་རག་པི་པི་ཉིད་དཔའ་གཏུམ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མི་ཚང་མ་བྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་ནས་ཁྱོང་འདུག །།

དེ་དུས་ཏ་བྱ་དེ་ལྷ་རྩེ་མ་གཏོགས། །ས་དེ་ཡུལ་པ་དང་ས་ཁྲད་ཐམས་[illegible]་ཡུར་ལ་ནས་ཞིང་ཞིང་ཁང་ཅིག་ལ་སོགས་ས་ཁྲད་རྣམས་

ཟུང་པ་རབ་བརྟན་ལ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཏ་ཤི་ཇོ་དང་བྱོངས(བྱང་ཇོས)་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གསུམ་བཟང་འགྲིག་པའི། བུ་རིག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་བྱང་ཇོས་(དཀར་ཤ་དགོན་པའི་འོག་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཡང་གནས་ཟར)་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཆད་དོན་བྱས་པར། ཁྲིད་ཀྱིས་ཟུང་པ་རབ་བརྟན་ལ། དགོན་པ་འདེབས་པས་ས་ཁྲད་ཆོས་བཞི་དང་བཅས་པ་ཕུལ་ན། བཟང་འགྲིག་གསུ་བར་བཏེན། ས་ཁྲད་ཕུལ་བ་ལ་དགོན་པ་བཏབ་པའི་ས་ལ་ནག་ཚངས་ཡན་ཆོད། རྒྱ་སྦྱིན་ཀྱི་སྣང་མན་ཆད། ཆོས་བཞི་ལ་ལ་བླ་མ་ཁྲི་ཙུག་གི་ཆུ་བབ་ས། གོ་ཉེ་མན་ཐང་ཆུན། རྒྱ་ལམ་ཀྱིན་ཆོད་དཔལ་གཏུམ་གྱི་རན་ཐག་ཡན་ཆོད། ཕུ་པ་རག་དང་ཐམ་ཤིང་གི་དབྱར་གནས་ལ་ཨམ་པེའི་ཚོགས་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། །

ཡང་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཧོར་མི་རིགས་ལན་གཉིས་བྱུང་བས། ཕྱི་མ་ལ་ཧོར་མི་རིགས་འགྲོ་མ་ཉན་པར། ཟུང་པ་རབ་བརྟན་གྱིས་ཆེབས་གསུམ་ཕུལ་བར་རྟེན་ཁོ་བར་སློག། དེའི་གདང་རག་ལ་རྒྱ་གོང་འོག་གཉིས་[འ]ཆོག[ས]་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། སྟོད་སྨྲེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་ཏུག་ལ་བབ་སྐྱོའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དམག་བྱུང་བས། དེ་དུས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་ཏུག་པས་མ་ཐུབ་པར། ཕྱག་ཐལ་ནས་བླ་མ་སློབ་དཔོན་རྣམས་ཞེབས་ནས། ནོར་མང་པོ་ཕུལ་ནས། བབ་སྐྱོའི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཞུ་བ་ཞུས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ར་ཏུག་པ་དང་ཚང་ཚང་མ་ཚ་ཟར་མེལ་ཙེ་ཕྱུང་པ་ནས་སློག་ནས་ཁྲིངས། སྟོད་སྨྲེ་རྒྱལ་པོར་བཀལ་བས། དེ་བདག་རྐྱེན་ལ་སྟོད་སྨྲེ་ཕྱུར་བ་བྲག་ནག་ཡན་ཕྱག་ཐལ་ལ་སྟོད་སྨྲེ་སྣང་ཡན་སྦེ་པ་ཅན་གྱི་ལ་རྩྭ་ཆད། འོ་མ་ཕྱུང་གི་ལ་རྩྭ་ཆད། ན་སྨུག་གི་སྟོད་སྨྲེ (?) ཟག་དར་ཟེར་བ་མན་ཆད། ཡ་ནམ་མཁོ་ཚུད་གར་འཞིའི་ཆུའི་ཐོ་མོ་ཆེ་མན་ཆད་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། །

རྒྱལ་པོ་བློ་བཟང་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་སུ་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོས་ན་གསེར་པོག་ལ་སྦྱིན་ལམ་གྱིས་ཆོས་བཞི་པེ་པེ་ཉིད། ཕྱུག་སྨྲི་སུ་ཏུ་གསུམ་མདོ་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ། ཡང་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་པོས་བྱང་སེམས་ཆོས་བཞི་ཏུ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། དཔལ་གཏུམ་ཏུད་ཁ་གཅིག། ཤེ་ལྷ་ཏུད་ཁ་གཅིག། ཞིབ་ཙ་ཏུ་ཏུད་ཁ་གསུམ། དེ་ལ་རིང་གི་གསུམ་ལྡོངས་ཀྱི་ཟ(?)་ཀུ། ཐར་ལ་སྐྱིར་ར་ཏུའི་མར་ཐང་བཅས་ཕུལ། ཡང་ཚང་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡབ་ཀྱི་དགོངས་རྫོགས་ལ། བྱང་སེམས་དཀོར་ཏུ་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། མཁར་སྣུད་པ་ཏུད་ཁ་གཅིག། གཉེར་པ་ཉ་ར་ལ། མཛོད་པ་ཡ་མ་དྲག་པ་དང་གསུམ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཤེ་ལྷ་ནས་མཁར་དང་ཚུན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་གཉིས་ཞེབ་ཞེ་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། སྒྱི་སྐྱིའི་རྫོ་ཤག་ལྡེའི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། སེ་ཙོ་ཡན་གར་ན་ཆུའི་ཚུན་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། རྫོ་ཁྲ་རིག་གི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཞིང་ཁང་གསུམ་དང་། ས་ཏི་དགོན་གཡོག་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཡང་བྱང་སེམས་ལ་མར་ཡུལ་སྟོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་མངའ་བདག་པས་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཏུ་ཤོད་ནས་ཡུང་པ་ཤེས་རྫོང་། ར་ཝོ་མཆོད་རྟེན་གྱི་སྐོར་རྣམས་དང་། ནག་ཚུར་ཚུ་ཁ་ཏུང་ཆུའི་གྲོག་པོ་གསུམ། ཞེལ་མ་དེ་ཙན་འགོ་ཡན་ཆད་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། ཤུང་དེ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། ཆོས་སྐུ་ཙེ་དགོན་པ་ཡན་ཆོད། ལམ་ལྷང་ཧོ་ཟླིང་། ཀྱི་སྲུར་འཛེ་ཟི་མོས། ཉེ་བདེའི་ཤུང་པ་ཟུ་མདོ་དང་བཅས་ཕུལ། །

ཟུང་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་བློ་གྲོས་དཀར་ཤའི་དགོན་བདག་མཛད་ནས། དེ་ཙ་སྨྲུན་བོངས་པ་དང་། དཀར་ཤ་པས་བཏོན་བཏང་། དེ་ནས་ཟུང་ཡ(པ?)་ཚང་བརྟན་པ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་དཔལ་ལྡེ། བློན་པོ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བདག་རྐྱེན་མཛད་ནས་པེ་པེ་ཉིད་ཏུ་ཁྲིངས། ལོ་བརྒྱ་གཅིག་བཞུགས་ནས། ཟུང་པ་གྲོངས། ཕྱུར(བྱུར)་ཟུང་པ་ཚང་བརྟན་པའི་སྐམ་ན། ཉིང་ཆེ་ཚང་བཏུན་ཟུང་པ་ཚང་རབ་བརྟན་ལ་ལྟོ་སྐལ་ལ་བཏངས། ཡང་གཡི་ཅར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བེ་ཧྲི་ལི་ཕུལ་བ་ལ། གཡི་ཅར་མཁར་སྣང་པ་བཅའ་བ་ནས་སྤོད་མའི་མལ་བློ་བཟང་ཚེ་རིང་གི་མལ་གསུམ་ཕུལ་བ་ཡིན། །

ཅེས་ཕྱག་ཐལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེ་སྲས་པའི་ཕྱགས་ཤིག་དེ་ལྟར་འདུག། །

NOTE ON THE TEXT

Clerical errors have in most cases been corrected. In doubtful cases other possible readings are added in brackets. Passages which are evidently in the wrong place have also been put in brackets. In the case of local names I have had to make a selection among various spellings. The name of the Dkar-rgyags river is everywhere spelled Gar-ża.

TRANSLATION

[This is] an abridged mode of telling the tale of the origin of Zaṅs-dkar. Under the protection of the reverend lamas, who are an assemblage of well-being and complete excellence, and the tutelary deities, the fairies, and the protectors of religion, may we all find entire gratification of our nine desires! The high King Ge-sar of Gliṅ came to this blessed Zaṅs-dkar, where the religion of heaven and earth arose, and he broke the whole earth with his feet. 'U-rgyan-pa-dma came, and exorcized the demons; he kept down the bad Sa-bkra.[1] The female ogre was as if she had fallen on her back. The Sa-ni and Ka-ni-ka monasteries were erected on the head of the region, the Gña-nam-gu-ru monastery of Pi-pi-tiṅ on the heart, and the Gña-nam-gu-ru [monastery] of Byams-gliṅ on the feet. He uttered a prophecy similar to that of the Bde-ldan (Sukhāvatī) cemetery of India, [as follows]:—'The door-keeper in the east [of Zaṅs-dkar] will be Tse-re, in the south Dpal-lha-mo (Śrī-Devī), in the west Dur-lha-khrug-pa, in the north Yid-bżin-gyi-nor-bu (Cintāmaṇi). Its treasure-keeper will be Jo-mo-Spyan-gcig-ma!' There is also a prophecy [relating] to Sa-ni-tshog, Bya-rnams-dur-śiṅ, and Dur-bya. There is also a prophecy that it would be a place of assembly for the fairies. The origin of the country is [as follows]:—In the beginning Ran-thag-śa and Ri-nam arose in the north, Bib-ca and Ku-mi in the south. Then the others arose in their order.

At the time of the extension [of the settlements Zaṅs-dkar] was under Kashmir. When the castle of Draṅ-rtse was seized by the Kham-pas (Tibetans), a great flight of men and horses took place in all directions; and after that harm was done in various ways. In retaliation an army was led [by the Kashmiris?] against the throne of Gu-ge, and then the country of Zaṅs-dkar and all its castles were burnt with fire. Many men were killed. The remainder were carried off, and the country became empty. As many men arrived here afterwards from all directions, the country rose again. Dpaḥ-gtum was taken by [the clan of] Żaṅ-ruṅ, Byaṅ-ṅos (the north) by [the clan of] Skya-pa, Stoṅ-sde by [the clans of] Lha-sa, Guṅ-blon, and Khyi-śaṅ.

At that time many thieves, robbers, and such folk appeared. But, as a great *mkhas-dman* (counsellor) arose also, he invited the great god (king) Śākya-thub-pa from Spyi-ti and Gu-ge. All the people of Zaṅs-dkar acknowledged him their king. A queen was brought for him from Ḥbru-śal (Gilgit). Next year, when he was on his nuptial tour, the king of Yab-sgod carried off the queen, and then king Śag-[kya]-thub-[pa] died.

[1] Or is it Sa-dgra, 'enemy of the earth'?—F. W. T.

Later on a son was born to the queen. She nursed him while he was a babe. When he was five years old Yab-sgod-pa (or the king of Yab-sgod) said, 'He is not my son!' refused to own him, and [the boy] went to Kashmir. As he lived among the Ga-rogs (poor people ?) and exhibited a poor appearance, nobody knew whether he was of good or bad family. But, when he mounted grandly on an elephant and taught it manners and made it bow its knees [before him] and it bowed its knees before Śag-thub's son, they knew that he was of noble extraction. He was given the name Seṅ-ge-ldor, and he received a daughter of the King of Kashmir [as his wife]. They gave him the kingdom of Ka-skra-bar (Kashtawar), where he dwelt.

Three sons were born to him, the eldest of whom received Ka-skra-bar. The two (others) went away with their children. Blo-bzaṅ-lde received the southern part of the kingdom [of Zaṅs-dkar], including the region within the Dpon-tse brook. Khri-nam-[dpal]-lde received the region to the north of the water, and in addition to it Tsha-zar, Bzaṅ-la, and the region down to the brook of Me-ltse. During the time of Blo-bzaṅ-lde a chief called Dpaḫ-dar went there from Gu-ge and presented to the king a golden saddle and a turquoise bridle, and begged the three villages of Bib-ca, Bcaḫ-ba, and Śun. The chief Dpaḫ-dar conspired with the men of those three villages, killed seventeen merchants of Yar-yul (Yar-luṅ ?), and hid [their corpses] in the bank [of the river]. But the high water of the summer carried off [the corpses], and punishment pursued the originators [of the crime]. As they could not thrive at Śun, they fled to the middle of Mar (Ladakh ?).

At that time Blo-bzaṅ-lde had three sons Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, the eldest, received the region within the dividing waters of the Dpon-tse, Dbyi-khal, the Tsan-ldan road of Mar-gliṅ as far down as the valley of 'Ag-tse; Bcaḫ-ba also was made over during that time. [To the one called Bde-mchog-skyabs . . . (Text out of order) . . . to Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, the eldest, Ra-dug-rgyal-po, the middle one, and the youngest, called Bde-mchog-skyabs. . . .] Naṅ-so of Bib-ca was kept for Dpaḫ-dar's son. King Ra-dug received the country down to the valley in the innermost corner of Mar-thaṅ; upwards to the Tsha-zar-Me-ltse valley; the upper road of Stoṅ-sde of Phug-thal; [the region] within the 'black rock' of Ża-phyag; the Ya-nam lake; the region down to Tho-mo-che on the Gar-ża brook. This is the territory of Stoṅ-sde. At that time Blo-gros-dpal-grub was governor (or chief of the hunters ?) of Stoṅ-sde. Bde-mchog-skyab[s]-pa received part of Ste-sta, as far down as the 'Ag-tse valley; [the region] within the Gar-ża brook; and [the region] within the Śiṅ-kun pass.

During the reign of Khri-nam-dpal-lde's son Rgyal-bsam-rin-chen-dpal-lde and the queen mother Ḫdzom-pa, being patrons of [the lama] Byaṅ-sems, Dags-rkaṅ, Kar-laṅ, Tsha-zar, these three [villages] were ceded as a religious foundation, and the great monastery of Tsha-zar was erected. After that, led by a white female mouse taking the form of a fairy, he (the king ?) arrived on the Phyag-ḫtshal ridge, and there the mouse disappeared. The sound of a bell was heard from Phug-thal, and, when he went up there, he met with three anchorites, and arrived at Phug-thal. The three anchorites saluted him and said:—'Oh, well done, son of

noble birth! By your giving a monastery together with a house and field at Gyu-mkhar, the austerities of us three are completed. We have been mice. You must give the teaching to these [people] and work for the great advantage of all beings!' Thus they said, and the three anchorites went to some other place (Thug-pa ?). At that time Tshaṅ-rgyal-po of Dpaḫ-gtum gave Mar-gliṅ, and Bde-mchog-skyabs gave Skyid-ñi of Ste-sta up to Gre-gra-ma-can and down to Thaṅ-so.

After that [the lama] Byaṅ-sems and Tshaṅ-rgyal-po both held a council, and said to Bde-mchog-skyab[s]-pa:—'As you have to provide a treasurer for both of us, give [us] a piece of land!' As they asked him thus, he kept for himself only a few fields, labourers, and tax-payers, and gave all that remained to the king and the lama. He presented the whole [cultivated] land and the mountains, and for himself he kept only what there was of hunting ground.

During the reign of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po Mig-za-dhar arrived at Khul-yan from Yarkyen (Yarkand), leading 3,000 soldiers, and Tshaṅ-rgyal-po, together with his subjects, fled into the Lhaḫi-luṅ-pa [valley]. Later on he (Mig-za-dhar) seized the castle of Dpaḫ-gtum. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po sent Chos-ġrub of the Bcaḫ-ba castle before the assembled lords. He said, 'I have something nice to tell you!' He was urged to speak. 'Oh. King, give me both Mdzo-khyuṅ-rog-po (or a herd of black *mdzos* ?—F. W. T.) and Ḫgar-khra-leb! I will give you two peasants [estates] of Gyu-mkhar!' Thus he said. 'In exchange for Mdzo-khyuṅ-rog (a herd of black *mdzos* ?) and Ḫgar-khra-leb (the smith Khra-leb ?) I do not want two peasants of Gyu-mkhar. I am a fellow-citizen of the people of Ste-sta and a benefactor. I do not want them!' Then [Chos-grub], offering more *mdzos* and royal treasures, said, 'Are you not wise, Mig-za-dhar? Then do not remain here! Go back! Even to-day many Indians, armed with rifles, will arrive here!' Thereupon Mig-za-dhar fled night and day, and came out of [the defile] at Dkar-tse of Su-ru. (Text very uncertain.) After that the region from 'Ag-tse in 'On-po up to Lhab-tse in Kha-ce (Kashmir) was given to Phug-thal.

During the reign of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po the chief of 'U-pa-rag, Ḫjam-dbyaṅ-pa, fled to Dkar-tse. After that the chief Ha-ži issued a call to arms, and, when he arrived there with his army, a cubit of snow had fallen at Dpaḫ-gtum. They went there, and, when they were climbing up to the castle of Dpaḫ-gtum, four women threw a heavy (?) stone from the smith's gate, and the chief Ḫjam-dbyaṅ died there. [Therefore] castle and country were ruined and filled with soldiers. Tshaṅ-rgyal-po was fettered outside [the town] and tied to the flagstaff of a corner-tower. Therefore Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan came down from Phug-thal and delivered the king from the flagstaff. Ḫtshogs-bzaṅ was the head of the Phug-thal [monastery]. Carrying great treasures, he petitioned the chief Ha-ži. Upon this petition the king sent back the greater part of the country people. Taking with him the remainder, he arrived at Dkar-tse. Ḫtshog[s]-bzaṅ . . . (unintelligible) . . . Ḫtshog[s]-bzaṅ marched to and fro. After that many people died in that country, and Ḫtshog[s]-bzaṅ was escorted and brought to Phug-thal. In spring (?) the messenger Grags-pa-dpal-bzaṅ of Dpaḫ-gtum and others bowed before the chief Ha-ži and said:—'A worm-pest has come; they sit all over the ground; send away

the worms on the 21st' . . . (text out of order) . . . thus it appeared (?): all his attendants laughed. He was pleased, and all the men from Sa-ni, 'U-pa-rag, Pi-pi-tiṅ, and Dpaḫ-gtum were sent back.

At that time, except the house Lha-rtse of Mu-ne, the people of Mu-ne and all the territory from Sur-le, houses and fields, etc., the whole district, were given to Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan. The chief Ha-ži, the northern king, and the king of Dpaḫ-gtum, these three, made an agreement. The king of Pu-rig and the king of the north (who occupied all the country below the Dkar-śa monastery) both made this proposal to the king of Dpaḫ-gtum:—'If you will erect a monastery for Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan, and present it to him, together with land and a religious endowment, our alliance will make progress. As regards the land to be offered:—as land of the monastery built, as far up as Nag-tshaṅs, as far down as the ridge near the "blue water" (*chu-sṅon*). As to that for the religious endowment: Lama Khyi-rug's place where the water comes down, the district within the mani wall (*man-thaṅ*) of Gro-žo, the district above the highway, as far up as the mill [district] of Dpaḫ-gtum, and the forest (?) of 'Am-be, which is situated near the summer-house of the peasant Raṅ-zam-śiṅ of 'U-pa-rag.'

Tshaṅ-rgyal-po was twice surprised by the people of Hor (Turkestan or Mongolia): the last time the people of Hor would not go away; but, when Druṅ-pa-Rab-bstan offered them three horses, they turned back. In acknowledgment of [this service] both the upper and lower Rgya, together with the forest, were presented to him. King Ra-dug of Stoṅ-sde was attacked by the army of the king of Bab-sgo (Ladakh ?). At that time king Ra-dug-pa could not resist; and therefore the priests and teachers came from Phug-thal, offering great treasures, and entreated the king of Bab-sgo [to go back]. Then they brought back king Ra-dug-pa and all his family from the Tsha-zar and Me-ltse valley [where they had fled], and made him again king of Stoṅ-sde. In recognition of this service [the following places] were given [to the Phug-thal monastery]:—the region Stoṅ-sde up to the watercourse and the black rock; in Phug-thal the upper Stoṅ-sde road within the pass of Sre-ba-can, within the 'milk valley' (ḫo-ma-luṅ); of Ža-sbug (?) as far down as what is called Brag-nag (black rock) at Stoṅ-sde; the region within the Ya-nam lake down to Tho-mo-che on the Gar-žaḫi-chu.

In fulfilling a wish of king Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-lde (or, at the funeral of Blo-bzaṅ-dpal-lde, his father) Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po presented to Ža-gser-bog (the yellow-cap monastery ?) with a prayer [the following places] as a religious endowment:—Pi-pi-tiṅ, 'Ub-sti and Su-ru together with the valley. And, as a religious endowment to Byaṅ-sems, Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po presented one family of Dpaḫ-gtum; one family of Śi-lha; three families of Bib-ca; the inner valley of Te-la-riṅ-gri-gul; and also Mar-thaṅ of Thar-la-skor-ra-ru. And, in fulfilment of a wish of his father (or, at the funeral of his father), he offered to the treasury of Byaṅ-sems one family of the lower castle, and, for the sustenance of the steward, [the families] Mdzod-pa, Ya-ma, and Drag-pa, the three. From Śi-lha were given the castle and two great [peasants' estates], together with [the house] Žeb-le. As an offering of the chief Śag-lde of Ste-sta [was given] Phi-tse-phan within the

Gar-ża brook. As an offering of the chief Khra-rig [were given] three houses with fields, together with the lower monastery of Sa-ni. And as an offering of the powerful king of 'Upper Mar-yul' (Ladakh) were given to Byań-sems the Ses-roń valley of Ru-śod (Rubshu); the region around the Ra-bo *mchod-rten*; Nag-tshur, Tshva-ka, the gorge of the Rkyań-chu brook, these three; and the region up to Śel-ma-ni-can-ḥgo. As an offering of the king of Ñuń-ti (Kuḷū) were given the region up to the Chos-sku-tse monastery; Żo-gliń on the narrow road; Gye-mur; Ḥgre-gri-mos (?); and the upper and lower part of the Żi-bde valley.

When Druń-pa-Sańs-rgyas-blo-gros was in charge of the Dkar-śa monasteries, he committed some fault and was turned out by the people of Dkar-śa. Then Druń-ya(pa ?)-Tshań-stan-pa, king Tshe-riń-dpal-lde, and the minister Rgyal-mtshan showed some kindness to him and brought him to Pi-pi-tiń. After he had remained [there] for eleven years, the Druń-pa died. Then, according to the late Druń-pa-Tshań-bstan-pa's desire, seven fields, large and small, were given to Druń-pa-Tshań-rab-bstan for his sustenance. And, as an offering of king Be-to of Gyi-char, [the following estates] were given :—of Gyi-char Mkhar-snań-pa, of Bcaḥ-ba the estate of Srod-ma and the estate of Blo-bzań-tshe-riń, these three.

This is a compilation (or extract) from the *Bo-yig* of Phug-thal.

NOTES

The chronicle was probably compiled a short time before the old line of vassal kings of Zańs-dkar came to an end. In c. 1620–40 A.D. a younger brother of the king of Leh, Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal, was made vassal king of Zańs-dkar. As, however, the use of rifles is mentioned during the reign of king Tshań-rgyal-po, who is the most prominent figure of the chronicle, this king cannot have lived many years before 1600 A.D.

The pedigree which can be constructed on the basis of the chronicle consists of four generations only. The first king is purely legendary. Two more royal names which occur at the end, viz. Tshe-riń-dpal-lde and Śag-lde, cannot be located with certainty, as the degree of relationship to the other members of the pedigree is not stated. But Tshań-rgyal-pa, as a contemporary of Mīrzā Haidar, must have lived c. 1532 A.D.

The first part of the chronicle is of great interest, as it contains the popular traditions of the Zańs-dkar people with regard to the origin and early times of their country and nation, as they were current in c. 1550 A.D. Ge-sar (or Ke-sar) is the supposed creator of Zańs-dkar. The brief notes of the chronicle with regard to that event remind us of the story of the creation of the world, as we find it in the Kesar-saga (see my publication 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesar Saga', *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 1134, pp. 17, 18). In the Kesar-saga we read that Dońgsum-mi-la-ńon-mo, Kesar's prototype, killed an ogre and formed the land of Gliń (the earth) out of its various parts; the castle of Gliń out of its head, the Gro-ma plain out of its stomach, the rock Rgyab-rten out of its kidneys, etc. In a similar way here Ge-sar breaks the earth to pieces, and the female ogre, the personification of the earth, falls on her back. Then he erects the most ancient monasteries of the country on the head, the stomach, and the feet of the ogre.

It is very interesting that the Ka-ni-ka and Sa-ni monasteries are mentioned first of all, as the oldest monasteries of Zańs-dkar. Kanika is the Tibetan form of the name Kanishka, the great Kushaṇa king of Kashmir and Northern India. This monastery was possibly erected during the reign of that king. This supposition is strengthened by another note in the chronicle, where it is stated that Zańs-dkar was under Kashmir before it was seized by the Kham-pas (Tibetans).

In the following paragraph we hear of the conquest of Zańs-dkar by a tribe of Kham-pas. The word Kham-pa originally stands for 'inhabitants of Khams', an eastern province of Tibet. But in Ladakh it is used for any Tibetan who comes from a district east of the Manasarowar lake. I believe, therefore, that the conquest of

Zaṅs-dkar by a tribe of Kham-pas, as told in the chronicle, is identical with the conquest of that country by **king Ñi-ma-mgon of the Lhasa dynasty, which took place in the tenth century.** As the chronicle tells us, the **country lost its original (Dard and Kashmiri) population,** and was again peopled by Tibetans, some of whose **clan names are given.**

Then the origin of the vassal kings of Zaṅs-dkar is told. It had not yet been forgotten that they were a branch **of the royal dynasty of Gu-ge (Lde dynasty); but the chronicler** mixed up with this tradition the story of the first **king of Tibet, Gña-khri-btsan-po. Gña-khri-btsan-po** was believed to be of Buddha's family, if not a direct **descendant of Buddha himself. He was supposed to** have been expelled from his native country, and to have **come to Tibet from India. Therefore we find here** in the Zaṅs-dkar chronicle that the father of Seṅ-ge-ldor is called **Śākya-thub-pa (Buddha), that Seṅ-ge-ldor** is expelled from Yab-sgo-pa's country, and that he enters Zaṅs-dkar from Kashmir and Kashṭawār. As regards king Yab-sgo-pa or Yab-sgod-pa, his name is also found in an ancient Balti song. He was probably one of the early Buddhist kings of Baltistan, or Baltistan and Gilgit combined (compare my article, 'Ten Ancient Historical Songs from Western Tibet,' Song No. iv, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, 57 sqq.).

Episodes like that of the chief of Dpaḥ-dar, the highwayman from Gu-ge, cannot yet be connected with other contemporaneous histories, as it has not yet been possible to ascribe even a rough date to any of the names contained in the Zaṅs-dkar chronicle. Only one of its names has as yet been discovered in an inscription. It is the name Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde, which occurs towards the end of the chronicle and also in inscription No. 49. But it is impossible to assign a date to it. It is, however, probable that the mention of the Hor invader Mig-za-dhar and the chief Ha-źi really refer to Mīrzā Haidar, the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, and the chief Hājī whose invasions of Tibet (1532–3 A.D.) are mentioned in that work (trans., pp. 403 sqq., 417 sqq., 454 sqq., esp. p. 460, the Hājī).

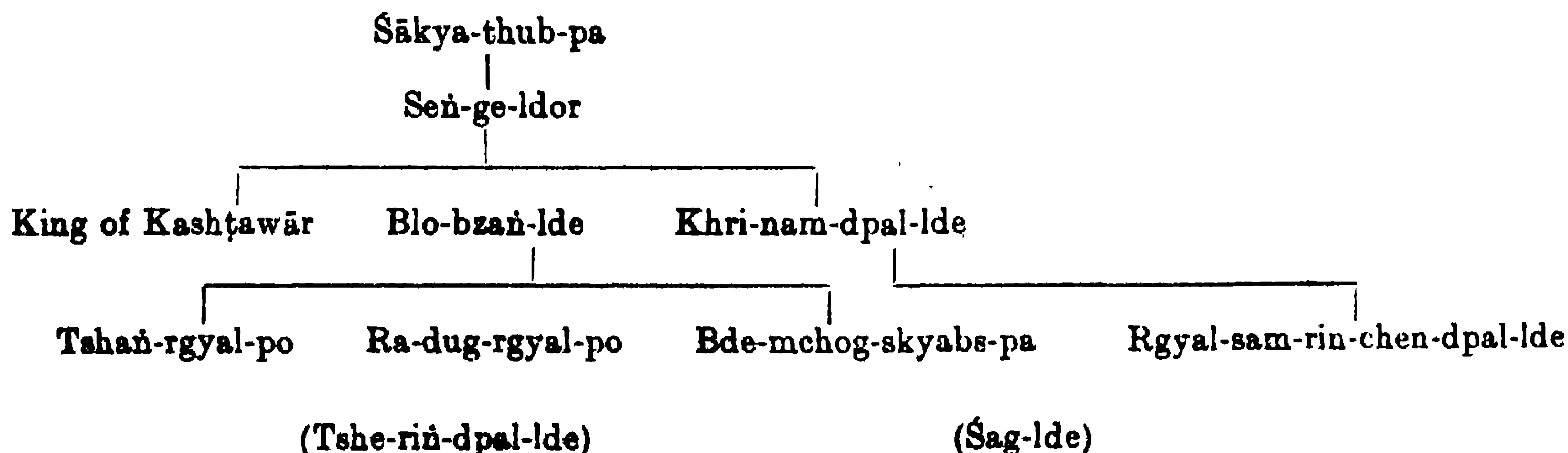
It is interesting that in the list of august donors to the Phug-thal monastery the kings of Ladakh and Kuḷū (Ñuṅ-ti) are mentioned. I feel inclined to place the note referring to them earlier than the conquest of Lahul by Kuḷū (c. 1650 A.D.). For after the conquest had taken place the kings of Kuḷū could hardly have allowed the taxes of certain villages to go to a foreign country. Two of the five places presented to Phug-thal by the king of Kuḷū are known to me, viz. Gye-mur and Żo-gliṅ. Both villages are situated in the Bhāgā valley. But, as the chronicles tell us, Phug-thal did not enjoy their possession for a long time; for the people of Dkar-śa soon turned the Phug-thal lama out. The Ya-nam (Yunam) lake is on the Baralatsa pass and the Dkar-śa monastery west of Stoṅ-sde and Ri-nam.

I am not quite sure if I have understood correctly the legend of the mice-lamas. But it looks as if it should be understood as follows:—Through some unknown curse three lamas were changed into mice. The spell could only be broken by the erection of a monastery. When the king had decided to erect one, a fairy in the shape of a mouse led him to Phug-thal. Then the fairy-mouse went to tell the lama-mice, who, having taken human shape, appeared before the king. The Phyag-htshal ridge is the place whence the monastery first comes into view.

As regards grants of villages or peasant-estates to monasteries, such a grant means that the taxes of those villages and estates, instead of being sent to the royal treasury, had to be sent to those monasteries.

In the MS. the name of the country is invariably spelt Bzaṅ-dkar, 'good white,' which is not in agreement with the Ladakhi spelling of the same name, viz. Zaṅs-dkar, 'white copper.' The latter spelling is probably more correct. The full name of Tshaṅ-rgyal-po is Tshe-dbaṅ-rgyal-po, as we find it spelled twice. He may be identical with one or other of the kings noted below (from inscriptions) whose names include the words *Tshe-dbaṅ*.

The genealogical tree of the Zaṅs-dkar kings according to the chronicle is as follows:—



From inscriptions we learn the following names of Zaṅs-dkar kings not mentioned in the Chronicle:—Ka-ru-tog with his brothers Rin-chen, Nor-bu-dpal-lde, and Ṅa(Mṅaḥ? Ṅag?)-dbaṅ-dpal-lde (Inscr. No. 46); Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-ḥbar with his sons Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde and Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal (No. 47); Rnam-rgyal and Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde (No. 49). They all reigned at the castle of Brgya-byin-pho-lad at Dpaḥ-gtum. From a dedication sheet in a copy of the *Bskal-pa-bzaṅ-po* in the Berlin Museum of Ethnography we learn that a queen Bstan-ḥdzin-dbaṅ-mo was at a certain period reigning ('her helmet being high') at Dpaḥ-gtum. From paper documents we elicit further the names of (1) Ḫbrug-bstan-ḥdzin, mentioned in the grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, and possibly identical with the so-named chief of Spyi-ti, step-brother of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal; (2) Dbaṅ-phyug-rnam-rgyal, who married the daughter of the General Śākya-rgya-mtsho. The last king of Dpaḥ-gtum, a descendant of Bde-mchog-rnam-rgyal (see above, Rin-chen-don-grub-rnam-rgyal), died during the Dogra wars.

It is interesting that the pronoun *ṅed* is used here invariably to denote two or more persons who consider themselves superior to another (in this case the addressed) person. As I stated already in Z.D.M.G., vol. lxi, p. 950, *ṅed* may be called a half-respectful form. It is used if at least one of the persons included in the 'we' is to be honoured.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

II. Register of the vassal-kings of Bzan-la in Zans-dkar

INTRODUCTION

In September, 1914, I paid a short visit to the Dpe-thub monastery, five miles to the south of Leh, with a view to examining its antiquities. Here I made the acquaintance of its chief lama, Sku-gżog Bakula, who is supposed to be the spiritual descendant of Vakula of old, one of the famous sixteen sthaviras. In the course of our conversation it was pointed out that according to the flesh Bakula was descended from a line of vassal-kings who used to reside at Bzan-la, in Zans-dkar, as well as at He-na-sku, in Pu-rig. Their kingdom probably stretched from one place to the other. I asked at once whether Bakula was in possession of a pedigree proving such an assertion, to which he replied in the affirmative. Unfortunately Bakula could not find the required document at once, and I had to leave Ladakh without having taken possession of it. Early in 1915, however, it was found, and an exact copy, prepared by Joseph Tshe-brtan of Leh, was sent to my address through the agency of Sir John Marshall.

Together with the Tibetan version I also received an Urdū version of the same text. This Urdū version had been prepared for and submitted to the Kashmiri Wazīr of Ladakh, when the latter made inquiries into the personalities of certain holders of *jāgīrs* some time ago. The Urdū version proved to be of importance in one particular, when a name of a king was forgotten in Joseph's Tibetan copy. I restored this name from the Urdū version and inserted it in its proper place in the Tibetan version. It is put in brackets.

As regards Joseph Tshe-brtan's Tibetan copy, it is furnished with a few additions of an explanatory character by Joseph. In the following text they are inserted in brackets.

TEXT

|| བཟངས་དཀར་བཟང་ལའི་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་དཀར་ཆགས་དེ་འདི་ལྟར་རོ ||

སྤུན་མཆེད་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་མགོན་ལ་དྲུག་ རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད། ཆུང་བ་བདེ་གཙུག་མགོན་ཟངས་དཀར་བ་དལ[དཔལ་ལྡུམ་]་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཛད། དེའི་སྲས་སེང་གེ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་འཇིགས་གྲགས་ལྡེ་དང་། ཆུང་བ་མཐུ་ལ་ལྡེ། འཇམ་གྲགས་ལྡེ་དཔལ་ལྡུམ་མཁར་ན་བཞུགས། སྤུན་མཆེད་མཐུ་ལ་ལྡེས་བཟང་ལ་ལ་བདག་བརྒྱ་བའི་གདུང་རབས་འདི་བཞིན། མཐུ་ལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལྡེ། [དེའི་སྲས་དགེ་འདུན་དཔལ་ལྡེ།] དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲིས[བཀྲ་ཤིས]་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཆུང་བ་རྒྱལ་ཆབ་[ཀླུ་མའི་གོ་སའི་མིང་དེ་]ཀཾཏོན་འབྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ལས་ཆུང་བ་ཆུང་བ་རྒྱལ་ཆབ་བརྟོད་འབྲུས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཀར་ཁ་དགོན་པར་བླ་མ་བྱས། ཆེ་བ་མགོན་དཔལ་ལྡེས་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་མཛད་ནས་དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས། ནམ་མཁའ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་བླ་མ་མཛད་པའི་ཆུང་བ་ཐུགས་པ་བློ་བཟང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་གཉིས་ཁྲི་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡེ། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན་དཔལ་ལྡེ། ཆུང་བ་ཞབས་དྲུང་བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བླ་མ་མཛད། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེ་ལ་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྡེ། ཆེ་བའི་སྲས་ཡེ་ཤེས་མཐའ་ཡས་བླ་མ་བྱས། བར་པ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དོན་ཡོད་དཔལ་ལྡེ། ཐ་ཆུང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཐུབ་ཚོགས་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་མོ་བླ་མཛེས་དབང་མོ།

དེའི་མག་པ་གྲུབ་ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་ལྡེ། དེ་གཉིས་ཆུང་བའི་དུས་སུ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཕུན་ཚོགས་དཔལ་ལྡེ་གྲོངས་ནས། དེའི་ལྕམ་རྒྱལ་མོ་བཀྲིས [བཀྲ་ཤིས]་ཀྱིས་བསམ་གྲུབ་ཟ་བ་མག་པར་བསྐྱམས་ནས། དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ན་གཞོན་པ་དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་མགོ་སྐྱོང་མཛད། ཟླ་མཛེས་དབང་མོ་ལ་ སྲས་གསུམ། བློ་བཟང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་[གྲོངས་]། སྐུ་གཞོག་བ་ཀུ་ལ། ཆུང་བ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་[ད་ལྟ་ཤི་ནས་མེད]། བློ་བཟང་རྣམ་ རྒྱལ་དཔལ་ལྡེའི་སྲས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ཉི་མ། རི་རྫོང་དགོན་པའི་སྐུ་གཞོག་[ད་ལྟའང་ཡོད]། ཆུང་བ་ཚེ་བརྟན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྡེ་[གྲོངས་]ལ་ སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ལྡེ་དང་སྲས་མོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དབང་མོ་[ད་རུང་སྐུ་གུར་ཡོད]།།

རྒྱལ་པོ་དོན་ཡོད་དང་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཕུན་ཚོགས་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ཟེར་ཟེ་ར་ལྷར་ལ་ར་མད༴མང་པོ་ཟས་ནས། ལོ་༥་སོང་བ་དང༌། རྒྱལ་ པོ་དེ་གཉིས་ཆེ་འདས། [ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མིང་མཐར་ནི་རྒྱལ་ལོ་ལྔ་དང་ཟངས་དཀར་ལ་དེའི་ཚབ་ལྡེ་འདུག་པ]།།

TRANSLATION

REGISTER OF THE LINE OF KINGS [REIGNING OVER] BZAṄ-LA IN ZAṄS-DKAR

Dpal-mgon, the elder brother, became king of La-dvags; Bde-gtsug-mgon, the younger brother, became king of Pa-dam (Dpal-ldum) in Zaṅs-dkar. His son was Seṅ-ge-lde. His sons were Ḫdzom-grags-lde, and Maṅga-la-lde, the younger. Ḫdzom-grags-lde lived at Dpal-ldum castle. From his brother Maṅga-la-lde originated the family which took possession of Bzaṅ-la. It is as follows:—Maṅga-la-lde's son was Rin-chen-dpal-lde. [His son was Dge-ḥdun-dpal-lde.] His son was Bsod-ḥams-dpal-lde. His son was Bkr[a-ś]is-dpal-lde. His sons were Mgon-dpal-lde and Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan, [who became a] Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab [title of a high lama]. Of the elder's[1] two sons Brtson-ḥgrus-rgyal-mtshan, the younger, who was a Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab, became a lama at Dkar-śa monastery. Mgon-dpal-lde, the elder one, reigned. He had two sons, viz. Nam-mkhaḥ-dpal-lde and Blo-bzaṅ-rgyal-mtshan, who became a lama [with the title of] Druṅ-pa-phug-pa. The elder one had two sons, viz. Khri-dpal-lde and Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde. The son of the elder one was Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan-dpal-lde. The younger son became a lama [and was called] Blo-bzaṅ-ye-śes-rgyal-mtshan, the Żabs-druṅ. The son of the elder one was Ye-śes-dpal-lde. His sons were Bsod-nams-dpal-lde and Ye-śes-rnam-rgyal-lde. The [first] son of the elder, [called] Ye-śes-mthaḥ-yas, became a lama; the middle one was [called] Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde. The youngest [called] Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde had a daughter, [called] Zla-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo.

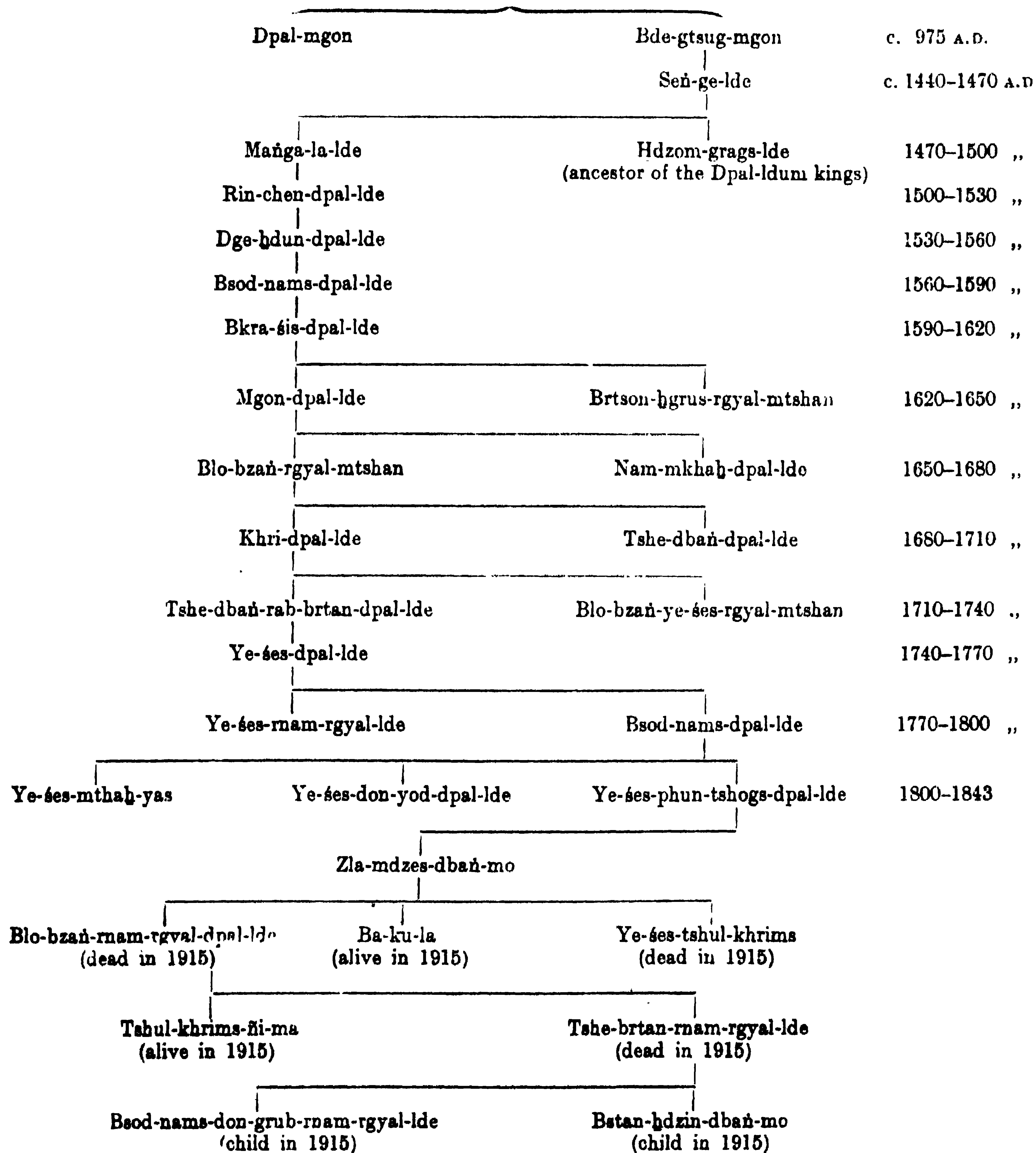
Her husband's [name is] Grub-tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-lde. As Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde died when both were children, his widow (wife), queen Bkr[a-ś]is, having accepted a [certain man] called Bsam-grub to be her husband, the two protected the two young ones. Zla-mdzes-dbaṅ-mo had three sons, viz. Blo-bzaṅ-rnam-rgyal-dpal-lde [he died], Ba-ku-la, the Sku-gżog, and Ye-[ś]es-tshul-khrims, the youngest. [He died recently.] Blo-bzaṅ-rnam-rgyal-dpal-lde had two sons, Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma, the Sku-gżog of the Ri-rdzoṅ monastery, [he is still alive], and Tshe-brtan-rnam-rgyal-lde, the younger one [who died]. His son is Bsod-nams-don-grub-rnam-rgyal-lde, and his daughter is Bstan-ḥdzin-dbaṅ-mo. [They are still children.]

[1] A mistake for 'Of Bkra-śis-dpal-lde's'.

The kings Don-yod (Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde) and Ye-śes-phun-tshogs (Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde) rendered much assistance to the Wa-zir Zorawar. Both kings died two years after [the conquest]. [Instead of the titles *rnam-rgyal* and *lha* of the list of kings of La-dvags we find in Zaṅs-dkar the title *lde*.]

VASSAL KINGS OF BZAṄ-LA

GENEALOGICAL TREE



NOTES

The genealogical tree of the Bzaṅ la kings, which was drawn up according to the above account, contains two generations whose dates may be approximately fixed. The first generation is that of Dpal-mgon and Bde-gtsug-mgon, the sons of the famous Ladakhi king, Ñi-ma-mgon. They lived in the tenth century. The other generation is that of Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde and Ye-śes-phun-tshogs-dpal-lde, who are said to have died two years after the conquest of Zaṅs-dkar by the Dogra general Zorawar. Their death may have taken place in 1843 A.D. The above pedigree contains only fourteen generations between these two fixed points. This is not sufficient to cover a period of about nine centuries. Going by the example of the genealogical rolls of the chiefs of Cig-tan and those of Sod, I presume that in the present case also we may agree that the predigee is coherent between the second member and the last, and that a good number of missing links have to be silently added between the first and second member. Or, in other words, the chiefs of Bzaṅ-la started a genealogical roll of their own, when they began their career as separate chiefs of Zaṅs-dkar. As, however, they had not forgotten that they as well as the principal line of Zaṅs-dkar chiefs, viz. the chiefs of Dpaḥ-gtum, were descended from Ñi-ma-mgon's famous son, Lde-gtsug-mgon, they put the name of the latter prince at the head of the line. To furnish the Bzaṅ-la genealogy with approximate dates we have to assign about thirty years to each generation and work upwards, beginning with the year 1800 A.D., the approximate year of the birth of Ye-śes-don-yod-dpal-lde and his brother. Then king Seṅ-ge-lde would have the years 1440–70 A.D. as the approximate time of his reign. It was he who divided the kingdom of Zaṅs-dkar between his two sons, and thus created the Bzaṅ-la principality. This principality may have been of very small size during its first years; but in later times it included He-na-sku, as asserted by Bakula, and we may be not far wrong if we suppose that several other intervening villages, for instance, Kanji, may have formed part of the principality.

Of some interest are also the titles of the royal lamas, viz. Druṅ-pa-rgyal-tshab, Druṅ-pa-phug-pa, and Żabs-druṅ. Although the word Żabs-druṅ is generally translated by 'secretary', we know that Żabs-druṅ-rin-po-che, 'the precious secretary,' is the title of the spiritual ruler of Bhutan. And it is not impossible that a reincarnation of the spiritual ruler of Bhutan was once discovered in the royal family of Bzaṅ-la; for there were relations of a religious, as well as political, character between Ladakh and Bhutan, as we know from the Ladakhi chronicles. *Druṅ-pa* is generally translated by 'servant'. Here it is a title of a lama, similar to *Żabs-druṅ*; *rgyal-tshab* is something like 'vice-gerent' and *phug-pa* means 'cave-dweller'. The Dkar-śa (probably = Dkar-rgya) monastery is one of the principal Dge-lug-pa monasteries of Zaṅs-dkar.

As regards the title *Sku-gżog*, 'incarnation,' the spelling is not quite certain. S. Ch. Das gives *sku-śogs*. It is used as the title of the incarnation of the principal lama of a monastery, who is supposed to have descended in Khubilganic manner from the founder, or from a still more ancient personage. As has already been pointed out, Bakula derives his descent from the *sthavira* Vakula, who lived almost 2,000 years ago. The Ri-rdzoṅ monastery (Dge-lug-pa) is situated in a side valley between Sa-spo-la and Sñuṅ-la.

The short note regarding the assistance lent to Zorawar, the Dogra general, by two of the Bzaṅ-la kings was probably added to the pedigree with the view to impressing the Kashmir government. The petitioners may have hoped to be treated more favourably by that government, if they proved their descent from a helper of the conqueror. That they actually assisted the Dogras may have been due to a hostility which probably existed between the Dpal-ldum and Bzaṅ-la kings of Zaṅs-dkar.

As is shown by Joseph Tshe-brtan in his last note, the dynasty of Bzaṅ la boasts of the dynastical name Lde. This name it shares with the other Zaṅs-dkar dynasty, and with the Gu-ge dynasty. All these lines of kings are descended from Bde-gtsug-mgon. In this name the spelling of the first syllable is given as here *Bde*, whereas in other documents we find the spelling *Lde*. This is another argument in favour of my view that *Lde* is only a dialectical form of the word *Bde*, 'blessing, happiness.'

As the above pedigree shows, the male line of the Bzaṅ-la vassal-kings came to an end in 1843 A.D. At present we find only descendants in the female line.

As we learn from the Ladakhi chronicles, some of the Ladakhi queens came from Bzaṅ-la.

Inscriptions referring to the Bzaṅ-la kings have not yet been discovered. Bakula is mentioned in an inscription at Dpe-thub, and the name Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma is found on one of the walls of the cave temples of Sa-spo-la. But here the inscription may refer to a more ancient personage of the same name.

III. The Kings of Gu-ge

According to the Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan (p. 152)

It is not very probable that the original MS. of the chronicles of the Gu-ge kings is still in existence. When the vassal kingdom of Gu-ge was separated from the West Tibetan empire and annexed by Lhasa (*c.* 1650 A.D.), the Lhasa government apparently did its best to eradicate in the new province every reminiscence of the glory of the former Gu-ge kings. Fortunately, a brief account of these important kings is still found in Tibetan historical works. The part played by the early Gu-ge kings in the re-establishment of Buddhism in Tibet, after Glaṅ-dar-ma's persecution, was of too great importance to be passed over in silence; and for this reason no history of Lamaism was considered complete without an account of the Gu-ge kings. The first to publish a genealogical tree of them, from the Tibetan, was Schlagintweit in his *Könige von Tibet.* He gives their names under Nos. 46–54 and 99–113 of his genealogical table I. He was, however, not quite certain of the connexion between these two groups of names. He gives, in addition, the Mongolian forms of the names of all those kings, from which circumstance we learn that this genealogy had already found its way into the historical literature of the Mongols. The Mongol names, as they occur in Schlagintweit's tables, completely agree with those of the *Bodhimör.* But in Ssanang-Ssetsen's *History of the Mongols* somewhat different Mongol names are used for the same kings. I. J. Schmidt, in his translation of Ssanang-Ssetsen, was, in fact, the first to tell us something of the Gu-ge kings. But I imagine that only very few persons were able to recognize this line of kings in their Mongolian dress. In his notes Schmidt gives a translation of the corresponding chapters of the *Bodhimör.* One line of the *Bodhimör* account is of particular interest. We read in Ssanang-Ssetsen, notes from the *Bodhimör,* p. 369, as follows :—' The above genealogy of chiefs is only a short extract. He who wants to read the fuller history of these kings, their doings, and institutions, may look them up in the various chronicles of their reigns.' This note proves that a number of more detailed chronicles must at one time have existed in Gu-ge. Besides the short chronicle given below, which is here for the first time translated into English, the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ,* pp. 185-6, as well as other Tibetan and Mongolian works, contains detailed accounts of Atīśa's mission to Tibet during the reigns of Ye-śes-ḥod and Byaṅ-chub-ḥod of Gu-ge. As translations of these chapters occur not only in Schmidt's Ssanang-Ssetsen (pp. 425 sqq.), but also in S. Ch. Das' *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (1893, pp. 50 sqq.), it will suffice now to refer to those publications. The Tibetan text of the

Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ was published by S. Ch. Das, Rai Bahadur, in 1908 (Calcutta, Presidency Jail Press), together with a brief index. An English translation has not yet appeared.

TEXT (p. 152)

འོད་སྲུངས་ཀྱི་སྲས་དཔལ་འཁོར་བཙན་ནི་འབངས་ཀྱིས་བཀྲོང་སྟེ། དབུས་གཙང་མཐིལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཤོར། དེའི་ཆེན་མའི་སྲས་སྐྱིད་ལྡེ་ཉི་མ་མགོན་དང་། ཆུང་མའི་སྲས་ཁྲི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྩེགས་དཔལ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི། དང་པོ་མངའ་རིས་སྤུ་རངས་སུ་བྱོན་ཞིང་། གཉིས་པ་གཙང་སྟོད་དུ་བཞུགས། ཉི་མ་མགོན་ལ་སྲས་སྟོད་ཀྱི་མགོན་གསུམ་ལས་ཆེ་བ་དཔལ་ལྡེ་རིག་པ་མགོན་གྱིས་མང་ཡུལ་དང་། འབྲིང་པོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ་མགོན་གྱིས་སྤུ་རངས་དང་། ཆུང་བ་ལྡེ་བཙུན་མགོན་གྱིས་ཞང་ཞུང་སྟེ་གུ་གེའི་མངའ་འོག་གསུམ་བཟུང་ཞིང་། ཕྱི་མ་དེ་ལ་སྲས་གཉིས་ཏེ། འཁོར་རེ་དང་སྲོང་ངེའོ།།

འཁོར་རེ་ལ་སྲས་ནཱ་ག་རཱ་ཛ། དེ་བ་རཱ་ཛ། གཙུང་སྟེ་གསུམ་གྱིས་ཕྱིས་སུ་ཉིད་ལས་རབ་བྱུང་གི་རྟགས་བླངས་པའི། ཡབ་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཡེ་ཤེས་འོད་ཟེར་མོད་ཀྱང་། ལོ་ཆེན་དང་མཁན་སློབ་གཅིག་པ་ནི་མཚན་གྱིས་ཤེས་སླ་ལ། དེས་གཙུང་སྟོང་དེ་ལ་སྲིད་གཏད་ཚེ། སྟོད་འདུལ་བ་དར་ཞིང་། སྨྲྀ་ཏི་སོགས་ཀྱང་དེ་དུས་བྱོན། སྟོང་དེའི་སྲས་ལྷ་ལྡེའི་དུས་སུ། སུ་བྷཱུ་ཏི་ཤྲཱི་ཤཱནྟི་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ཏེ། ཤེར་ཕྱོགས་བསྒྱུར་ཞིང་། ལོ་ཆེན་གྱི་སློབ་མ་དག་གིས་ཀྱང་མང་པོ་བསྒྱུར། དེ་ལ་སྲས་གསུམ་ལས་འོད་ལྡེ་སྲིད་བཟུང་ནས། གཙུང་བྱང་ཆུབ་འོད་དང་ཞི་བ་འོད་གཉིས་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཞིང་། ཇོ་བོ་ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་སྤྱན་དྲངས། འོད་ལྡེའི་སྲས་རྩེ་ལྡེ་དུས་ཞི་བ་བཟང་པོ་སོགས་དུ་བྱོན་ཞིང་། དབུས་གཙང་ཁམས་ཀྱི་མཁས་པ་འདུས་པའི། མངའ་རིས་ཆོས་འཁོར་ཆེན་པོ་བྱུང། དེའི་སྲས་འབར་ལྡེ། དེ་ནས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། བྷ་ལྡེ། ནཱ་ག་དེ་བ། བཙན་ཕྱུག་ལྡེ་ཡ་ཚེར་བྱོན། དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྡེ། དེ་ནས་རིམ་པར་གྲགས་བཙན་ལྡེ། གྲགས་པ་ལྡེས་གསེར་ཐེ་བདུན་བཅུ་ལས་འཛམ་དབྱངས་དང་། ཉེར་བཞི་ལས་མཆོད་རྟེན་དང་། དངུལ་དཀར་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་ལས་བདེ་མཆོག་དང་། སྟོང་བཅུ་གཉིས་ལས་ཐམས་སྐུ་བཞེངས། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་སོ་ལྡེས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་ལ་སྦྱིན་ཟ་ངན་མེད་ཀྱིས་ཕུལ་བའི་གྲོང་ཁྱེར་ཞེ་བཞི་དེ་དུས་སོག་པོ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཉོས་ནས། དེའི་ཕྱལ་གྱིས་དེར་མཆོད་བརྒྱུད་བཙུག། དེའི་སྲས་འཛིན་དར་རྒྱལ་དང་ཨན་ན་རྒྱལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མས་གསེར་གྱི་བཀའ་འགྱུར་བཞེངས། དེའི་སྲས་རི་ཙུ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་མི་སྡེ་མང་པོ་བླང་བ་དང་། དངུལ་གྱི་སྐུ་བླ་མཆེད་བརྒྱད་བཞེངས་ཤིང་། འཕྲུལ་སྣང་གི་གསེར་ཏོག་ཕྱབ། དེའི་སྲས་སང་གྷ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲ་འཛིན་དར་རྒྱལ། དེའི་སྲས་ཨ་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་ཕྲ་ར་ས་སྐྱུར་རབ་ཏུ་བྱུང་ཡང་། སྐྱར་རྒྱལ་པོ་བྱས་པའི་ས་ཀ་ལན་རྒྱལ། (ནལ ?) དེའི་ས་པར་ཏབ་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཡ་ཚེའི་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱུད་ཆད་དེ། ཕ(སྤུ)་རངས་ནས་བསོད་ནམས་ལྡེ་ཡ་ཚེར་སྤྱན་དྲངས་ནས། སྲིད་བཟུང་བ་ལ་སྤྱར་རྒྱལ་དུ་གྲགས་སོ།།

དེའི་སྲས་སྨ་ཏི་རྨ[ལ]་དང་བློན་དཔལ་ལྡན་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ལྷ་ས་འི་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཞལ་གྱི་སྙིང་གི་རྒྱ་ཐེབས་བཟུང་།།

TRANSLATION

Dpal-ḥkhor-btsan, the son of Ḥod-sruṅs, was murdered by his subjects, and the kingdom of Middle Dbus-gtsaṅ was lost. The son of his chief queen was Skyed (Skyid)-lde-ñi-ma-mgon, and the son of the lesser queen was Khri-bkra-śis-rtsegs-dpal. The former of the two went to Mṅaḥ-ris and Spu-raṅs; the other remained at Gtsad-stoṅ. The eldest of Ñi-ma-mgon's three high sons was Dpal-lde-rig-pa-mgon. He received Maṅ-yul; the second (middle one), Bkra-śis-lde-mgon, received Spu-raṅs; and the youngest, Lde-btsun-mgon, received Žaṅ-žuṅ and the three provinces of Gu-ge. The latter had two sons, viz. Ḥkhor-re and Sroṅ-ṅe.

Ḫkhor-re had [two] sons, viz. Nāga-rā-dza and Deba-rā-dza. Later on the three together (i.e. the father with his two sons) took the sign of monkhood. Although the [religious] name of the father was Ye-śes-ḫod, he became better (easier) known by the names Lo-chen (Paṇḍit) and Mkhan-slob-gcig-pa ('only Guru'). When he had entrusted the government to his younger brother Sroṅ-ṅe, the hymns and *Vinaya* being widely known, the *Smṛitis* (*śāstras*) came at that time. During the reign of Sroṅ-ṅe's son, Lha-lde, Subhuti-Śri-śanti (Subhūti-śrī-śānti) was invited [to Tibet] (from Kashmir). He translated the *Śer-phyogs*, and Lo-chen's disciples translated many [other books]. He had three sons. Of these Ḫod-lde reigned, whilst Byaṅ-chub-ḫod and Żi-ba-ḫod, the younger ones, became monks, and invited Lord Atiśa [to Tibet]. During the reign of Ḫod-lde's son, Rtse-lde, Żi-ba-bzaṅ-po (Śāntibhadra) arrived in Tibet; and, when the wise men of Dbus-Gtsaṅ and Khams had assembled, the great religious council (*chos-ḫkhor-chen-po*) of Mṅaḫ-ris took place. His son was Ḫbar-lde, then Bkra-śis-lde, Bha-lde, Nāga-de-ba; Btsan-phyug-lde went to Ya-tshe. His son was Bkra-śis-lde. Then, in order, Grags-btsan-lde, Grags-pa-lde. He erected [an image of] Ḫjam-dbyaṅs (Mañjughosha) of 70 *bre* (a weight) of gold, a *stūpa* of 24 *bre* [of gold], an [image of] Bde-mchog (Śambara) of 500 [Rupees] of white silver, and [an image] of Byams-pa (Maitreya) of 12,000 [rupees]. His son, 'A-so-lde, bought those 44 towns which had at an earlier time been offered to Rdo-rje-gdan (Vajrāsana) by Mya-ṅan-med (Aśoka). At that time they belonged to the Sog-pos (Mongols), and he established a religious brotherhood, which was sustained by their taxes. His sons were Ḫdzin-dar-rmal and 'An-na-rmal; of these two the latter had the *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* copied in gold. His son Rcḫu-rmal conquered many Indian nations; he erected [images of] the eight Sman-bla in silver, and provided golden roofs for the Ḫphrul-snaṅ temple. His son was Saṅ-gha-rmal; and his son Ḫdzin-dar-rmal. Ḫdzin-dar-rmal's son, 'A-ḫdziṅ-rmal, first became a monk at Sa-skya; [then] he became king again. His son was Ka-lan-rmal. With his son, Par-tab-rmal, the family of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end. Bsod-nams-lde of [S]pu-raṅs was invited to Ya-tshe, and, when he began to reign, he took the name Puṇ[ya]-rmal. His son Pra-ti-rmal and the minister Dpal-ldan-grags-pa began the Chinese roof (golden roof ?) over the Bcu-gcig-żal (Avalokita temple) at Lha-sa.

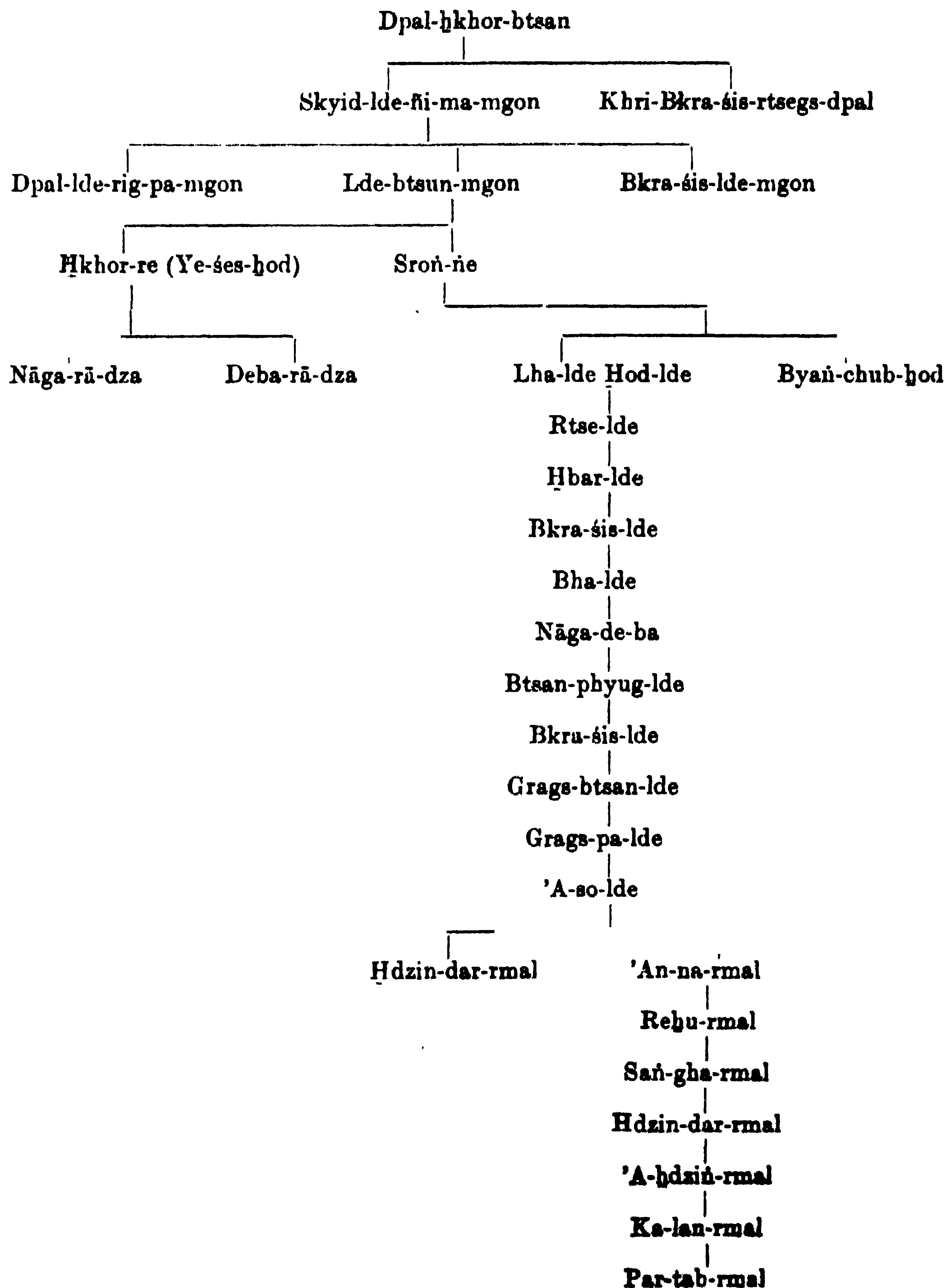
NOTES

According to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (*supra*, p. 48) the original kingdom of the Gu-ge kings was not Gu-ge, but Zaṅs-dkar and Spyi-ti. Gu-ge was given to Bkra-śis-mgon, not to Lde-gtsug (btsun ?)-mgon, when King Ñi-ma-mgon divided his kingdom among his three sons. As, however, Bkra-śis-mgon died without issue (as far as we know), his kingdom was apparently seized by Lde-gtsug-mgon's descendants. This account of the *Rgyal-rabs* is not in agreement with the *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ* (p. 152), as the above translation shows us. But I am of opinion that in all matters concerning the Western parts of Tibet the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* ought to be given the preference. The most famous among the early lama kings of Gu-ge who resided at Mtho-ldiṅ are Ye-śes-ḫod and Byaṅ-chub-ḫod. It was my good fortune to discover inscriptions by these two royal lamas on my expedition in 1909. They were found at Poo, in Kunawar, and at Tabo, in Spyi-ti. These inscriptions prove that the ancient Gu-ge kingdom included at least parts of Kunawar and Spyi-ti. It is of special interest that Atīśa's Tibetan name, Phul-byuṅ, occurs in the Tabo inscription. With regard to chronology, the following dates may be deduced from the

Réhu-mig, translated by S. Ch. Das, C.I.E. Rai Bahadur, JASB., 1889, p. 41, and Csoma de Körös' *Baiḍūrya-dkar-po* (appendix to his Grammar, p. 184) :—

Atīśa was born in the year	980 A.D.
Atīśa arrived in Mṅaḥ-ris (Gu-ge) in.	1038 A.D.
Atīśa visited Great Tibet (Lhasa) in.	1041 A.D.
Atīśa died in	1053 A.D.
The great religious council of Mṅaḥ-ris under King Rtse-lde took place in . .	1075 A.D.

The following is the genealogical tree of the Gu-ge and Ya-tshe kings, based on the above account :—



From Pu-hraṅs :—

Bsod-nams-lde (Puṇ(ya)-rmal)
|
Pra-ti-rmal

This genealogical tree differs from that of the *Bodhimör* (compare Schlagintweit's tables) in the following points :—(1) Bha-lde and Nāgadeba are, according to the *Bodhimör*, one and the same person. (2) The *Bodhimör* inserts a king, A-rog-lde, between Grags-pa-lde and 'A-so (A-sog)-lde. (3) According to the *Bodhimör*, Saṅ-gha-rmal and Ḥdzin-dar-rmal are brothers. (4) Pra-ti-rmal is called in the *Bodhimör* Prite-rmal. Several other names are also slightly different. Let me add that the Indian name of Gu-ge is Goggadeśa (Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, v. 1106); for Gogga, or Gugga, see Cunningham in JASB., xiv, p. 80; xvii, p. 159.

Of King Btsan-phyug-lde it is stated that he went to Ya-tshe, a place which I have not yet succeeded in tracing on any map. This statement may mean either a change of capital or a jump to a minor branch of the line. Btsan-phyug-lde was possibly a younger brother of a king and received the town of Ya-tshe as his portion, whilst the principal line continued to reign at Mtho-ldiṅ. Thus we learn from the above account that another line of kings of the Lde dynasty (probably also the descendants of some younger brother of a Gu-ge king) reigned in Pu-hraṅs. As the kings of Ya-tshe made valuable offerings to the Buddhist cause, they may have been in great favour with the lamas and their chroniclers. Therefore their pedigree was preserved, whilst that of the kings of the principal line was allowed to drop into oblivion. As the names of the later Ya-tshe kings would suggest, the dynasty became more and more Hinduized. As the syllable *rmal* frequently occurs in the names of the kings of Ya-tshe, we may call this dynasty the Rmal dynasty. The word *rmal* probably corresponds to the Indian *malla*. Malla dynasties are known to have existed in Nepal and neighbouring countries from early times. Their fame may have induced the Ya-tshe kings to adopt their name.

When the line of the Ya-tshe kings came to an end, a prince of Pu-hraṅs was invited to become king of Ya-tshe, and he also received a Hindu name.

As we know from d'Andrada's account (*L'India Orientale . . . descritta da Michelangelo Lualdi Romano*, Rome, 1653, pp. 364–6), a king [of Gu-ge ?] reigned at Tsa-pa-raṅ in 1624 A.D. His name was possibly Khri-Bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde, as suggested by the Tabo inscription. This name is a combination of the names of two early Ya-tshe kings, and thus speaks in favour of a close family connexion between the Ya-tshe and Tsa-pa-raṅ dynasties.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

IV. The Chronicles of Cig-tan

When I travelled in the territory of the old principality of Cig-tan in Ladakh, in 1906, I was told that the present ex-chief of Cig-tan was in possession of a chronicle. The ex-chief, who then resided at Dkar-dkyil, asserted, however, that the original copy of the chronicle had disappeared. As, nevertheless, his father had compelled him in former years to learn the chronicle by heart, he was ready to dictate it to my munshi, Ye-śes-rig-ḥdzin of Kha-la-rtse. The latter wrote down the tale afresh, and from his copy the following text is taken.

The principality is situated on a small tributary of the Indus, which falls into this river opposite to the village of Mdaḥ. The valley stretches from south to north, and in its best days the principality may have extended over about 50 kilometres in the valley.

In the Chronicles of Ladakh the principality is mentioned for the first time under Ḥjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal in the sixteenth century. There the name of the country is given as Pu-rig (Bu-rig). At that time the chief of Pu-rig (Cig-tan) had embraced Muhammadanism, and he was involved in a war between the Ladakhis and Baltis. In the seventeenth century the principality was again involved in a war between the Ladakhis under Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal and the Khri-Sultan of Dkar-rtse. Since then it is not again mentioned in the Ladakhi Chronicles.

TEXT

ཅིག་དན་གྱི་ཇོ་རབས་དེ།

དང་པོ། དར་གོའི་མཁར་དང་། ཀུག་ཀོའི་མཁར། ཅིག་དན་གྱི་མཁར་བཙོ་མཁན་གྱི་མེས་པོ། ཇོ་ལྷུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་ཟེར་མཁན་དེ་བྲུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིད་ནས་ཡོང་སྐྱེ། དར་གོའི་མདུན་ལ་བསླེབ་སོང་། དེར་བསླེབ་སྐྱེ། སྐྱར་གཞི་པེར་ཀ་ཞིག་འཁྱར་ཏེ་ཡོད་ཚུག། དེ་རྫུ་ས་ཁྲང་བདེ་མོ་དང་། ཆུ་ཡོད་ཅེས་ཤེས་ཏེ། དེ་པེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་བརྩུག་སྐྱེ། སྐྱོད་ལམ་ཞིག་བཏབས།

ང་མི་ཚང་མའི་ཁ་དཔོན་པོ་ཞིག་ལྡན་ན།

འདི་ས་ཁྲང་ལ་ཡུལ་ཞིག་འཛུགས་ན།

འདི་པེར་ཀ་ཚུགས་ཤིག།

ཟེར་ཏེ། བརྩུག་སྐྱེ་ན། གཉིད་ཅིག་ལོགས། གཉིད་ཚད་དེ་བལྟས་པ། པེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་ལ་ཁོལ་ཀྲུ་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་ཚུག། དེ་ནས་ཁོས་ཡུལ་བཙོས།།

དེའི་དུས་ལ་བྲུ་ཤད་ཀྱི་ཡིད་ནས་ཏེ་ཐུག་དང་བང་ག་ཐུག་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱི་ལྷ་མོ་གཉིས་བསླེབ། དེ་ལྷ་མོ་གཉིས་ཀ་དེར་བསླེབ་པ། དར་གོའི་ལྷ་མོས་ཐུའི་བར་ཀ་ནས་དར་གྱི་རས་ཐུའི་ཁ་བཏིང་སྐྱེ། སོས་ཏེ། དར་གོ་ལ་ཞིརས། དར་གོ་ལ་བསླེབ་སྐྱེ་ན། ཕྱུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་གིས་མཁར་ཞིག་བཙོ་སྐྱེ། ལྷ་མོ་ཏེ་ཐུག་དང་བང་ག་ཐུག་གཉིས་ཀ་དེའི་མཁར་དང་དུ་བོར་ཏེ། ཕྱུང་མཁན་མ་ཡིག་ཀུག་ཀོ་

ཞེར་སའི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་བསླེབ་པོ། དེར་ཡང་རྒྱ་དང་ས་ཁྲད་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། སྟག་པའི་བེར་ཀ་སྐམ་པོ་ཞིག་བཙུགས་སྟེ། ཡང་སྨོན་ལམ་ཞིག་བཏབས།

འདི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་ཡུལ་ཞིག་འཚུགས་ན།
ང་རང་མི་ཚང་མའི་དཔོན་པོ་ཞིག་ལ་འགྱུར་ན།
སྟག་པ་འདི་ལ་ཁོལ་སྐྱེས་ཤོག།

ཞེར་ཏེ། གཉིད་ཅིག་ལོགས་པ། གཉིད་ཚད་དེ་བལྟས་པ། སྟག་པའི་བེར་ཀ་ལ་ཁོལ་བདང་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་ཚུག། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཁོ་རེར་འདུག་སྟེ། ཡུལ་འཚུགས་བཙུགས། དེར་མཁར་གསུམ་བཙོས། མཁར་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ཀྲུ་ཀྲུ་མཁར། ཡང་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་པ་ཀྲོ་མཁར། ཡང་གཅིག་གི་མིང་ལ་ཀྲོ་མཁར་བཙོས། དེར་ཐན་མི་ཟེལ་ཏེ། ལོ་མང་པོ་འདུགས།

ཞག་ཅིག་ལ་ཅིག་དན་གྱི་ས་ཁྲད་ལ་བསླེབ་སྟེ་བལྟས་པ། དེའི་ས་ཁྲད་ཚང་མ་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་། མཁར་བཙོ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཡང་བདེ་མོ་མཐོང་སྟེ། དར་གོ་དང་ཀྲུག་ཤོ་ནས་མི་ཐོང་སྟེ། དེར་མཁར་རྩིག་ཅེས་ལ། ཚོད་བད་ལ་ཤིང་མཁན་ཙན་འདས་པ་པ་བྲུ་གཉིས་ཡོད་པའི། ཁོང་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་བོས་མཁན་བཏང་སྟེ། ཁྲོངས་ནས། ཅིག་དན་མཁར་བརྩིགས། མཁར་གྱི་མིང་ལ་རྟོ་ཟེ་མཁར་བཏགས། དེ་ནས་རིམ་བཞིན་དེར་ཡུལ་ཚུགས།

ཨ་པོ་རྡོ་ལྷུང་མཁན་མ་ལིག་མཁར་ནང་དུ་འདུག་སྟེ། ཡུལ་ཚང་ཀ་ལ་ཏུ་ཀུམ་བཏང་གིན་ཞིག་འདུགས་ལ། སྲས་ཚེ་རིང་མ་ལིག་སྐྱེས། ཚེ་རིང་མ་ལིག་ལ་ཨ་འདམ་མ་ལིག་སྐྱེས། ཨ་འདམ་མ་ལིག་ལ་ཨམ་ཐེར་སྐྱེས། ཨམ་ཐེར་ལ་ཨམ་རྫོད་སྐྱེས། ཨམ་རྫོད་ལ་ཨ་ཐེར་ཐམ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཐེར་ཐམ་ལ་ཨ་ལི་བག་ཤྲོ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ལི་བག་ཤྲོ་ལ་ཨ་ཏ་དམ་སྐྱེས། ཨ་ཏ་དམ་ལ་ཨ་དམ་མ་ལིག་སྐྱེས། ཨ་དམ་མ་ལིག་ལ་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཁོའི་དུས་ནས་བར་ལ་སྐུ་སུལ་མན་གྱི་ཆོས་ལ་བརྟེན་བཙུགས། དེ་ནས་ཨ་དམ་མཁན་ལ་རྟོར་ཟེ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། རྟོར་ཟེ་མཁན་ལ་ཏ་ཐེབ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཏ་ཐེབ་མཁན་ལ་ཏ་ཧི་ར་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཏ་ཧི་ར་མཁན་ལ་མ་ལི་ཡ་མཁན་སྐྱེས། མ་ལི་ཡ་མཁན་ལ་ཏུ་སེན་མཁན་སྐྱེས། ཏུ་སེན་མཁན་ལ་ག་བཟང་ཡར་སྐྱེས།

TRANSLATION

Originally the forefather called Lord Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, who is the constructor of the castles of Dar-go, Kug-śo, and Cig-tan, came from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid, and arrived before Dar-go. When he arrived there, he was carrying a stick of walnut [wood in his hand]. As he perceived that there was a beautiful site and water, he planted the dry stick, and prayed :—

If I should become a lord over all men,
And if in this place a town should be founded,
May this stick begin to grow !

Thus saying, he planted the tree and went to sleep. When he awoke and looked about, he saw buds growing out of the dry stick. Then he built a town.

At that time two fairies (goddesses) called Ti-sug and Gaṅ-ga-sug arrived [there] from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid. When these two fairies arrived there, the fairy of Dar-go spread out on the water from the other side of the stream a silk blanket, invited them, and brought them to Dar-go. When they arrived at Dar-go, Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig built [another] castle, and placed both fairies, Ti-sug and Gaṅ-ga-sug, inside this castle.

Then Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig arrived at a place called Kug-śo. As he perceived that there also was water and a beautiful site, he planted a dry stick of birch, and prayed:—

If a town should come into existence in this place,
And if I should become a lord over all men,
May buds grow out of this birch [stick].

Thus saying he went to sleep. When he awoke and looked about, there were buds growing out of the birch [stick]. He then remained there also and founded a town. There he built three castles. One of them he called Kra-kra castle, another one Kro-kro castle, and the third Pa-kro castle. There his subjects increased, and he remained there for many years.

One day he arrived at the site of Cig-tan, and, looking about, perceived that the whole place was beautiful. As he also perceived that it was a beautiful site to build a castle, he brought men from Dar-go and Kug-śo. At Chor-bad were two carpenters called Tsan-ḥdas-pa, father and son. He sent to call them, and brought them [there] to build the castle. [Thus] he built the castle of Cig-tan and called it Ro-zi-mkhar. Then, in course of time, a town came there into existence.

Whilst the forefather, Lord Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, resided at the castle, and governed the whole country, a son, Tshe-riṅ-Malig, was born to him. To Tshe-riṅ-Malig 'A-ḥdam-Malig was born; to 'A-ḥdam-Malig 'Am-zed was born; to 'Am-zed 'Am-rod was born; to 'Am-rod 'A-zid-tham was born; to 'A-zid-tham 'A-li-bag-śo was born; to 'A-li-bag-śo 'A-ha-dam was born; to 'A-ha-dam 'A-dam-Malig was born; to 'A-dam-Malig 'A-dam-mkhan was born; from his time [they] were made to adhere to Muhammadanism. Then to 'A-dam-mkhan Hor-jo-mkhan was born; to Hor-jo-mkhan Ha-bib-mkhan was born; to Ha-bib-mkhan Ha-ni-pha-mkhan was born; to Ha-ni-pha-mkhan Ma-li-ya-mkhan was born; to Ma-li-ya-mkhan Hu-sen-mkhan was born; to Hu-sen-mkhan Ga-bzaṅ-phar was born.

NOTES

The Cig-tan chronicle reminds us for two reasons of the Balti chronicles. In the first place, like the Balti chronicles, it ignores the early Lamaist members among its chiefs, and in the second place it speaks of a faqīr as the original ancestor of its line of chiefs.

If the chronicles were the only documents referring to the principality that had survived the ravages of time, we should be led to the conclusion that the family of chieftains was Muhammadan from the time of its emigration from Gilgit down to the present time. Fortunately, an inscription by several Lamaist chiefs of Cig-tan has been preserved in the ruined monastery. It records the renovation of this convent and gives Ltsaṅ-mkhan-bkra-śis as the name of the principal chief of those times. *Ltsaṅ-mkhan* means 'beggar' or 'faqīr', and the name Ltsaṅ-mkhan may have been used as a dynastic name among this line of chiefs.

Thus the chronicles fall into two unequal parts. The first part contains the legends of the origin of the race of chiefs and the principal towns, and the second part the names of the Muhammadan chiefs of Cig-tan, beginning with Tshe-riṅ-Malig, who embraced Islam in the sixteenth century. The first ancestor's name was probably originally only Ltsaṅ-mkhan. When the present chronicle was compiled, the word Malig was added to this name simply to give it a somewhat Muhammadan sound.

As regards the legend of the dry stick which begins to bud in answer to a prayer, it is told also at Chod, in Lahul.[1] The ancestor is stated to have emigrated from Bru-śad in Gyi-lid. Gyi-lid is the ordinary Tibetan

[1] Compare my collection, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, tale No. 12.

name of Gilgit; Bru-śad evidently stands for Bru-śal, a town in the close vicinity of Gilgit, if it is not part of Gilgit proper. The legend is thus of some interest, as pointing to the probable Dard origin of the dynasty.

Let me add that Cig-tan as a local name is also found in the close vicinity of Leh. As the Rev. F. Peter of Leh informs me, part of the village of Chu-śod on the Indus is called Cig-tan, and there also is found a line of chiefs who call themselves after this place. I believe that the chiefs of Chu-śod Cig-tan are related to the line of Bu-rig Cig-tan. Probably several members of the Bu-rig line who could not be trusted politically were transported in former times to Central Ladakh. They became the ancestors of the line of Chu-śod Cig-tan chiefs. The following names of Chu-śod Cig-tan chiefs have been culled from documents, mostly of the times of the last independent kings of Ladakh:—Jo 'A-dam-mkhan, Jo Ma-ma (= Mahmūd)-mkhan, Jo Si-lim-mkhan, Jo Ka-rim-mkhan, Jo 'A-bhi-ḫdin (= 'Ābidīn).

According to the chronicles the Ro-zi castle of Cig-tan was first erected by Ltsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, the forefather of the dynasty. This is quite possible; but the present beautiful building is hardly more than four hundred years old. With regard to this building the tale of the two Balti artists, father and son, is also told. And their portraits are still among the wood carvings of the inner court of the castle.

As regards the list of names of the Muhammadan chiefs of Cig-tan, it extends over about three and a half centuries, from 1550 A.D. to 1900 A.D. Allowing twenty-five years for each reign, the chiefs may be furnished with approximate dates, as follows:—

Tshe-riṅ-Malig	1550–1575	'A-dam-mkhan	1750–1775
'A-ḫdam-Malig	1575–1600	Hor-jo-mkhan	1775–1800
'Am-zed	1600–1625	Ha-bib-mkhan	1800–1825
'Am-rod	1625–1650	Ha-ni-pha-mkhan	1825–1850
'A-zid-tham	1650–1675	Ma-li-ya-mkhan	1850–1875
'A-li-bag-śo	1675–1700	Hu-sen-mkhan	1875–1900
'A-ḫa-dam	1700–1725	Ga-bzaṅ-phar	after 1900
'A-dam-Malig	1725–1750		the present ex-chief.

The occurrence of the Dard word *tham*, king, among these names is of some interest, as again pointing to the Dard origin of the dynasty (see Cunningham, *Ladák*, p. 33). The word *mkhan*, which is found in several names, is, of course, the Tibetan rendering of the Mughal title Khān (*Khākān*). The note on 'A-ḫdam-mkhan is to be understood as meaning that under him the spread of Islam among the subjects was taken up with greater energy. It had been introduced about two centuries before. It is remarkable that Ra-him-mkhan of Cig-tan, who was executed by Zorawar, is not mentioned in the above list (see Tshe-brtan's *Account of the Dogra Wars*, infra). An inscription referring to A-ḫdam-Malig, who reigned c. 1575–1660 A.D., was found in Cig-tan. It is No. 194 of my collection recording a remission of taxes during his reign; several of the persons whom it mentions have names which are half-Muhammadan, half-Buddhist. Inscription No. 195, which seems to belong to the same times, gives no names. No inscription mentions any of the other chiefs.

As we learn from Dr. K. Marx' account of a journey to Cig-tan, the village of Kug-śo is still in possession of a beautiful grove of old birch-trees, the only birch-trees in Ladakh. Dr. Marx was also the first European to describe the ancient Buddhist temple in the now Muhammadan town of Cig-tan. (See his article 'Eine ärztliche Missionsreise im Jahre 1890', *Eben-Ezer*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 62.)

V. The Genealogy of the Chiefs of Sod

The following genealogy was obtained from Sher-'Alī-Khān, the present ex-chief of Sod, who has a house at Sod (Yul-ba-ltag), as well as at Bilargo. On a visit to Dkar-dkyil, in 1914, I was told that the chief was just then at Bilargo. Therefore I dispatched Phun-tshogs, my munshi, to visit him in that place, and to see if he were in possession of a genealogy of his family. Sher-'Alī-Khān actually produced a document written in Urdū, containing the pedigree of his family. With regard thereto the chief said that the oldest MS. of it had been destroyed in previous wars; but that the family had taken care to restore the pedigree from memory, as best they could, soon after its loss.

Phun-tshogs copied the one-sheet Urdū manuscript in Tibetan characters, and added to it a few notes in Tibetan, which the chieftain was good enough to dictate to him. The additional notes are put in brackets.

The principality was very small. It comprised only the valley of a tributary of the Wakka river, coming down from the Hamoting-pass and falling into the Wakka river between Pas-kyum and Dkar-dkyil.

The village of Yul-ba-ltag may be traced on the survey map, on which it is spelt Yuhbatak. A little to the north-east of this place on the map there occurs the word Piu (*spe-hu*, *spi-hu*, 'tower'). This may mark the site of one of the ancient castles.

TIBETAN TEXT

སོད་མཁར་གྱི་ཇོ་རབས་ནི །

ཟློན་ཆེ་ཁ་ཁཱན ། དེའི་རྟིང་ནས་ཟ་ཕྱིར་མད(མང ?)་ཇོ ། དེའི་དུས་ལ་ལྷུན་པ་ནས་ཕྱིང་ཡལ་ཆུ་ཚོག་པའི་དབང་ཡོད་པིན ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་རྒྱལ་མ་ལིག་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་ནམ་ཟུར་ཇོ་ཞེར་མཁན་གྱི་ཇོ་ཡོད་པིན ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་ཧོར་ཇོ་ཁཱན ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་ལྷོ་ར་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་ཚེ་རིང་མ་ལིག་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྟིང་ལ་སུལ་ཏན་མ་ལིག་ཇོ ། དེའི་རྟིང་ལ་མཧ་མད་སུལ་ཏན་ཁཱན ། དེའི་རྟིང་ལ་མིག་ཟ་སུལ་ཏན་ཁཱན ། ཨ་དམ་མ་ལིག་ཁཱན ། མ་ལིག་སུལ་ཏན ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་མག་རམ་བེག ། ཛན་གྱིར་བེག ། དེའི་རྟིང་ན་ཡ་ཡ་ཁཱན ། ས་ལམ་ཁཱན ། མཧ་དི་ཁཱན ། ཨག་བར་ཨ་ལི་ཁཱན ། ཤེར་ཨ་ལི་ཁཱན ༎

[འདི་ཇོ་ཚང་མའི་བརྒྱུད་ནི་གྱིལ་ཕྱིད་ཀྱི་ཇོ་ནས་འོངས་ཏེ ། དེའི་མིང་ནི་ཟློན་ཆེ་ཁ་ཁཱན ། ཡང་ཇོ་འདི་ལ་མཁར་གསུམ་ཡོད་པིན ། པ་སར་མཁར་གྱི་ཡུལ་གྱི་མིང་ལ་ཡུལ་བ་ལྟག ། དེ་ལ་ཡང་མཁའ་འཛོར་གྱི་མཁར་ཟེར་འདུག ། སོད་མཁར་དང་གསུམ་ཡོད ༎

སོག་པོའི་དམག་བསྐྱོན་ནས ། མཧ་མད་སུལ་ཏན་ཁཱན་རྒྱལ་སོང་ ། ཡང་ཅིག་ཏན་དང་ ། པ་སྐྱུམ་གྱི་ཇོ་གཉིས་ཀུང་སུལ་ཏན་ཁཱན་གྱི་ནང་ནས་བིང་ ། ཁྲི་སུལ་ཏན་ཁཱན་གྱི་སྲིད་མོ་ཞིག་མཧ་དི་ཁཱན་ལ་བག་མ་ལ་འོངས་ནས ། ཡ་ཡ་ཁཱན་སྐྱེས ༎

ས་ལམ་ཁཱན་ཇོའི་དུས་ལ་སིང་པའི་དམག་འོངས་ནས ། སོད་ཀྱི་མཁར་པ་སར་ཞེར་མཁན་བཤིགས་ནས ། ས་ལམ་ཁཱན་ལྷགས་བརྒྱབ་སྟེ ། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སོང་ནས་སྒྲོངས ། ས་ལམ་ཁཱན་སྒྲོངས་ནས ། ཁོང་གི་བུ་ཀྱ་མཧ་དི་ཁཱན་ཞེར་མཁན་ལ་ཡབ་ཀྱི་གཡོག་སྲུན་ལ་ཙམ་ཡོད་མཁན་གྱི་ཀར་དར་བཏངས་མིང་ ། བབ་ཀུང་མེད་པིན ། དེ་ནས་བར་དུ་བསྒྱུ་ཀྱི་དུས་ལ་བབ་ཀྱིར་མོ་༡༥༠་སོག་གོ ༎]

TRANSLATION

The Genealogy of the Chiefs of Sod Castle

The great minister Khra-khra-Khān. After him [came] the chief Za-gyir-mad (maṅ ?). In his time his power reached from Wan-la to the Gyiṅ-yal (Gyid-yal ?) River. After him [came] the chief Rgyal-Malig. After him there lived a chief called Chief Nam-rud. After him [came] Hor-jo-Khān. After him [came] the Chief Ldo-ro. After him [came] the Chief Tshe-riṅ-Malig. After him [came] the Chief Sul-tan-Malig. After him [came] Mah-mad-Sul-tan-Khān. After him [came] Mig-za-Sul-tan-Khān. [Then] 'A-dam-Malig-Khān. [Then] Malig-Sul-tan. After him [came] Mag-ram-beg. [Then] Jan-gyir-beg. After him [came] Ya-ya-Khān. [Then] Sa-lam-Khān. [Then] Mah-di-Khān. [Then] 'Ag-bar-'A-li-Khān. [Then] Śer-'A-li-Khān.

[The line of all these chiefs is descended from a Gyil-gyid chief whose name was Great Minister Khra-khra-Khān. This chief was in possession of three castles. The name of the village belonging to Pa-sar castle is Yul-ba-ltag. It is also called castle of Mkhaḫ-ḫdror ('fairy-castle'). Together with Sod castle there are three [castles].

When the army of the Mongolians arrived, Mah-mad-Sul-tan-Khān gained a victory over them. The chieftains of Cig-tan, as well as those of Pa-skyum, are also descended from the family of Sul-tan-Khān. A sister of Khri-Sul-tan-Khān became Mah-di-Khān's wife, and [a son called] Ya-ya-Khān was born.

In the days of the Chief Sa-lam-Khān an army of the Siṅ-pa (Dogras) arrived here, and Pa-sar, the castle of Sod, was destroyed. Sa-lam-Khān was fettered with iron chains; he went to Kashmir, and died there. After Sa-lam-Khān had died, his son, called Mah-di-Khān, was made Kar-dar over all that had been under his father. He was tax-free. But at the time of the Bandabast he was taxed at 130 rupees.]

NOTES

The genealogy of the Sod chiefs should be compared with that of the Cig-tan chiefs, to which it forms a valuable addition. The last ancestor of both lines of chiefs is Tshe-riṅ-Malig, or No. 7 in descent in the above line of chieftains and No. 2 in the Cig-tan line. As pointed out by me in my notes on the chronicles of Cig-tan, we are obliged to insert a number of centuries between Btsaṅ-mkhan-(or Faqīr)-Malig, the first member of the Cig-tan pedigree, and Tshe-riṅ-Malig, the second member of the same. The value of the Sod pedigree rests in the fact that it gives the names of five hitherto unknown members of the common ancestry of both houses, who have to be placed between Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig and Tshe-riṅ-Malig. These are the names from Za-gyir-mad to Ldo-ro. Khra-khra-Khān, who is found at the head of the Sod genealogy, is evidently identical with Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig of Cig-tan; this seems to be proved by the evidence. For according to the Cig-tan chronicle Kra-kra was the name of one of the castles erected by Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig, and, as lord of this castle, he might well have accepted the name of Khra-khra-Khān. That this line of chieftains actually came from Gilgit is also attested by the Cig-tan chronicles. The common origin of the Cig-tan and Sod families is further attested by a little note found in the above text, viz. that the Pa-sar castle is also called Mkhaḫ-ḫdror (= Ṁkḫah-ḫgro, 'fairy') castle. This name reminds us of the tale of Btsaṅ-mkhan-Malig's reception by fairies, when he arrived in the Cig-tan district (see the Cig-tan chronicle).

With regard to the Gyiṅ-yal (Gyid-yal ?) River, I am told that the Gilgit River is meant. This particular passage of the above text means that the kingdom of these ancient Dard chiefs once extended from Wan-la, near Kha-la-rtse, to the districts close to Gilgit. It would thus have comprised Baltistan, Pu-rig, and Lower Ladakh, or the old duchies of the Khri-Sultāns of Dkar-rtse, the Pu-rig Sultāns, and the various Balti duchies. I can well imagine that this assertion is true; for in three of the old genealogies of these chieftains, in those of Skar-rdo,

Cig-tan, and Śim-śa-mkhar-bu, I have come upon traces of a tale of their common Faqīr origin. Besides, the Wan-la inscription of the Bcu-gcig-żal temple shows us plainly that the old Dard kingdom may well have extended up to Wan-la. But already in very early times—say before 1000 A.D.—this kingdom must have split up into various little independent states.

The statement that Khra-khra-Khān was in possession of three castles is followed by the names of two castles only, viz. Pa-sar and Sod, both situated at Yul-ba-ltag, near Dkar-dkyil. Possibly the Kra-kra castle has to be added.

The statement that not only the chiefs of Cig-tan, but also those of Pas-kyum, were related to the Sod chiefs, is in agreement with local popular tradition. Besides, the following fact speaks in favour of it. When the line of Pas-kyum chiefs became extinct, their property at Pas-kyum was seized by the family of Cig-tan chiefs, in particular by Ga-bzaṅ-phar of Cig-tan. At present the Pas-kyum estate is in possession of Ga-bzaṅ-phar's son, Muhibb-'Alī-Khān, who is married to Shahar-Begam, daughter of Rehan-'Alī-Khān of Hunza. Ga-bzaṅ-phar's younger brother, Jaffar-Khān, still resides at Cig-tan. In the above text the family name of the Cig-tan-Sod chiefs is given as Sul-tan-Khān ; according to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* it is Pu-rig-Sul-tan.

A *Kārdār* is a kind of district magistrate who has to collect the taxes. *Bandobast* (or *bandobast-ṣāḥib*) is a title given by the natives to the officer who undertook the first great settlement survey of the country.

VI. The Genealogy of the Sra-sra-mun Chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu Castle, according to the Tale of Śah-bān of Ki-no

The following account of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu and surrounding districts was dictated to Phun-tshogs, my munshi, by a certain Śah-bān, of Dras, when I was on my tour through Pu-rig in 1914. Śah-bān claims to be a descendant of the old line of Dard chiefs who once resided at the castle of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu. He is now an old man, and claims to be 98 years of age. When he began to tell his tale, there were several other Dards present in the bungalow. But, when Śah-bān had finished the recital of his pedigree, I noticed that all these Dards smiled and suddenly left the room. Next morning I met two of them and asked what was the reason for that extraordinary behaviour, whereupon they replied that they had felt disgusted with the old man's lies. Then they told me that Śah-bān had represented himself in his pedigree as a direct descendant of Sra-sra-mun in the male line, whereas he was only a descendant from him in the female line. They then gave me some additional information about Si-lim's daughter, Rāj-Si-kim, and her marriage to Śah-bān's father, Sa-lam. This additional note is marked by brackets in the Tibetan text. They also added that the proper name of the Balti king who once ruled over the district was Sher-'Alī-Khān. This addition was also put in brackets.

As regards the size of the little principality, it may have comprised the valley of the Dras River, above its confluence with the Shingo-Shigar River, including in its best days the Dras Valley. The language of the whole district is Dard.

TIBETAN TEXT

ཤིམ་ཤ་མཁར་བུའི་སྲ་སྲ་སྨུན་གྱི་ཇོ་རབས་ནི་

ཀི་ནོ་བ་ཤཱཧ་བཱན་གྱི་བཤད་པ་བཞིན་དུ།

མཁར་བུའི་ཇོ་སྲ་སྲ་སྨུན་ཟེར་མཁན་དེ་རྡུན་ཞེ་ད་གར་ནས་ཞོངས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ད་ཤེར་ཨ་ལི ། ཤེར་ཨ་ལི་ལ་དུ་ཡིངས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ད་སི་ལིམ ། དེའི་རྗེང་ད་ས་ཀིར ། ས་ཀིར་ནས་བོ་དྲངས་སྐྱེས ། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་སི་ལིམ ། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་[རབས་བཅད་དེ ། བུ་མོ་རཱཛ་སི་ཀིམ་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་ཕྱུས །]

དེ་ནས་ཨ་བོ་རྡུ་སེད་ཀྱི་ཟ་ཀ་ལས་དེ་[རཱཛ་སི་ཀིམ་གྱི་མག་པ་ལ་སོང །] ས་ལམ་ནས་ཤཱཧ་བཱན ། དེ་ནས་ཨབ་དུལ་ལྷ ། དེ་ནས་གོ་ལམ །།

ཕང་འགོ་མ་ལ་རྒྱ་དཀར་གི་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཁ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཤ་དར་ཚོགས་པ་དབང་བཙོས། དེ་ཙ་རྒྱ་དཀར་པས་སབ་ཀྱི་སྤྱིར་ལོ་ནི་ལ་བུ་མོ་བདུན་ཟ་ཞེར་དེ ། ལོ་གཅིག་ལ་ཡིར་ཕང་ད་ཟ་ཟམ་སྣུན་གྱི་ཟླ་མ་ཞིག་གི་བུ་མོའི་རེས་ལ་བསྐྱེབ་དས ། བུ་མོ་དེ་བའི་རྡུང་དུ་སོང་ནས །

མང་ཙམ་ངུས། དེ་ནས་ཕ་ཡིས་བུ་མོ་ལ་འདྲིས། ཁྱོད་ཅི་ལ་ངུ་རུག ཞེར་པ་སང། བུ་མོས། ང་རྒྱ་ནག་པས་པས་ཀྱི་ཁྲེར་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ལ་ངུ་རུག་ཟེར་ས། དེ་ནས་ཕ་ཡིས་ཆོས་ཀྱི་དབང་གི་ཁ་ནས་རྒྱ་ནག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཟན་ཟ་བའི་དུས་ཀྱི་ཁར་བསླེབ་བཅུག་སྟེ། ཁོས་མོ་མི་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེ་བྲིས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག །།

རྒྱ་ནག་གི་དུས་ལ་ཁ་ཙུལ་གྱི་བོ་དྲོ་མས་ཇིད་བརྟེགས་སོ། དེ་ནས་དམག་དང་ནས་ཙག་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་ཏའི་མུར་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས་ནས། རྒྱལ་པོ་བཙོས། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་ཡང་ཁུང་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཁྲི་སུལ་ཏན་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས། ཡང་སྐར་རྡོ་བ་[ཨ་ལི་ཤེར་ཁཱན་]ཇག་དམག་དཔོན་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་འོངས་ནས། གོ་ཤེན་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱི་མཁར་ཞིག་བརྩིགས། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤར་ལྷ་ཆེན་འོངས་ཏེ། མཁར་དཔོན་ཤན་ཏེ་རབ་རྒྱས་ཟེར་མཁན་གྱིས་ལྷ་མོ་ཙན་མཁར་བརྩིགས། དེའི་རྗེང་ནས་པ་སྐྱུམ་མ་ཤེ་མ་ཤིལ་ཏེ་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐྱ་བག་ལ་ཁྱེརས། དེའི་དུས་ལ་པ་སྐྱུམ་པས་རྒྱལ་མོ་མཁར་དང་བྲུ་རྫ་མཁར་གཉིས་བརྩིགས། པ་སྐྱུམ་པས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཞུགས་པ་ལ་པས་ཕྱེར་རང་ཡིན་པ། པ་སྐྱུམ་ཇོའི་མིང་ལ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁཱན་ཟེར་ས། དེམ་པས་ལ་ལ་ཞུགས་ཞོག་དབང་བདང་མཁན་པོ་ལ་ཇོ་མལ་ཟེར་ས།།

ཤིམ་ཤ་མཁར་བུའི་མཁར་སེང་དམག་གི་དུས་ལ་སེང་པས་བཤིག་གོ།།

TRANSLATION

The Genealogy of the Sra-sra-mun Chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu Castle, according to the Tale of Sah-bān of Ki-no

The chief of Mkhar-bu called Sra-sra-mun came from Hunze-Nagar. After him [came] Śer-'A-li. On Śer-'A-li [followed] Ta-yiṅs. After him [came] Si-lim. After him [came] Pha-kyir (Faqīr). After Pha-kyir, Bo-triṅs was born. After him [came] Si-lim. After him [the line came to an end, and a daughter only, called Rāj-Si-kim, remained].

Then Sa-lam, the son of the forefather Hu-sen, [became Rāj-Si-kim's consort]. After Sa-lam [followed] Śah-bān, then 'Ab-dul-lā, then Go-lam.

In the beginning the King of China ruled as far as the town of Kha-cul (Kashmir). Instead of taxes the Chinese used to carry off seven girls every year. In one year it was the turn of a Pīr or Mu-sul-mān priest's daughter [to go to China]. This girl went before her father and cried bitterly. Therefore the father asked her why she cried so much; and the girl said 'I cry because the Chinese will carry me off for taxes'. Then the father (through the powers of religion) caused the Chinese king to arrive [in Kashmir] at the time of dinner. [There] he wrote a letter to the effect that the girl was not to be carried off, and the king returned to his own country.

In the time of the Chinese the Bo-dro-masjid of Kha-cul was erected. Then, through a war, [a king] called Tsag arose. Then another one, called Taḫi-mur, followed. After him a king rose again out of our own midst, called Khri-Sul-tan. Then the duke of the Skar-rdo-rock called ['A-li-Śer-Khān] arrived, and built a castle called Go-śen. After him came the king of La-dvags, called Śar-lha-chen, and by [his] strong castle-

ward. called Rab-rgyas, the Lha-mo-can castle was erected. After that a lady of Pa-skyum, called Bil-ti, was married to the king [of La-dvags]. At that time the Pa-skyum [chief] erected the two castles of Rgyal-mo-mkhar and Byu-ru-mkhar. The [chief of] Pa-skyum used to pay taxes to the great Ladakhi king. The chief of Pa-skyum was called Ra-yim-Khān. The [official] who ruled over Hem-babs (Dras) under [the king of] La-dvags, was called Jo-mal.

The castle of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu was destroyed by the Siṅ-pa in the Siṅ-pa (Dogra) war.

NOTES

The first part of the text contains a short genealogy of the old Dard chiefs of Śim-śa-mkhar-bu. It is short, because the names of so many members have been forgotten; and I believe that several of its members are now in the wrong place. Still, with regard to a district where every other kind of information fails, it is of some value, as containing the names of at least some of its ancient chiefs. It contains all that Śah-bān could remember of his mother's tales. As regards the name of the first ancestor, the first syllable contains the title *sra*, this being the Dard word for Tibetan *jo*, 'chief,' 'prince.' The following two syllables, viz. *sra*, *mun*, are no longer understood; but I believe that they once more contain the title of *sra*, followed by the word *mun[i]*, Buddhist monk. It is not impossible that here, as well as in Baltistan and in Cig-tan, a 'religious beggar' was placed at the head of the line. This idea of a mendicant ancestor is once more expressed by the occurrence of the word *Pha-kyir* (Faqīr) among the following members of the pedigree.

The second part of the tale contains a half-legendary account of the abolition of the custom of sending girls to China instead of taxes. There may be some historical foundation in this story; for it is well known that girls from Kashmir, and probably also from Dardistan, were much in demand for Oriental harems in former days. That Kashmir was actually under China in Tang times has been fully proved by Sir A. Stein in his *Ancient Khotan* (i, p. 13). But, instead of a Muhammadan priest, the original form of the tale may have meant a Buddhist or Hindu priest. With regard to the assertion that the Bo-dro-masjid (Tibetan mosque) was erected in those early Chinese days, I have come to the following conclusion:—There are several Bo-dro-masjids in Srinagar, and one of them is evidently the Jaṃa' masjid. Referring to these, Pandit Anant Kaul says in his *Jammu and Kashmir State*, on p. 57, 'The site of the mosque is considered sacred by the Buddhists also, and even now men from Ladakh visit the Jama masjid and call it by its old name, Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.' Tsublak Kang is evidently intended for Tsug-lag-khaṅ, the ordinary Tibetan word for old Buddhist temples. The word Tsitsung is unintelligible to me. Anant Kaul further says, 'The Jama masjid was built originally by Sikander in 1404 with the materials of a large stone temple constructed by King Tārāpīḍa (693–7 A.D.).... There are remains of several stone temples round this mosque, whose builders are not known.' This note, evidently based on Sir Aurel Stein's researches in Kashmir, plainly states that the origin of the stone temple, which forms the groundwork of the famous mosque, actually goes back to the times of the Chinese Tang dynasty. Tārāpīḍa's temple, or at least some of the surrounding stone temples, may have been Buddhist, not Hindu, originally. Hence the veneration paid to the mosque by Tibetan Buddhists.

The third part of the above account contains a succession of dynasties or empires which ruled over the Pu-rig district, according to the tales received by Śah-bān from his mother. The times of Chinese rule were followed by those of a certain Tsag, it is said. It is possible that the word *Tsag* is identical with the word *Chak*, the name of a dynasty of Kashmir kings who ruled in the second half of the sixteenth century. In that case the name would appear to be in the wrong place in the above account: it would have to be placed at least after Tīmūr. The occurrence of the name Taḥi-mur (= Tīmūr) in this connexion is of particular interest. The above account is, so far, the only West Tibetan document that makes mention of one of Chingis Khān's successors as overlord over the country. But we know for certain, from Central Tibetan accounts, that Kublai Khān ruled over Ladakh, and that he even carried out a census of that country (see S. Ch. Das, *JASB*. 1904, Extra Number, p. 99). In 1399 A.D. Tīmūr passed through Jammu on his way to Samarkand. From Jammu he went on a short expedition through the mountains of Kashmir. The Khri-Sultāns are the famous chiefs of Dkar-rtse in the

Suru valley. Their power certainly extended up to the Zoji-la. Sher-'Alī-Khān of Baltistan is the famous Balti king who in about 1550–80 A.D. united all Baltistan and successfully overran Ladakh. The old Balti castle of Go-śen has disappeared. Below its site we now find the village of Go-śen (map: Goshun), less than a mile north-west of Dras. The old Ladakhi castle of Lha-mo-can has also disappeared; but a village of that name is found a little more than a mile south-east of Dras (map: Lamachun). The name given here as that of the Ladakhi king is only a title. It means 'Great Divinity (*mahādeva*) of the East'. *Lha-chen* (great divinity, *mahādeva*) was the dynastic name of the first West Tibetan dynasty; but it was also much used by the second dynasty. From the Ladakhi chronicles it becomes evident that the Ladakhi kings repeatedly entered into matrimonial relations with the chiefs of Pas-kyum, but the name Bil-ti cannot be found there. The two castles built by the Pas-kyum chiefs are no longer in existence. They were erected on two rocks facing one another on opposite banks of the Dras river, about one mile east of Dras. As regards the family of Ladakhi officials called *Jo-mal* (vice-chiefs), their descendants are still found in the Dras valley. According to Moorcroft (ii, p. 42), half of the taxes of the Draś district had, in 1820, to be sent to Kashmir. Extensive ruins of the old castle of Mkhar-bu may still be inspected on the top of a rock above the trade road, say half a mile below the bungalow of Mkhar-bu.

VII. Ahmad-Shāh's Chronicles of Baltistan

According to G. T. Vigne

G. T. Vigne visited Baltistan in 1835 A.D., at a time when this state was still practically independent. He gained the confidence of the Dmag-dpon (duke or chief) of the state, and received much valuable information from him. People told him that the chief was in possession of a rare book or MS. (possibly the chronicles). He could, however, not get hold of it, although he repeatedly asked Ahmad-Shāh to let him see it. Ahmad-Shāh assured him that he had always understood that it was destroyed in the great fire during the time of chief Zufur-Khan. Then Vigne says (ii, p. 253): 'He one day produced a book, which he had bought of a travelling pedler, and asked me what it was. It was a testament, highly ornamented with paintings, and the text was, I have no doubt, Armenian, though I do not understand anything of the language.' It must have been the pictures which induced Vigne to believe that the book was a testament. But this short passage suffices to show that in 1835 the chronicles of Baltistan were probably no longer existent at Skar-rdo. The greater is the value of Ahmad-Shāh's account of Balti history, as communicated to Vigne. Ahmad-Shāh may have had to learn the chronicles by heart, just as was the case in the Cig-tan family (see the Chronicles of Cig-tan). In spite of this loss it is very probable that certain historical books are still existent in Baltistan. Not only may several old books have been preserved in the castles of minor chiefs, but also the lost chronicles of Skar-rdo may have been re-written at a more recent time. As I am told, the Baltis make use of a particular kind of script, which runs from right to left. As Professors A. Fischer and Hultzsch tell me, it is not based on any form of Arabic character, but rather resembles the Indian form of script. I have, with difficulty, obtained a short specimen of this script. It is found in vol. iii of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, p. 33. But no traveller has as yet succeeded in purchasing an original volume of Balti literature.

It may be questioned whether the Balti chronicles have a right to range among the chronicles of vassal chiefs of the kings of Leh. To this let me reply that the history of Baltistan was for many years bound up with West Tibetan history. During the times of the Great Tibetan empire (before Glaṅ-dar-ma) Baltistan appears to have formed part of it. The foundation of the great monastery of Skar-chuṅ-rdo-dbyiṅ (probably Skar-rdo) is stated to have taken place in the Rgya district, Rgya then being the capital of Ladakh (*c.* 804 A.D.). The greatest Buddhist priest of Baltistan, Sbal-te-dgra-bcom, who erected the famous Skyor-luṅ monastery[1] in the vicinity of Skar-rdo and Si-dkar (Ba-sho valley) in A.D. 1168, was a regular member of the Lamaist church. It was the introduction of Muhammadanism in particular which alienated the Baltis from their Ladakhi neighbours. But even then the history of both nations remained inter-

[1] Another monastery of the same name seems to exist in Central Tibet.

woven. Now it is the Ladakhis who reign for a time in Baltistan; then, again, the Baltis overrun Ladakh. For this reason we shall do well to collect what remains of Balti chronicles.

ENGLISH TEXT

(Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak* . . . , London, 1842, vol. ii, pp. 251 ff.)

At one period, as they now relate, the royal race was nearly extinct, the last Gylfo (Rgyal-po) having left an only daughter, whose hand was sought in marriage by twelve vuzirs, or great men of the country; and ere a choice was made, a Fakir, holding a rod of gold in one hand and a purse containing the same metal in the other, was observed sitting on a large stone in the village of Shikari (Śi-dkar). He was always to be found there, and appeared to have made it at once his resting-place and his home; and he soon acquired a reputation for extraordinary sanctity,—and the more so, as no one could tell whence he came. The young Begum was given to him by the consent of all parties, and to this union the Rajahs not only of Iskardo (Skar-rdo), but of Katakchund (Mkhar-maṅ; Khartaksho of the maps), Parkuta, Tolti, Rondu (Roṅ-mdo), and Astor, trace the origin of their families. To this day, when the heir apparent arrives at years of discretion, he is seated on the same stone, which is called the Burdo-Nest (Bu-rdo = 'son-stone'?), . . . in great state, amidst the shouts of the assembled multitude. The reigning Gylfo (Rgyal-po) first makes him salaam, and afterwards the inhabitants of Shikari (Śi-dkar) present their homage. Then the principal commanders of the army, of which there are more than one hundred, come forward with their congratulations and their presents. Then follows the game of the Chaughán (polo) . . . , shooting at a mark with matchlocks or arrows, at full gallop, and the musicians and dancing girls display their attractions to the surrounding crowd, and the young Gylfo (Rgyal-po) proceeds thence to the Harem, where he receives the compliments of his lady relatives.

But the more authentic knowledge of their history, as detailed to me by Ahmed Shah, commences with Ali Shér Khan, who built the great stone aqueduct by which water is brought across the valley from the Satpur stream, and by which, also, a quantity of useful soil that would otherwise be washed away is banked up and preserved. He built also the fort on the rock, and raised an elevated platform, planted with chunars (Platanas), close under the Killah (*Qiḷa*), and containing the tombs of the Gylfos (Rgyal-pos). When he and his son, and successor, Ahmed Khan, were dead, Abdul and Adam Khan, his other sons, quarrelled, and Abdul Khan, who built some of the Durwasus (*Darwāza*) or gates, already noticed, so oppressed the neighbouring Rajahs, that they sought assistance from the Mogul Emperor of Delhi, Aurangzyb, who sent an army from Kashmir. Upon which, Abdul Khan made his submission, and the brothers then went in person before the Mogul, who told them to divide the succession; but they died on their return in Kashmir.

Shamrad or Shah Murad, son of Ahmed Khan, was presented with a jaghir (*jāgir*, 'rent-free land') in Kashmir, by the Mogul, and Ahmed Shah used to complain to me that he did not now (1835) enjoy the revenue of it. He also told me that the Killah (*Qila*) was in vain besieged by the troops of Aurangzyb; that they brought elephants with them (which I can scarcely believe to have been the fact), and that he had now in the castle some old guns, drums, armour, etc., and implements of war, which they had left behind them, and which, by some mistake, I neglected to see.

Shamrad or Shah Murad Khan was succeeded by Rafir-Khan, who was followed by Sultan Murad, who re-took Ladak (it having been previously taken by Ali Sher Khan, and lost by his son), and made himself master of Gilghit, Nagyr, Hunzeh (Hunza), and Chitrál. He is said to have built the bridge near the Killah (*Qila*) of Chitrál. The name of the first Ali Sher Khan, or Shah Murad, is still to be seen upon a mosque at Ladak.

In the time of Zufur Khan, the castle of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) was destroyed by fire, and much that was valuable was burnt with it. . . . Zufur Khan took the castle of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) from the Keluncheh (probably *Bkaḥ-blon-che*, 'great minister'), a sect or family who came from Purik. He was young when the Keluncheh usurped the throne of Iskardo, and afterwards, by turning them out, acquired the name of Ghazi.

The Keluncheh were not Shiahs, as are the Little Tibetians, but were heretics from either the Suni, or the Shiah persuasion—following the doctrines of a Syud who came from Kashmir in the time of Rafir Khan, and wrote a book containing his own idea of the faith. In common with the Shiahs he does not respect the three first Caliphs, but venerates the memory of Ayesha, the daughter of Abubekr; and Hafza, daughter of Osman, who were both wives of the prophet, who, as such, he affirms, are worthy of honour also. In these, and some other respects, he differs from the Shiahs, but the Rajah and inhabitants of Khopalu (Kha-pu-lu), Shighur (Śi-dkar), and Purik adopt his doctrines.

Ali Sher Khan . . . father of Ahmed Shah, the present Gylfo (Rgyal-po), signalized himself by taking the castle of Shighur (Śi-dkar), and making prisoners of an invading army from Ladak.

He left two sons, Ahmed Shah of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) and Gholám-Shah, the Rajah of Parkuta on the Indus: who both reigned at the last-mentioned places, in consequence of the will of their father. . . . The territories of Ahmed Shah are extended from Chorbut (Chos-ḥbad) to Husára (Astor) inclusive. Chitral, the country of Shah Kator, has long been independent of Little Tibet (Baltistan), and the rajahs of Gilghit, Nagyr, and Hunzeh (Hunza) by no means owned him as their superior. But besides those already mentioned, Ahmed Shah was monarch of Khopalu (Kha-pu-lu), Shighur (Śi-dkar), Keris (Kye-ris), Katakchund (Mkhar-maṅ), Tolti, Parkuta, and Royal or Rondu (Roṅ-mdo). On his seal, as that of a Shiah prince, are inscribed the following words:—

Ali sher an dawur-dadgur Kez-o-yaft
Ahmed Shah bur adâ zufur.

Translation:—

Ali, the lion of that just God, through whom
Ahmed Shah obtained victory over his enemies.

He had five or six sons; the eldest, whose name was, I think, Shah Murad, died just before I visited Iskardo (Skar-rdo) for the first time. He was a young man of great promise, and universally regretted. He died, it appeared, of fever, and amongst other remedies employed to cure him, I remember that one was having no furniture in his room but what was of a blue or green colour. . . . His own brother, Mohamed Shah, was by no means his equal in abilities, and having been intrusted with the government of Husára (Astor), by way of trial, abused his authority in such a manner, and showed himself so incompetent as a ruler, that his father determined to disinherit him, in favour of Mohamed Ali Khan, a son by another wife, daughter of the Shighur (Si-dkar) Rajah, whereas the mother of the deceased prince and Mohamed Shah was a daughter of the Rajah of Katakchund (Mkhar-maṅ), from which family it was usual for the Gylfos (Rgyal-pos) of Iskardo (Skar-rdo) to select a wife, as the mother of the heir-apparent. In consequence of this determination Mahomed Shah quarrelled with his father, and ran off, accompanied by two or three adherents, and put himself under the protection of Gulab Singh's Sikh lieutenant, at the castle in Purik (Bu-rig), near the frontier.

This happened after my first visit to Iskardo (Skar-rdo), in 1835, and from that time he became a puppet in the hands of Gulab Singh (of Jammu), who amused him, and worried Ahmed Shah, by promising to make him governor of Iskardo (Skar-rdo), if ever he took the country. Young Mohamed Ali Khan had been placed on the inauguration stone, and received the homage of his future subjects. He was about thirteen years of age, short, and very stout, with a mild and intelligent expression of countenance, and very fond of field sports. . . . Mirza Hyder is a little boy, a younger brother of Mohamed Ali Khan. Achmet Ali Khan is a natural son of Ahmed Shah, by a woman of lower extraction; he has by far the finest features, and most intellectual head, of any of the family, was the best shot, the best rider, and the best swordsman.

NOTES

The story of the Faqīr ancestor of the Balti chiefs reminds us of the Chronicles of Cig-tan (see the latter).

Regarding the great stone aqueduct of Sadpur (the barrage), which was stated to be the work of 'Alī-Sher-Khān, let me mention that it was visited by Miss Duncan in 1904. Miss Duncan's book, *A Summer Ride through Western Tibet*, contains several interesting photographs of these grand works (see pp. 304, 306), and a full description of the ruins. Miss Duncan was told by the natives that the barrage had been built by the last Buddhist Rāja of Baltistan. This is not impossible, considering the fact that Buddhist images have been preserved on the barrage until quite recently, as was ascertained by Miss Duncan. The following are a few notes from Miss Duncan's description (pp. 304–6):—' The barrage crosses the river just where it leaves the lake, is about 14 feet high and 6 feet thick, and has two tiers of doors, six in each tier, each door 5 feet by 2 ft. 9 in., with deep, smoothly cut, semicircular grooves to receive the rounded edges of the dressed granite slabs, now lying in the water below, which were used to close them . . . High up on the buttress wall there is an oblong slab of slate-coloured stone, the middle part sunk, leaving a sharply cut, raised edge, which looks as if it had been a memorial tablet, but there is no trace of lettering on it.' Thus, unfortunately, the history of the origin of the barrage will probably remain obscure for ever, and we shall not be able to decide whether it is the work of 'Alī-Sher-Khān or of some earlier king. About 4½ miles from the barrage are found the ancient Buddhist sculptures and inscriptions which were noticed by Vigne (see vol. i, p. 365). Vigne calls the rock 'the Buddhu stone', and speaks of a regular translation of the inscription in *J.A.S.B.*, which, however, I have not yet been able to trace. A translation of my own, based on Miss Duncan's and my munshi Bsod-pa-phun-tshogs' copies, has appeared in Miss Duncan's *Summer*

Ride (pp. 300–2). As regards 'Alī-Sher-Khān's conquest of Ladakh, it is attested by the Ladakhi chronicles, where the full history of the war is given (see under Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal). The mosque inscription at Leh is said to contain the name of Aurangzīb. This is very probable, for the mosque was built at Aurangzīb's special request.

As regards the quarrel for the succession under 'Alī-Sher-Khān's sons, it is apparently referred to by Bernier (1663), when he says (Ouldinburgh, 1671–2, iv, pp. 122–3):—'I may further add that some years since, there being a dissension risen between the family of the king of the Little Tibet, . . . one of the pretenders to the crown did secretly call for the assistance of the governor of Kachemire, who by order of Chah-Jehan gave him powerful succours and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, muso, and wool. This petty king could not forbear coming to see Aurang-Zebe, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named.' Thus, instead of Aurangzīb, Shāh-Jahān should have been mentioned in the chronicle in connexion with the quarrel.

As regards the conquest of Ladakh under Sultān-Murād, it is not mentioned in the Ladakhi chronicles. I conjecture that the word 'conquest' does not quite suit the case. It was probably only a more or less successful plundering expedition, similar to that of the Ladakhis mentioned under the second 'Alī-Sher-Khān.

The chief Ahmad-Shāh is described by Vigne as a man of great personal strength. He says (ii, p. 234):—'Ahmed Shah, though not standing more than 5 ft. 11 in., was one of the tallest men in the country. His personal strength is said to have been very great, and many of his feats are recorded; one, I remember, was that he had broken a gun-barrel in half with his hands. He must now be a man between 65 and 70 years of age.' Of his personal appearance and character, he says (ii, pp. 236–7):—'The Gylfo's (Rgyal-po's) eyes were not large, but dark and penetrating, his eyebrows large and black, his nose and mouth well formed, his beard a little silvered, and his expression highly indicative of shrewdness and intelligence . . . I never detected him in a falsehood, and from the first day of my arrival, until that of my departure, his behaviour was always kind and respectful.'

Ahmad-Shāh's quarrel with his son Muhammad-Shāh is also mentioned by Cunningham, who says that it led to the conquest of Baltistan by Zorawar-Singh in 1841 A.D. The *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* (*supra*, p. 131) says that the Dogra army was led through the gorges of Baltistan by the chief of Mkhar-maṅ. This was a chief of the family of Muhammad-Shāh's mother. He probably took the side of Muhammad-Shāh because his family had been offended by Muhammad-Shāh's deposition.

Vigne's book contains (ii, p. 221) interesting portraits of Ahmad-Shāh of Baltistan in 1835 and of his son, Ahmad-'Alī-Khān.

The following is an attempt of my own to furnish the Balti chiefs with approximate dates:—

'Alī-Sher-Khān	1570–1600 A.D.	Contemporary of Ḫjam-dbyaṅs-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh.
Ahmad-Khān, and his brothers, Abdul and Adam-Khān	c. 1600–1630 A.D.	Contemporaries of Shāh-Jahān 1628–1658 A.D.
Shāh-Murād	c. 1630–1670 A.D.	Contemporary of Aurangzīb 1658–1707 A.D.
Rafir-Khān	c. 1670–1700 A.D.	
Sultān-Murād	c. 1700–1730 A.D.	
Zufur-Khān	c. 1730–1760 A.D.	Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
'Alī-Sher-Khān	c. 1760–1790 A.D.	" " 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḫdzin'.
Ahmad-Khān	c. 1790–1841 A.D.	Contemporary of Vigne, Zorawar, etc., 1835 A.D., born c. 1770 A.D.
Muhammad-Shāh	c. 1841–1860 (?) A.D.	Born in c. 1820 A.D.

It is interesting that Muhammad-'Alī-Khān was placed on the inauguration stone when he was 13 years of age. Many Tibetan kings have begun to reign at 13 years of age.

VIII. The Genealogies of the Balti Chiefs

Cunningham visited Ladakh and the neighbouring countries in 1846 and 1847, a short time after Ladakh and Baltistan had lost their independence. On his journey he collected the various pedigrees of the dethroned Balti chiefs. He does not tell us from what source they were drawn, but it is very probable that these lists of names were read to him from the historical books of the Baltis, which are written in the native alphabet of Baltistan. Possibly the historical books did not contain anything but lists of names. In my article 'Ten ancient historical songs from Western Tibet' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1909, pp. 57 sqq.), I remarked that all the lines of Balti chiefs were in all probability descended from one common ancestor. I stated that the present pedigrees of the Balti chiefs all date from Muhammadan times, and contain only partly reliable matter. With a view to a trustworthy point of chronology a note in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* may prove useful. It is there stated that 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān, who was apparently master of all Baltistan, invaded Ladakh. This 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān is generally called only by one or two of his names, and can be traced in all the Balti pedigrees, which were collected by Cunningham. On p. 30, where the dukes (*dmag-dpon*) of Kha-pu-lu are given, we find as No. 58 a Sultan-Mir-Khan. On p. 31, among the dukes of Kye-ris, as No. 3, there occurs a Raja Ali-Mir-Sher. On p. 32, among the dukes of Parkuda, we find an Ali-Sher-Khan as No. 4. On p. 33, among the dukes of Shigar (Śi-dkar), as No. 15, an Ali-Mir is found. On p. 35, among the dukes of Sbal-ti-Skar-rdo, as No. 1, the name Ali-Sher may be read. On p. 37, among the dukes of Roṅ-mdo, the name Ali-Sher occurs as No. 1. Thus we see that the same duke is found in the genealogies eight, nine, or ten generations before the year 1830 A.D. Only in the case of Shigar (Śi-dkar) are there thirteen names before 1830. Here a younger brother may have occasionally followed an elder brother. My belief is that all the present lines of Balti chiefs are descended from 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān, who was master of the country from *c.* 1570–1600 A.D., and that there is no certainty about the names preceding him. Now I see that Cunningham was told practically the same thing by the natives themselves. He says on p. 28, 'The chiefs of Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu) and Keris, who both trace their families up from Bewán-cho, declare that all the chiefs of these countries are descended from Bikam, the tenth generation from Bewán-cho.' Now it does not make much difference whether we take Bikam or 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān as the founder of the lines of Balti chiefs; for Bikam is 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān's great-grandfather, according to the Kha-pu-lu pedigree.

The following is Cunningham's list (*Ladák*, p. 29) of Gyalpos (kings) of Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu) :—

(a) THE RAJAS OF KHA-PU-LU (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Sultan Sikandar.
2. Sultan Ibrahim.
3. Sultan Ishāk.
4. Abdul Ralimad.
5. Mir Barāhir.
6. Arman Samāhir.
7. Beshrab Nam.
8. Tinlu Tung.
9. Sultan Mahmud.
10. Mehndi Ghazāli.
11. Mehndi Ibrahim.
12. Mehndi Malik Haider Shah.
13. Sultan Malik Ghazāli.
14. Sultan Malik Shah.
15. Sultan Juned Shah.
16. Sultan Haider Shah.
17. Sultan Haider Karār.
18. Sultan Shah Ibrahim.
19. Sultan Johar Fani.
20. Sultan Najm Malik.
21. Sultan Malik Rustam.
22. Sultan Mehndi Mir.
23. Sultan Malik Mir.
24. Sultan Malik Jahar.
25. Sāad Ulla Khan.
26. Sāad Karun Beg.
27. Sāad Jalil Khan.
28. Sāad Rustam Beg.
29. Sāad Atta Ulla Khan.
30. Sāad Khalil Khan.
31. Sāad Yakub Khan.
32. Sāad Mir Ghazi.
33. Sāad Malik Purnur.
34. Sāad Babūr Malik.
35. Sāad Mokhim Khan.
36. Sāad Shah Azim Beg.
37. Sāad Gohar Beg.
38. Sāad Malik Shah Shujā.
39. Sultan Yagu.
40. Sultan Yagu Latif Beg.[1]
41. Sultan Yagu Sher Ghazi.
42. Sultan Jagu Ahmed Ghazi.
43. Sultan Nur Ghazi.
44. Sultan Alemgir Ghazi.
45. Sultan Biwān-Cho.
46. Sultan Hil Ghazi.
47. Sultan Sher Ghazi.
48. Sultan Beg Mantar.
49. Sultan Torab Khan.
50. Sultan Salmundē.
51. Sultan Brol Dē.
52. Sultan Malik Baz.
53. Sultan Arzona.
54. Sultan Tikam.
55. Sultan Bikam.
56. Sultan Kurkor.
57. Sultan Bairam.
58. Sultan Mir Khan, c. 1570–1600 A.D.
59. Sultan Ibrahim, c. 1600–1630.
60. Sultan Ghazi Mir Cho, c. 1630–1660.
61. Sultan Husen Khan, c. 1660–1690.
62. Sultan Rahim Khan, c. 1690–1720.
63. Sultan Hakim Khan, c. 1720–1750. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
64. Sultan Daolut Khan, c. 1750–1780. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje'.
65. Sultan Mahmud Ali Khan, c. 1780–1810.
66. Sultan Yahia Khan, c. 1810–1840. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.
67. Sultan Daolut Ali Khan reigning in 1846. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'
68. Has a son, Md. Ali Khan. Mentioned in the 'Grant of land to Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin'.

NOTES

Kha-pu-lu stretches 25 miles down the Shayok (Śá-gyog) river, beyond Daho, the whole length of the chiefdom being 67 miles. As the mean breadth is about 30 miles, the area will be 2,010 square miles. The mean height of the villages is about 9,000 feet. (Cunningham, p. 28.)

As stated by Cunningham (p. 28), the above genealogical tree opens with Sultan-Sikandar, or Alexander the Great, whose successors were Abraham and Isaac. Cunningham believed that after Sultan-Yagu, the thirty-ninth name, the list was tolerably correct, because the name Yagu has descended to the present day as a title in the family, the present chief (in 1846) being styled Sultan-Yagu-Daolut-Ali-Khan. Of course, the Kha-pu-lu chiefs may have had an ancestor called Yagu; but Cunningham should not have made 1410 A.D. his probable date. He places him in the beginning of the fifteenth century, because he wants him to be a contemporary of the Kashmir king, Sikander-Butshikan, the fanatic Musalman. But, in order to place him there, he finds it necessary to furnish each one of the Kha-pu-lu chiefs with an average reign of only fifteen years. This is altogether too short. Experience has shown me that about thirty years is the average length of each reign in Tibet. It will be safest

[1] Cunningham's dates begin here: they differ from those given below.

therefore, to begin our chronology of Kha-pu-lu with Sultān-Mīr-Khān (in full probably 'Alī-Mīr-Sher-Khān), and to place his reign in the second half of the sixteenth century. Of some interest is the occurrence of the Tibetan title *Cho* (*Jo*), 'prince,' 'chief,' in the names of two of the chiefs.

NOTES TAKEN FROM MISS DUNCAN'S *SUMMER RIDE* (pp. 201–65)

Miss Duncan spent several weeks of the summer of 1904 at Kha-pu-lu. The legitimate chief of the place in 1904 was Rājā Nāsir-'Alī-Khān, son of the late Rājā Hātim-Khān. As Nāsir-'Alī-Khān was a minor, his uncle Rājā Muhammad-Sher-'Alī-Khān was in charge of the government. The people of Kha-pu-lu are adherents of the Shiah sect of Musalmans, and the Kha-pu-lu mosques are built in Kashmirian style. A few people belong to the Nūr Bakhsh sect (p. 243). Compare Miss Duncan's picture (p. 200) of the famous mosque of Chag-Chang, 1½ miles from the capital. This mosque is believed to be 400 years old, and the beautifully carved walnut panels were stated to have been inserted 200 years ago. The mosque is said to have been built on the site of a Buddhist temple, and a brass plate over the door to have covered a document stating the age of the building. There was also an inscription on a beam in the veranda, which the maulvī said referred to its history. As Miss Duncan rightly remarks (pp. 239, 240), it would be interesting to have a translation of it · for it might throw some light on the question as to when Muhammadanism was introduced into the country. The ancient castle of Kha-pu-lu, high up above the present village, was also visited by Miss Duncan (p. 220). It was a complete ruin. Another observation of interest is that at the great Tamasha telescopic trumpets, like those of the Lamaist mystery plays, were used at Kha-pu-lu.

With regard to the question as to whether the name of Kha-pu-lu is of Dard or Tibetan origin, let me note that in the Kesar-saga (S.N., i) a sacrificial goat of the name of Ka-bu-lu is mentioned. Thus the name may be of Tibetan origin.

The following notes on the relationship of Kha-pu-lu to Ladakh are found on pp. 30 and 31 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 30. རྒྱལ་མོ་ཟི་ཟི་ཡིས། ཁ་ཧྥུ་ལོོ་ན་གྲོག་མར་གཉེན་སྡེབས་སྐབས། བདག་གི་མེས་ཧ་ད་ཁན་དང་། ཞང་པོ་རྡབ་ལད་ཁན་གྱི[ས]་ཟི་ཟི་ཞིག་ལ་བཏང་ནས། སྲས་བྱུང་ན། སྟེང་མཁར་གནང་བའི་ཆད་སོ་བཅུང་བ་ཡིན་ཡང་། ཟི་ཟིའི་ཁ་དབང་ལ་མ་བཞག་པས། ད་ལྟ་ངེད་ལ་མེད་པ། ད་ཆ་ཟི་ཟི་ཁ་དབང་ཡིན་གསུང་ཚེ། དེ་ཡང་ངེད་ལ་འཇག་དགོས་ཟེར། . . .

p. 31. ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་མངའ་འོག་ཁ་ཧྥུ་ལོ་འདུ་ཚུལ་སྙན་པར་བརྗོད་པའི་སྒོ་ཙམ་ལས། ཇོ་ཁག་དེ་དེ་དམག་ལྷ་སྐྱོང་གི་བདག་པོ་དེ[ས]་སྐར་རྡོ་རེས་ལ་དྭགས་འདུད་པ་གཉེན་འབྲེལ་གང་ཟབ་ལ་ལྷོས་པ་ཞིག་ལས་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་མངའ་འོག་ཏུ་གཏོགས་ཙམ་ལས། ཟླ་རེས་ཇོ་ཁག་བཞིན་ངེས་པར་འདུ་བར་ཡང་མིན། . . .

TRANSLATION

p. 30. Queen Zi-zi said: 'On the occasion when a friendly relationship was established at Kha-hphu-loo, and when my forefather Ha-da-khan (Haidar-Khān ?) and my uncle Rdab-lad-khan (Daulat-Khān ?) gave Zi-zi to wife [to the Ladakhi king], an agreement was made [as follows]: "If a boy should be born, Steṅ-mkhar will be given [to him]." As it was not put on Zi-zi's *kha-dbaṅ* (personal authority ?), it does not now belong to us. Now that it has been said that Zi-zi is *kha-dbaṅ* (become of age ? authoritative ?), it must be placed at our [disposal].'

p. 31. To speak pleasantly about the fact that Kha-hphu-lo was brought under

La-dvags, the chief of that principality, which owns 5,000 soldiers, had in turns to bow before Skar-rdo and before La-dvags, and out of regard to his near kinship (?) he was not to such a degree under the Ladakhis, as are the Pu-rig chiefs.

NOTES

Queen Zi-zi was one of the wives of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. She is probably identical with 'A-yum-khri-rgyal-om buried in the Muhammadan burial-ground at Hun-dar, Nub-ra. Steṅ-mkhar is not known to me; but, as the name means Upper Castle, it may refer to the Leh Castle, the residence of the kings. It is quite probable that Queen Zi-zi had received a promise that her son would be heir to the throne of Ladakh.

(b) THE RAJAS OF KERIS (KYE-RIS) (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Biwan-cho.[1]
2. Lëo.
3. Raja Ali Mir Sher, c. 1570–1600 A.D.
4. Ahmed Mir.
5. Amir.
6. Ali Khan, reigning in A.D. 1685.
7. Mir-Beg.
8. Mirza-Beg.
9. Zulfikar Khan.
10. Kuram Ali Khan [reigning in 1846 A.D.].

Cunningham remarks (p. 31) that the district of Keris (Kye-ris) is situated along the lower course of the Shayok, just above its junction with the Indus. It is about 16 miles in length, and 10 miles in mean breadth. Its area is not more than 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 8,000 feet. The present chief, Kuram-'Alī-Khān, gives the above genealogy of his family.

Regarding Cunningham's date (p .31) of 'Alī-Khān (1685) I must say that there exists little foundation for it. He seems to have based it on his date for the battle of Bab-sgo. But at the same time he seems to have forgotten that according to his own statement on p. 326 a certain 'Alī-Khān had nothing to do with the battle of Bab-sgo. He mentions him as a chief of Baltistan during the time of Bde-ldan's conquest of Baltistan.

A rājā of Kye-ris (Kiris) is also mentioned by Miss Duncan (p. 276) and other modern travellers; but personal names are not given. Kye-ris is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, 1905, pp. 93 sqq.).

(c) THE DMAG-DPONS OF PARKUDA (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. Bokha.[1]
2. Sher.
3. Ghazi.
4. Ali Sher Khan, c. 1570–1600 A.D.
5. Ahmed Khan, c. 1600–1630.
6. Sher Shah, c. 1630–1660.
7. Azizcho, c. 1660–1690.
8. Azim Khan, c. 1690–1720.
9. Sahadat Khan, c. 1720–1750.
10. Abdul Rahim, c. 1750–1780.
11. Mahomed Ali, c. 1780–1810.
12. Ali Sher Khan, c. 1810–1840.
Son, Jafar Ali Khan.

NOTES

Cunningham remarks (p. 31) that the present chiefdom of Parguta (Parkuda) extends from Sarmik (probably Gser-mig), 10 miles above the confluence of the Shayok and Indus, to Goltari, near the junction of the Dras river, thus including both Khartaksha (Mkhar-maṅ) and Tolti (Rtal-ti ?). Its length is about 43 miles, its mean breadth 32 miles, and its area 1,548 square miles. The mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,800 feet.

As correctly stated by Cunningham, 'Alī-Sher-Khān conquered Ladakh and bequeathed his possessions to his son, Ahmad-Khān. But we must add that he did not do this as Duke of Parkuda, but as master of all Baltistan. The Rgyal-pos of Sbal-ti always selected their wives from the family of the dukes of Parkuda, as the most exalted of their neighbours.

Although a number of modern travellers have passed through Parkuda, none of them mention the names of recent chiefs. It is interesting that the old title of *Dmag-dpon*, 'leader of the army' (duke, Herzog), has been preserved in this family. The title *cho* (*Jo*, 'prince' or 'chief') is also found after the name of one of the dukes.

[1] Cunningham assigns dates, not given here, to all these rulers.

Parkuda is claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies; the same must be said of Khartaksha (Manthrokhar of the Dards) (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', song No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 93 sqq.). It was the chief of Parkuda (or Mkhar-maṅ) who acted as way-leader to Zorawar on his expedition against Skar-rdo. It was probably also a chief of the same line (Kālamānya = Mkhar-maṅ) who according to Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (vv. 157–8) of Kashmir killed Riñchana-Bhoṭṭa's father (*c.* 1320 A.D.).

(*d*) The Chiefs of Shigar (Śi-dkar) (Cunningham's Spelling)

1. 'Āmāchah.[1]
2. Chāh-tham.
3. Chama-tham.
4. Yaksir Gao-tham.
5. Khomulgo-tham.
6. Gobūlgo-tham.
7. Khān.
8. Makhān.
9. Ram.
10. Rahmūm.
11. Daolat Shah.
12. Haripal Marchak.
13. Ambarot.
14. Ghazi Mir.
15. Ali Mir (1570–1600).
16. Ama Chan Dē.
17. Ghir-ze.
18. Haidar Khan.
19. Hasan Khan.
20. Imām Kuli Khan.
21. Kuli Khan.
22. Azem Khan.
23. Ali Khan.
24. Husen Khan.
25. Mohammed Khan.
26. Koli Khan.
27. Sulimān Khan, *c.* 1830.

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (p. 32)

The little chiefdom of Shigar is confined entirely to the valley of the Shigar river. Its length, from south-east to north-west, is 72 miles, and its breadth 36 miles. Its area is 2,592 square miles, and the probable mean height of its villages above the sea is not less than 8,000 feet.

Shigar possesses a chief of its own, but he has generally been subject to the chiefs of Balti. The above genealogy was obtained from Sulimān-Khan, the present (1846) chief of Shigar. It is curious because the title *tham* or 'king', borne by the earlier princes, proves that the family must be connected with the Dards of Hunza-Nagar, whose chiefs bear the same title at present.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

The occurrence of the Dard title *tham*, 'king,' in the above genealogy is, of course, of great interest, but it does not necessarily prove a relationship of the Śi-dkar chiefs to the Hunza-Nagar chiefs. It simply points to the Dard origin of all the Balti chiefs. The title *tham* is also found once in the genealogy of the Cig-tan chiefs. Śi-dkar is also claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies (see 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival', No. vi, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, 1905, pp. 93 sqq.).

NOTES FROM MISS DUNCAN'S *SUMMER RIDE* (p. 291)

Although Miss Duncan does not give the names of any members of the chief's family, she mentions the famous polo-place of Śi-dkar (picture in Vigne's *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 289), three butts for archery, like those found in most Balti villages, and the large and very handsome mosque of the place. Regarding the mosque she says:—'A broad flight of steps leads to a spacious veranda, in which I lingered long, gazing with delight at the rich carving on door-posts and window-frames, the designs in most cases being the same as those at Khapallu, but much more finely executed. The moulvie . . . said that a round brass plate over the lintel of the door covers a document giving the age of the building, which he stated to be a thousand years (!).'

Vigne says (ii, p. 292) that about 6 miles from the rājā's castle at Śi-dkar there is a defile on the left, from which steatite is procured in great abundance. This steatite is turned into cups and plates by the Baltis. Vigne also states that Śi-dkar was conquered by Rājā 'Ali-Sher-Khān (father of Ahmad-Khān) of Skar-rdo.

Cunningham assigns dates to all these rulers.

The following notes on the conquest of Śi-dkar are found on p. 46 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 46. མུལ་བེ་རྒྱལ་པོས། དེང་ནས་དེ་དོན་ལ་ཏུ་བར་འགལ་བ་མ་བྱས་ཀྱང་། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་དེ་རྗེས་སྦལ་ཏིའི་ཡུལ་དུ་མི་ཉམས་ཅན་རྩལ་པ་དང་། དཀར་རྡོ་ཇོ་བོའི་དཔུང་གྲོགས་ས་སྐྱོང་བ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་དམག་ཚོགས་བཅས་གཏང་ནས། ཤི་དཀར་གྱི་མཁར་ཕབ། བྷན་ཏི་དང་ནང་ཁོངས་ཅིག་ཏུ་དྲིལ་ནས། པུ་རིག་འཛོམས་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། . . .

TRANSLATION

p. 46. The king of Mul-be (Pu-rig) says: 'Although we (the Pu-rig people) did not transgress (?) in that respect (on that purpose ?), many strong and experienced men [went] after that from La-dvags to Sbal-tiḥi-yul; and, as the chief of Skar-rdo sent an auxiliary force, filling the earth [and like] the ocean, the castle of Śi-dkar was reduced, and Bhan-ti and Naṅ-khoṅs were united. The aim [of all this] was the conquest of Purig. . . .'

NOTES

This conquest of Śi-dkar by the united forces of Skar-rdo and La-dvags must have taken place between the years 1730 and 1750 A.D. The purpose of this war seemed to be the conquest of Pu-rig, as surmised by Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal of Pu-rig. This is probably not true. Bhan-ti is not known to me. It may be a name of Śi-dkar. Naṅ-khoṅs is the same as Naṅ-goṅ (Baltistan).

(e) THE RGYAL-POS OF BALTI (SBAL-TI)[1]

1. Ali Sher, c. 1570–1600 A.D.
2. Ahmed, c. 1600–1630 A.D.
3. Shah Murad, c. 1630–1670 A.D.
4. Rafi Khān, c. 1670–1700 A.D.
5. Sultān Murād Khān, c. 1700–1730 A.D.
6. Zafar Khan, c. 1730–1760 A.D.
7. Ali Sher Khan, c. 1760–1790 A.D.
8. Ahmed Shah, c. 1790–1841 A.D.
9. Mahomed Shah, c. after 1841 A.D.

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (p. 35)

Balti or Balti-yul is called Palolo, or Balor (Bolor), by the Dards, and Nang-kod (Naṅ-goṅ) by the Tibetans. Balti (Sbal-ti) is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest, as it is presented by Ptolemy in Byltae. (Let me add that, according to Sir A. Stein, it is the 'Great Poliu' of the Chinese historians of the eighth century, 'Little Poliu' being their name for Gilgit.—F.) The country is also frequently called Skardo (Skar-rdo), from the name of its well-known fort and capital. (Let me add that the name Skar-[chuṅ]-rdo-[dbyiṅs] is mentioned in c. 804 A.D. as that of a Buddhist temple in the province of Rgya (Ladakh). A place called Gomba-Skardo is actually marked on the Indian Survey map, about 5 miles west of the present town of Skar-rdo. Gomba is the vulgar pronunciation of the Tibetan *Dgon-pa*, 'monastery.' Baltistan is the 'Little Tibet' of the Kashmir chroniclers.—F.)

Balti proper is a small district bounded by Shigar (Śi-dkar) on the north, by Keris (Kye-ris) and Parguta (Parkuda) on the east, by Gures on the south, and by Astor and Rongdo (Roṅ-mdo) on the west. Including the tableland of Deotsu, it is about 60 miles long and 36 broad. Its area is about 2 160 square miles, and the mean height of its villages above the sea is about 7,000 feet.

[1] The spelling is Cunningham's, but not the dates.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

For the fuller history of this dynasty, the most powerful which ruled over all the other chiefs of Baltistan, see *infra*, 'Ahmad-Shāh's Chronicles of Baltistan.' Cunningham has (p. 36) the following note on the fate of Ahmad-Shāh after 1841 :—'In the winter of 1841, Ahmed Shah accompanied the unfortunate expedition against Lhasa; and on Zorāwar's death, was taken prisoner and confined in Balwāltē near Lhasa, where he soon died. Balti is now held in jaghir by Muhammad Shah, the disinherited son of Ahmed Shah, who pays an annual tribute of Rs. 7,000 to Maharaja Gulūb Sing, of Kashmir.' (Dr. Hutchison, of Chamba, however, tells me that the tomb of the Balti king Ahmad-Shāh is found in Kashṭawar.)

Miss Duncan gives us (pp. 305–6) the name of a Rājā who reigned at Skar-rdo a few years before 1905, Shāh-Abbās. Shāh-Abbās died in 1898. No other name is forthcoming. She saw the Rājā and his court hawk-hunting. She visited the ruins of the times of the Dogra wars, and has the following notes on them :—'We paid a visit to the lower of the two old killas, which was partly destroyed by the Dogras, . . . but which has been restored; it is built on two shelves of a projecting spur of the great rock in the middle of the valley. At the foot of the rock there are a few ruins, which Dr. Thomson describes as exhibiting in 1847 the remains of former magnificence, including a part of a marble fountain, but of this we saw nothing; they are probably the ruins of the palace of Ahmed Shah. . . The highest peak of the rock, about 1,200 or 1,400 feet above the valley, is precipitous on all sides; in the small upper killa perched on the top of it, the Rajah Ahmed Shah took refuge during the Dogra siege, having laid in a stock of provisions to last for three years. For some time he defied his enemies, who could not find any way of getting at him till, according to local tradition, a faithless subject betrayed him for a bribe, and showed the pathway.' Another note of interest is that the Indus is called Attak (or Attock) immediately below Skar-rdo, according to Miss Duncan.

Skar-rdo is also claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies. See my article, 'The Eighteen Songs of the Bono-nā Festival,' *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 93 sqq. A picture of the Skar-rdo rock in 1836 is given in Vigne's *Travels* (ii, p. 192).

(*f*) The Chiefs of Roṅ-mdo [1]

1. Ali Sher, *c.* 1570–1600 A.D.
2. Ahmed Khan, *c.* 1600–1630 A.D.
3. Ali Shah, *c.* 1630–1660 A.D.
4. Daolat Sher, *c.* 1660–1690 A.D.
5. Assad Ulla Khan, *c.* 1690–1720 A.D.
6. Mahomed Ali Khan, *c.* 1720–1750 A.D.
7. Murad Khan, *c.* 1750–1780 A.D.
8. Abbas Beg, *c.* 1780–1810 A.D.
9. Ali Khan, *c.* 1810–1846 (reigning in 1846).
10. Husen Khan (son).
11. Abdullah Khan (grandson).

NOTES BY CUNNINGHAM (pp. 36–7)

Rongdo (Roṅ-mdo) is the last Tibetan district on the Indus to the westward of Balti (Sbal-ti). On the north lie Shigar (Śi-dkar) and Hunza-Nager, and to the west and south are Gilgit and Astor. The name means 'district of defiles' (lit. Lower Valley of defiles.—F.), and is descriptive of the bed of the Indus, which throughout Rongdo is a deep rocky gorge. The district extends from Gurbidas to a tree at Makpon-i-Shang-Rong (Dmag-dpon-gyi-spyaṅ(?)-roṅ), a distance of 45 miles, with a mean breadth of 32 miles. Its area is about 1,440 square miles, and the mean height of its villages about 6,200 feet. The chief of Rongdo claims descent from the Makpons of Balti, to whom the district has always been subject.

NOTES BY THE AUTHOR

Roṅ-mdo is not claimed by the Gilgit Dards as one of their colonies, but many of the villages in the neighbourhood have Dard names. A Tibetan inscription mentioning a royal archer was discovered near Roṅ-mdo by the Rev. Mr. Gustavson, of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission. It is mentioned in my *Collection of Tibetan Inscriptions*, under No. 9. A picture of the Indus at the Roṅ-mdo bridge is given in Cunningham's *Ladák* (Plate III).

[1] Spelling Cunningham's, but not the dates.

IX. The Chronicles of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ in Lahul

When stationed at Kye-laṅ, Lahul, as a missionary, I asked Thākur Amar-Chand of Ko-loṅ to show me his family chronicles, if he had any. He said that his father, Hari-Chand, had compiled a chronicle in 1880 A.D., but that the information contained in it was drawn from older documents. Amar-Chand recently brought it up to date. Amar-Chand very kindly had the chronicles copied for me in the original Urdū, and he also ordered his munshi to prepare an English translation for my use. Besides the Urdū chronicles Amar-Chand produced also a genealogical tree of his family in Tibetan, and several other Tibetan documents. A number of letters by Kuḷū kings to the chiefs of Ko-loṅ were discovered at Ko-loṅ by Mr. Howell. Stone inscriptions containing the names of several former chiefs of Ko-loṅ have been discovered in the vicinity of the castle of Ko-loṅ.

Ko-loṅ is situated on the right bank of the river Bhāgā, about 16 miles above the confluence of the rivers Chandrā and Bhāgā. Ko-loṅ was the capital of a small chieftainship, which in its best days extended from the confluence of the Chandrā and Bhāgā to the Baralatsa pass, on the right bank of the river. This narrow strip of land was their own property, but since the reign of Mān-Siṅgh of Kuḷū, 1674–1717 A.D., they had to watch over the interests of the Kuḷū kings in the whole of Lahul. Lahul then, as now, comprised the valleys of the Chandrā, and the Bhāgā, and of the united rivers down to Tirot.

The chiefs of Ko-loṅ are never mentioned in the chronicles of the neighbouring countries, but Lahul as a whole is referred to occasionally in the chronicles of Ladakh and Kuḷū. Under the first great king of Ladakh, Ñi-ma-mgon, a country called Spyi-lcogs is mentioned. According to K. Marx, Spi-lcogs probably stands for Lahul. Later on two Tibetan conquests of Kuḷū are described, under the Ladakhi kings Lha-chen-Utpala and Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I. In both cases Lahul was apparently included in the conquest, although it is not specially mentioned. Then, during the reign of the last independent Ladakhi king, Tshe-dpal-rnam-rgyal, Lahul is repeatedly referred to under its Tibetan name Gar-ža. Let me add that the name Lahul is entirely unknown among the Tibetans.

In the chronicles of Kuḷū Lahul is repeatedly mentioned in the first legendary chapters, and again in the chapter referring to the conquest of Lahul by the Kuḷū kings in the seventeenth century. Here the name Lahul is used for the country.

The first European who published a pedigree (in Urdū) of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ was Col. Massey. In his publication the pedigree begins with No-no-Chuṅ-ṅun (Chogan) and Seṅ-ge. To the pedigree is added a brief account of the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras, which would be rather out of place here.

[1]مورث[2] اعلی قوم چهتری طرف ٹهاکر چاندلا یعنی چندر بنسي

نیل چند — پاپال گوت گوتم

صورت چند

بهیم چند

بهاگی چند

دهرم چند — سنگه

دیپ چند

گیان چند

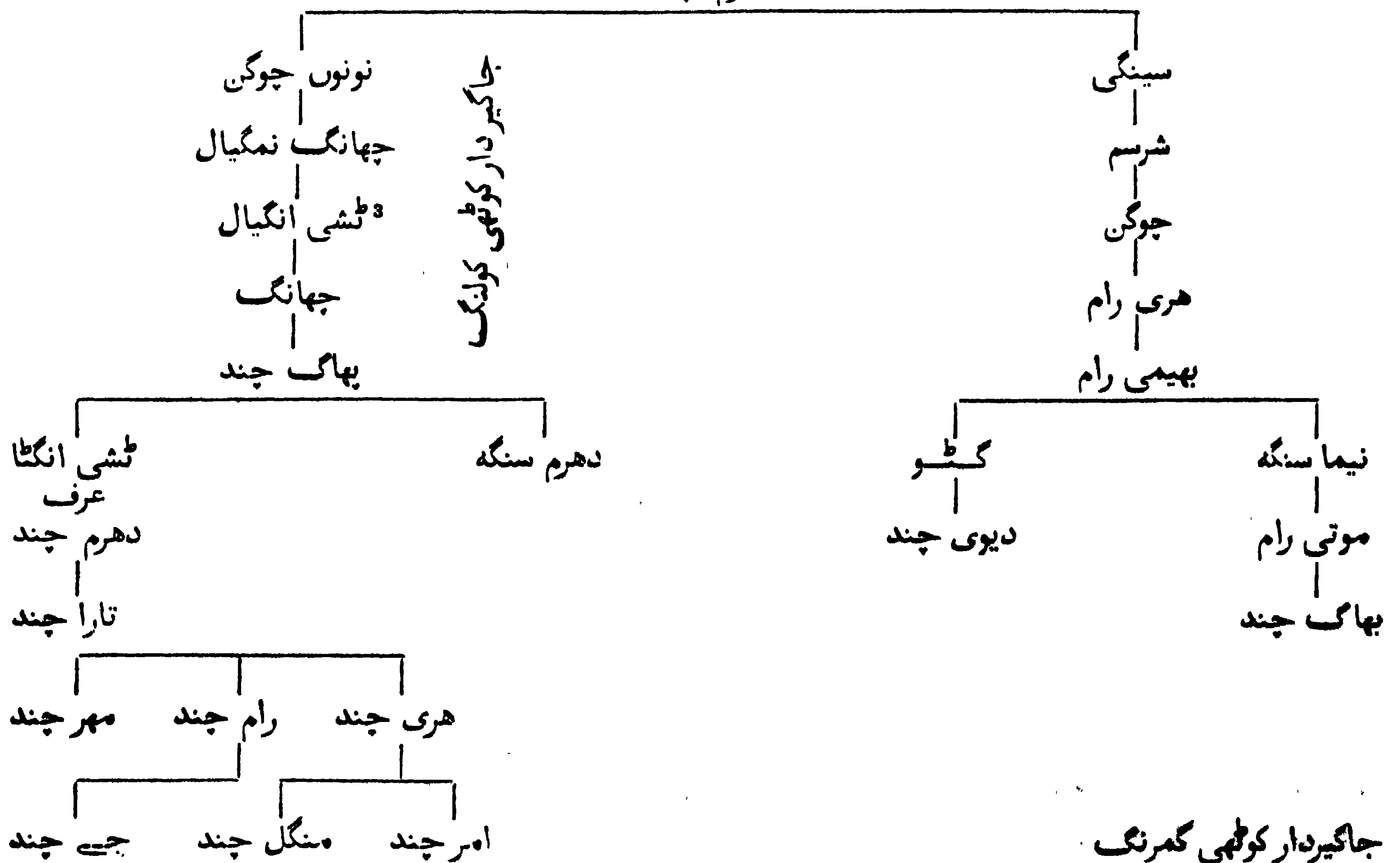
ٹیک چند

رام چند

دیال چند

فتح چند

کرم چند



[1] Text kindly revised by Col. D. C. Phillott, to whom the translation and notes also are due.

[2] Probably for مورث نامه, an incorrect word.

[3] In the text always تشی.

روایت خاندان

پہلے آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری کے وقت اس پہاڑمیں دو خاندان چھتری پال و رانا جی بجای مختلف علاقوں میں اپنی اپنی حکومت کرتے تھے ۔ س وقت علاقه بنگال میں ایک خاندان پال نے زیادہ زبردست ہو کر باقی چھوٹے چھوٹے خاندانوں پال و راؤں کو شکست دیکر انکے علاقه جات چھین کر اپنے قبضه میں کر لئے ۔ اسوقت تخمیناً آٹهه سو برس کا عرصه گذرا ہوگا که رانا نیل چند قوم چھتری چندر بنسي عرف ٹھاکر چاندلا سورت همارا[1] جو کولنگ علاقه بنگال میں آپ ٹھا کر یعنی خود مختار رانا تھا ۔

پال مذکور کے ظلم کی برداشت نه کرکے علاقۂ لاهل میں (که جهاں پہلے هی وہ شکار کھیلنے کی خاطر آیا کرتا تھا اور اس علاقه کی حالت سے واقف تھا) مسمی اجو پال طوطیا ٹھاکر کے پاس جو پال خاندان میں سے ایک خود مختار رانا تھا آگیا ۔

چونکه طوطیا ٹھاکر سوا ے ایک دختر کے اور کوئی پسر اپنا وارث نه رکھتا تھا اس لئے اس نے اپنی دختر کی شادی رانا نیل چند کے ساتهه کرکے اسکو گھرداماد بناکر رکه لیا ۔ بعد وفات طوطیا ٹھاکر مذکور رانا نیل چند بجائے اس کے اس علاقه کا خود مختار ٹھاکر بن گیا ۔ اور طوطیا [کے] علاقه کو اپنے پہلے مکان کولنگ کے نام سے مشہور کیا ۔ چونکه اسوقت آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری کا وقت تھا اس لئے اردگرد اوس نے فتح کرکے اپنا علاقه وسیع کرلیا ۔

طول شرقاً غرباً از لینگٹی تا جگ لوائی سرحد کوٹھی ٹھنڈی ساٹهه میل ۔ عرض شمالاً جنوباً کم سے کم تیس میل زیادہ سے زیادہ بیس میل ۔ نیل چند کا بیٹا صورت چند ۔ صورت چند کا بهیم چند ۔ بهیم چند کا بھاگی چند ۔ بھاگی چند کا دهرم چند ۔ دهرم چند کا دیپ چند ۔ دیپ چند کا گیان چند ۔ گیان چند کا ٹیک چند ۔ ٹیک چند کا رام چند ۔ رام چند کا دیال چند ۔ دیال چند کا فتح چند ۔ فتح چند کا کرم چند هوئے ۔ دس پشت دیال چند تک بدستور آپ ٹھاکری یعنی خود مختاری اس خاندان کی چلی آئی ۔ فتح چند کے وقت تبت کے راجه کا لاهل پر قبضه هوگیا ۔ مگر دس خاندان کا علاقه بدستور اپنے قبضه میں رہا ۔ بلکه ماتحت تبت کی اس خاندان کی حکومت کل علاقه لاهل پر وسیع هوگئی ۔ کرم چند کے وقت تک تخمیناً ایک سو برس حکومت تبت کی اس علاقه پر رهی ۔ اسیوقت لاماں گوروں کا علاقه هذا میں دخل هوا ۔ یهی وجه هے که کرم چند سے نیچے همارے بزرگوں کا نام لاماں گورو[2] تبت کی زبان میں اکھٹے رهے ۔ بعد سینگی و نونوں جوگن پسران کرم چند کے وقت راجه تبت کا زور حکومت کم هو جانیکے سبب علاقۂ لاهل پر حکومت راجه مان سنگهه کلو والے کی هوگئي ۔ اس وقت بهی اس خاند ان کا علاقه بدستور رہا ۔ اگرچه اس خاندان کا اوّل سے یهه دستور چلا آیا هے که بڑا بیٹا علاقه کا مالک هوتارہا اور چهوٹے بیٹے اس کے ماتحت بطور دو تهها ئیں بیٹھے رهے اس لئے دو تهها ئیوں کا نام پهلے شجرۂ نسب میں نهیں درج هوتارہا ۔ چونکه سنگی[3]

[1] The probable reading should be جو همارا بزرگ تها. [2] جو لامان گرو تهے? [3] Elsewhere سینگی.

و نونوں چوکن دونوں بهائی برابر طاقتور تهے اس لئے ان دونوں میں راجه مان سنگهه کے وقت علاقه کی تقیسم هوکر دونوں برابر برابر جاگیردار بن کر تابع راجه مان سنگهه والي کلو[1] کے هوئے ـ سنگی نے گمرنگ کے علاقه پر اپنا قبضه کرلیا ـ اور نونوں چوکن نولنگ کے علاقه پر قائم رها ـ اس سے آگے اس حاندان کی دو شاخیں هوکر جدا جدا سلسلۂ نسل اونکا آگے چلا ـ

سینگی کا بیٹا شرسُم هوا ـ شرسم کا چوکن ـ چوکن کا هری رام ـ هری رام کا بهیمی رام ـ بهیمی رام کے دو پسران نیما سنگهه وگٹو هوئے ـ نیما سنگهه کا موتی رام وگٹو کا دیوی چند هوئے ـ اسوقت موتی رام کا بیٹا بهاگ چند و دیوی چند خود جاگیر پر قابض هین ـ اوردوسرا سلسله نونوں چوکن کا بیٹا چهیانگ نمگیال اورچهیانگ نمگیال کا تشی انگیال ـ اور تشی انگیال کا چهیانگ ـ اورچهیانگ کا بهاگ چند ـ اور بهاگ چند کے دو پسران دهرم سنگهه وتشی انگٹا عرف دهرم چند پیدا هوئے ـ دهرم سنگهه لاولد مرگیا ـ دهرم چند کا پسر تارا چند اور تارا چند کے تین ٣ پسران ـ هری چند ـ رام چند ـ مهر چند هوئے ـ ٹهاکر تارا چند سنه ١٨٧٧ ع میں لنوی چوهتر ۷۴ سال کی عمر بسر کرکے سرگباس هوا ـ اور جاگیر کا داخلخارج حسب دستور قدیم مجهه ٹهاکرهری چند پسران[2] کلاں کے نام هوا هے ـ اور قابض هوں ـ اور میرے پیچهے میرا پسر برخوردار امر چند جو اسوقت عمر ڈیڑهه سال کا هوا هے وارث هوگا ـ

ٹهاکر رام چند کا پسر جیے چند موجود هے ـ مهر چند لاولد مرگیا ـ دو سو ٢٠٠ سال سے کچهه زیاده عرصه یعنی نونوں چوکن سے ٹهاکر تارا چند کے عهد تک یه علاقه راجگان کلو کے تابع رها ـ ٹهاکر تارا چند کے وقت هی سنه ١٨٤٣ ع میں راجه جیت سنگهه سے کلو کا علاقه سکهوں نے فتح کیا ـ اسوقت سے علاقه لاهل میں سکهوں کی ماتحت هوا[3] ـ چهه ٦ سال تک سکهوں کا عمل حکومت رها ـ تب بهی همارے خاندان کي جاگیرات مذکورد بالا بدستور قائم و برقرار رهیں ـ سنه ١٨٤٩ ع میں سرکار دولتمدار انگریز بهادر کا پنجاب پر تسلّط هوا ـ اسوقت میں بهی همارے خاندان کی یه دونوں جاگیرات بدستور قائم و برقرار رهین ـ یه تینوں انقلاب سلطنت ٹهاکر تارا چند کے وقت میں هوگئی تهیں ـ هماری جاگیرات کا دستور پهاڑی راجگان کے دستور کے مطابق یه هے ـ که ٹهاکر کا بڑا بیٹا ٹیکه کهلاتا هے ـ کل جاگیر اسی کا حق هوتا هے ـ دوسرے بهائی اُسکے دوتهائیں شمار هوتی هیں جو اس قدیمی جاگیر سے صرف گذاره کے مستحق هوتے هیں ـ اگرکسی اصلی ٹهاکر کا ٹیکه [نه] هو جائے تب قریب تر دوتهائیں حق جاگیر[4] تصور هوتا هے ـ تخمیناً عرصه آٹهه سو ٨٠٠ سال کے جب رانا نیل چند کولونگ علاقه بنگال سے آکر لاهل میں آباد هوا ـ اسی وقت ایک خاندان پال کا ـ ٹهاکر رتن پال گونده علاقه بنگال سے علاقه لاهل میں آکر مقام تینن آباد هوا ـ اور اپنے پهلے مکان کے نام پر تینن کو گونڈله مشهور کیا ـ جسکے خاندان کا اسوقت ٹهاکر هیرا چند جاگیردار گونڈله موجود هے ـ[5]

(اوّل) جب عملداری تبت کی [رهی] تابع میں توحکام تبت کے ماتحت [همارے بزرگ] کل علاقه لاهل پر حکومت کرتے رهے ـ

[1] For کلو والے ? [2] A slip for پسر. [3] A confused sentence. [4] جاگیر کا حق دار ?
[5] The whole of this sentence is obviously confused.

(۲) پهرجب تک راجگان کلوکے ماتحت رهی توجوتعلق راجگان کلّو و لداخ و تبت کے ساتهه تها وه سب خدمات همارے سپرد تهیں ـ همارے بزرگ انکو بجا لاتے رہے ـ

(۳) شروع عملداری سرکار انگریزی میں بلحاظ عزت خاندانی اول بتاریخ ۱۷ ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۵۴ ع میں کل علاوه لاهل کی خدمات نیگ پاره[1] ٹهاکر تارا چند کے سپرد هوئیں ـ وه بخوبي بجا لائی گئیں ـ اور حکام وقت و صاحبان یوروپین مسافسرین کی علاقه هذا میں ونیز سرحد تبت پر خدمات بجا لائی گئیں ـ علاوه تانخواه مقرره نیگ چاره[1] کے کل خالصه علاقه لاهل کا حق چرائی جنگلات بهی همکو معاف هے ـ

(۴) سنہ ۱۸۵۷ ع میں کہ جب مسٹر سلاگن‌ویٹ[2] صاحب بہادر افسر کمپاس علاقه یارکند[3] میں مارے گئے تهے ـ اسکا حال دریافت کرکے لانے کی خدمات گورنمنٹ سے سنہ ۱۸۵۸ ع میں مجهه ٹهاکر هری چند کے سپرد هوئی تهیں ـ چنانچه میں نے بذات خود لداخ جاکروہاں سے آگے اپنا خاص معتبر شخص علاقه یارکند میں بهیج کر مفصل حال صاحب ممدوح کے موت کا [دریافت کرلیا] که ولی خاں سردار کوکاں نے جو اسوقت ارد گرد یارکند کی لوٹ مار کیا کرتا تها ناحق صاحب ممدوح کو قتل کر دیا تها ـ دریافت کرکے بمقام جالندهر بحضور کرنیل لیک صاحب بہادر کمشنر حاضر هوکر سرکار میں گذارش کیا تها ـ اس خدمت کے صله میں سرکار دولتمدار سے مجهه کو ایک هزار ۱۰۰۰ روپه انعام اور چار سو ۴۰۰ روپه سفر خرچ عطا هوا تها ـ

(۵) سنہ ۱۸۶۱ ع میں جب خبر صاحبان انگریز کی چین سے شمله براسته لاسه وغیره پونچی هے تو حسب ایماے گورنمنٹ باجازت والد بزرگوار خود ٹهاکر تارا چند صاحب میں بذات خود برائے پیشوائی و خدمت گذاری صاحباں موصوف کے گادر و رودکهه علاقه تبت تک گیا تها ـ جب خبر نه آئی صاحبان موصوف کی میں تو واپس آکر حال دریافت شده سرکار میں گذارش کیا ـ اس خدمت کے صله میں خلعت و پروانه خوشنودی مزاج جناب نواب لفٹنٹ گورنر بهادر پنجاب بدستخط صاحب سکرٹری بهادر و مُهر دفتر گورنمنٹ عطا هوا ـ

(۶) اور سنہ ۱۸۶۱ ع میں سرکار سے بلحاظ غرت خاندانی و قدرداني خدمات والدم ٹهاکر تارا چند صاحب عهدهٔ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ پر سرفراز کیا گیا ـ اختیارات پولیس و فوجداری تحصیل درجه آول اور دیوانی و کلکٹری میں عسع ۱۰ تک عطا هوئی ـ جرمانه فوجداری معاف هوا ـ علاوه جاگیر قدیمی موروثی خود ایک سو ۱۰۰ روپے کی معافي کوٹهی بربوگ عطا هوا ـ

(۷) سنہ ۱۸۶۳ ع میں بموجب حکم مسٹر ریموٹن صاحب بهادر ڈپٹی کمشنر کانگڑه حسب منشاء سرکار دولتمدار بغرض قائم کرنے رابطه تجارت مابین هندوستان و تبت براسته یبستی گر علاقه تبت تک بذات خود گیا ـ اوروہاں کی حالت دریافت کرکے سرکار میں گذارش کی ـ اس وقت مبلغ پانچ سو ۵۰۰ روپیه سرکار سے انعام عطا هوا ـ

[1] Is پاره a proper name? Later occurs نیگ چاره. [2] Schlagintweit. [3] یارقند.

(۹) سنہ ۱۸۶۷ع میں بلحاظ کارگذاری و لیاقت وقدردانی خدمات والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند کے اختیارات میں اضافہ ہو کر آنریری مجسٹریٹ ماتحت درجہ سوئم کے اختیارات فوجداری اور دیوانی اختیارات آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنسٹ کمشنر کے مطابق اختیارات معمولی اسٹنٹ کمشنر ایک سو ۱۰۰ روپیے تک عطا ہوا - جرمانہ فوجداری معاف - اور بجائے ایکسو روپیے کی معافی کوٹھی بربوگ کے جو سنہ ۱۸۶۱ع میں عارضی طور برعتا' ہوئی تھی چہارم حصہ کل خالصہ معاملہ لاہل کا مبلغ پانچ سو پچاس ۵۵۰ روپیہ سالانہ ملنا گورنمنٹ سے منظور ہوا -

(۱۰) سنہ ۱۸۶۸ع میں دفتر رجسٹری علاقہ لاہل میں قائم ہو کر والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند سب رجسٹرار مقرر ہوا -

(۱۱) سنہ ۱۸۷۰ع میں جو سفارت انگریزی بحکم گورنمنٹ ہند بسرکردگی مسٹر طامس دگلس فورساتہہ صاحب بہادر یارکند میں بھیجی گئی تھی میں ہمراہ گیا تھا - چونکہ سفارت انگریزی اپنے کمپ سے جو قلعہ ینگی شہر میں واقع تھا بدوں حکم اتالیق غازی والی یارقند[1] باہر آنے کی اجازت نہ تھی اسو اسطے بموجب حکم جناب مسٹر فورساتھہ صاحب بہادر سفیر انگریزی میں بذات خود کمپ سے باہر نکل کر شہر کے باہر شہر پناہ کی چاردیواری کی پیمائش قدمونسے کرکے نقشہ شہر کا تیار کیا جو کتاب سفر نامہ صاحب ممدوح بہادر میں شامل ہے - اور اسکی ترتیب کا ذکر سفر نامہ مذکور کی دفعہ ۱۷۶ میں درج ہے -

(۱۲) ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۷۱ع میں والدم ٹھاکر تارا چند نے بسبب ضعیف العمری عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر سے بخوشی خود استعفا دیدیا - سرکار دولتمدار سے استعفا والدم منظور ہوکر بجائے والد بزرگوار خود بندہ اسی عہدہ آنریری مجسٹریٹ و آنریری اکسٹرا اسٹنٹ کمشنر پر ممتاز کیا [گیا] - وہی اختیارات مجسٹریٹ درجہ سیوم اور اختیارات دیوانی ایک سو ۱۰۰ روپیے تک مجھہ کو عطا ہوئے - اور سب رجسٹرار بھی بجائے والد بزرگوار خود بندہ مقرر ہوا -

(۱۳) سنہ ۱۸۷۴ع میں [بہ] منظوری گورنمنٹ کمیٹی لوکلریٹ ضلع کانگرہ کی نمبری میں نام میرا درج ہوا -

(۱۴) سنہ ۱۸۷۶ع میں بلحاظ خاندانی و قدردانی خدمات بحکم چٹھی نمبری ۱۰۶ مورخہ ۳۰ مارچ سنہ ۱۸۷۶ع صاحب سکرٹری گورنمنٹ پنجاب بنام صاحب سکرٹری فناشل کمشنر بہادر بجواب آپ کی چٹھی نمبری ۲۷۸ مورخہ ۱۷ ماہ مذکور سرکار دولتمدار سے خطاب وزیری بندد کو عطا ہوا -

(۱۵) علاوہ اس کے والدم بزرگوار ٹھاکر تارا چند صاحب کو دربار گورنری میں عزت کرسی نشینی کی حاصل رہی - اوراب بندہ کا نام فہرست درباریاں گورنری میں نمبر ۴۳ درج ہے - اور میرے پانچ ملازم مسلح ایکٹ اسلحہ کی تاثیر سے مثل دیگر رئیسان و راجگان بحکم گورنمنٹ معاف ہیں -

۹ اپریل سنہ ۱۸۸۵ع

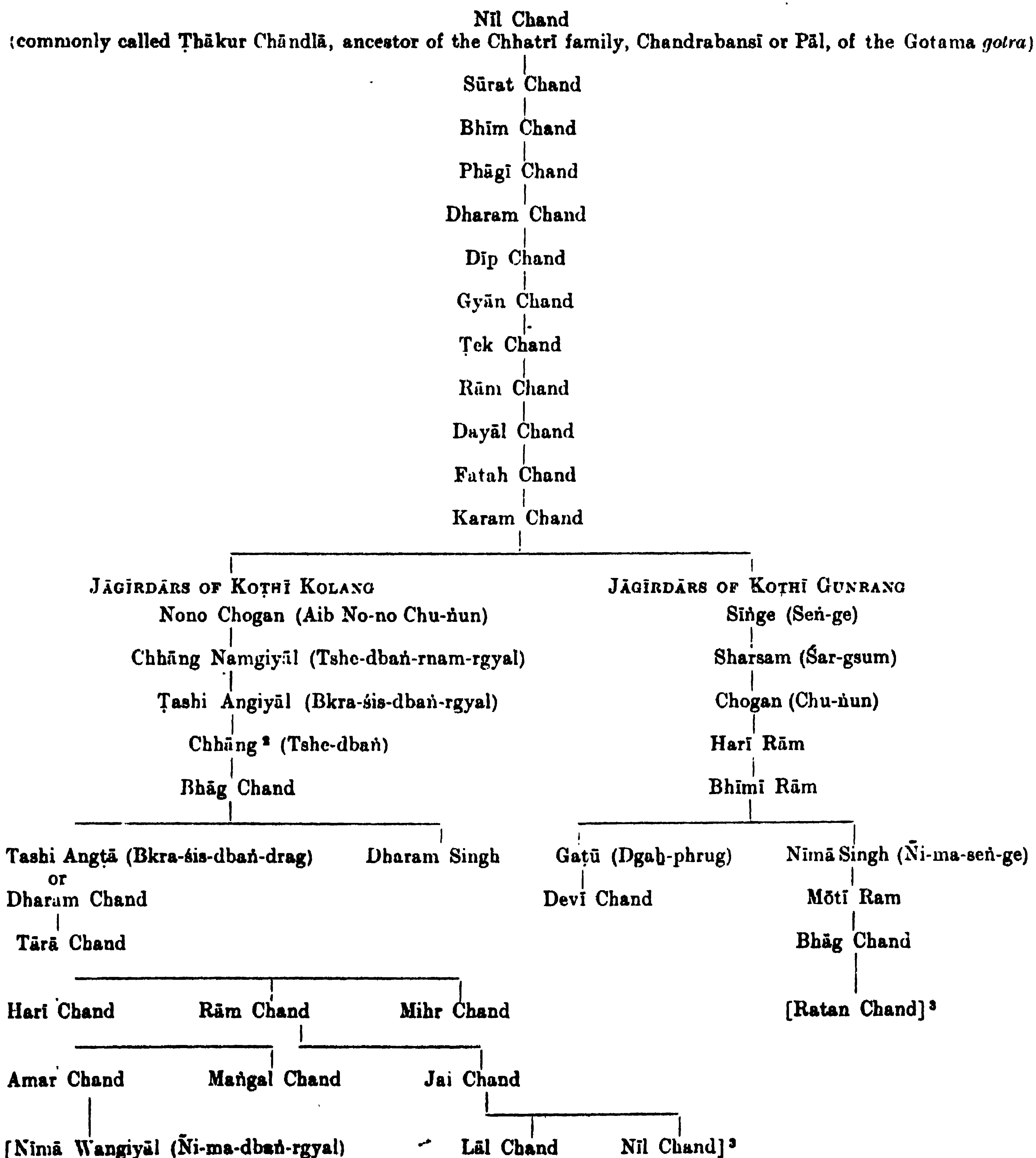
ٹھاکر ہری چند وزیر - آنریری مجسٹریت
و آنریری سول جج لاہل ضلع کانگرہ

[1] یارکند.

LITERAL TRANSLATION[1] AND NOTES

By Lieut.-Col. D. C. PHILLOTT, M.A., Ph.D.

Genealogical Tree



[1] The original Urdū is peculiar and has copyist's errors and omissions.

[2] [Read 'Chhiyāng', as in the Narrative.—F. W. T.]

[3] Not in the Urdū.

Narrative of the Family

At first, during the time of self-rule (i.e. of independence) two Chhatrī families, Pāl and Rānā, ruled over various districts in that mountain. At that time, in the district of Baṅgāl, one family, Pāl, becoming powerful, defeated the remaining small families of Pāl and Rā,ō and took possession of their country. At the present time a space of about 800 years must have elapsed since Rānā Nīl (a Chhatrī by caste and of the Lunar Family), commonly known as Ṭhākur Chādlā Sūrat, an ancestor of ours, was a self-ruler (i.e. an independent *Rānā*) in Kolang, in the district of Bangāl.

Unable to endure the oppression of the above-mentioned Pāl, he came into the district of Lāhul (where he used formerly to go for sport, and hence was acquainted with the district) to one named Ajo Pāl Toṭiyā Ṭhākur, who was an independent ruler of the Pāl family.

Since Ṭotiyā Ṭhākur had no heir, but only a daughter, he gave her in marriage to Rānā Nīl Chand, whom he took to live with him as a son-in-law.[1] After the decease of the above-mentioned Ṭoṭiyā Ṭhākur, Rānā Nīl Chand became independent ruler of the district in his stead and named [Ṭoṭiyā's] district after his first place.[2] Since that was a time of independent rule, he made conquests round about and extended his territory.

The length east to west from Lingṭī to Jagliwā,ī, the frontier of Koṭhī Ṭhādī, is 60 miles; breadth north to south at the least 30 miles, at the most 20[3] miles. The son of Nīl Chand was Ṣūrat[4] Chand; of Ṣūrat Chand, Bhīm Chand; of Bhīm Chand, Phāgī Chand; of Phāgī Chand, Dharam Chand; of Dharam Chand, Dīp Chand; of Dīp Chand, Gyān Chand; of Gyān Chand, Ṭek Chand; of Ṭek Chand, Rām Chand; of Rām Chand, Dayāl Chand; of Dayāl Chand, Fataḥ Chand; of Fataḥ Chand, Karam Chand. For ten generations without a break, i.e. down to Dayāl Chand, the independence of this family continued. In the time of Fataḥ Chand the Rāja of Tibat got possession of Lāhul; but the territory of ten families remained as before in their possession. Moreover, under Tibat the rule of this family was extended to the whole of Lāhul. Down to the time of Karam Chand, i.e. about one hundred years, the rule of Tibat over this territory continued. During this time Lāmās and Gurūs were introduced into this country. This is the reason why below[5] Karam Chand the names of our ancestors[6] are in Tibetan. Afterwards, in the time of Sīngī and Nonō Chogan, the sons of Karam Chand, Rāja Mān Singh of Kullū, through the decline in power of the Tibatan Rāja, became the ruler of Lāhul. At this time, too, the territory of this family remained as before. Since in this family the custom had come down that the eldest son should succeed and the younger sons sit under him as *dothā,is*,[7] the names of the latter used not to be entered in the family tree. Since the two brothers Singī and Nonō Chogan were equally powerful, hence in the time of Rājā Mān Singh the territory was divided and both became equal *jāgīrdārs* under Rājā Mān Singh of Kullū. Singī took possession of Gumrang and Nonō Chogan of

[1] I think this is the meaning of گھر داماد 'house son-in-law.'

[2] i.e. Kolang in the district of Baṅgāl.

[3] The figures seem to be merely transposed.

[4] In the Urdū usually spelt with a ص.

[5] In the genealogical tree?

[6] [Who were Buddhists.]

[7] [Is this word a derivative of the Hindī *dohatā*, 'a daughter's son'?—F. W. T.]

Kolang. From this onwards there are two branches of the family, the descent of each being carried on separately.

The son of Sīngī was Sharsum; of Sharsum, Chogan; of Chogan, Harī Rām; of Harī Rām, Bhīmī Rām. Bhīmī Rām had two sons, Nīmā Singh and Gaṭū. Nīmā Singh's son was Motī Rām, and Gaṭū's son was Devī Chand. At this time Motī Rām's son Bhāg Chand and Devī Chand[1] himself are in possession of the *jāgīr*. The second branch is: the son of Nonō Chogan was Chhiyāng Namgiyāl; and the son of Chhiyāng Namgiyāl was Tashi Angiyāl; and the son of Tashi Angiyāl was Chhiyāng; and of Chhiyāng, Bhāg Chand: and to Bhāg Chand two sons were born, Dharam Singh and Tashi Angṭā, known as Dharam Chand. Dharam Singh died without issue. Dharam Chand had a son Tārā Chand, and Tārā Chand had three sons, Harī Chand, Rām Chand, and Mihr Chand. In 1877 A.D. Ṭhākur Tārā Chand died in his 74th year; and according to ancient custom the succession fell to me, Ṭhākur Harī Chand, the eldest son, and I am now in possession. After me my son Amar Chand, now one and a half years old, will succeed.

Ṭhākur Rām Chand's son, Jai Chand, is alive. Mihr Chand died without issue. For something over two hundred years, i.e. from the time of Nonō Chogan down to the time of Tārā Chand, this district remained subservient to the rājās of Kullū. In 1843 A.D., in the time of Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, the Sikhs conquered Kullū from Rājā Jīt Singh. At that time Lāhul, too, came under the Sikhs. The Sikhs ruled for six years. Then even the above-mentioned *jāgīrs* of my family remained as before. In 1849 A.D. the English Government took over the Panjāb. Then, too, these two *jāgīrs* of my family remained as before. These three changes of rule occurred in the time of Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. It is the custom in our *jāgīrs*, following the custom of the hill Rājās, that the eldest son of the Ṭhākur is called *Ṭīkah*. The whole of the *jāgīr* is his right. The other brothers are counted as his *dothā,ē*, and they are entitled to subsistence only from this ancient *jāgīr*. If there is [no] *Ṭikah* born to a real *Ṭhākur*, then the nearest *dothā,ē* is considered to be the rightful heir to the *jāgīr*. About 800 years have elapsed since Rānā Nīl Chand came from Kolong in the district of Bangāl to settle in Lāhul. At the same time Ṭhākur Ratan Pāl of the Pāl family, a resident of Gondh in Bangāl, came to Lāhul and settled in Tīnan, and named Tīnan Gondala after his first place of residence; and of his family at the present time Ṭhākur Hīrā Chand is alive and the holder of the *jāgīr* of Gondala.

1. As long as the Tibatan rule remained, [our ancestors], under the Tibatan rulers, governed the whole of Lāhul.

2. Under the rule of the Kullū Rājās all state business between the Rājās of Kullū and Laddākh and Tibat was entrusted to us: our ancestors conducted it.

3. In the beginning of the English rule, on account of the social position of the family, first on 17th September, 1852, all the business of Lāhul was entrusted to *Neg* (*Pārah*[2]) Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. He performed various services for his superior officers and various European travellers in these parts and also on the Tibat frontier.

[1] First cousin of Motī Rām?

[2] I do not understand what *pārah* and *chārah* mean. They do not appear to be proper names. [Wilson's glossary gives the word *nek-dārī* in the sense of 'sums or portions of the crop, collected from the cultivators' of a village for 'the village expenses and payments to the village officers and servants'.—F. W. T.]

In addition to his pay as a *Neg* he had the grazing rights[1] of the whole of Lāhul allotted to his family.

4. In 1857, when Mr. Salāganwait (Schlagintweit), a Survey Officer, was murdered in Yārkand, the duty of inquiring into the case and bringing back all information was entrusted by Government to me, Ṭhākur Harī Chand. Accordingly, in my own person I went to Laddākh. From thence I sent my special trustworthy servant to Yārkand and learned all the details of the above-mentioned officer's death, how he was murdered without any reason by Walī Khān, the ruler of Kokān (Kokand), who at that time was engaged in ravaging the country around Yārkand. On learning this I returned to Jālandhar, to Colonel Lek (Lake), the Commissioner, and reported the matter. As a reward for this service, I received from Government one thousand rupees and four hundred rupees as travelling expenses.

5. In 1861, when news was received that some English gentlemen were coming from China to Simla by way of Lāsa, etc., then according to a suggestion from Government and with the sanction of my revered father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand Ṣāhib, I, in my own person, went out as far as Gādar (Sgar-thog ?) and Rodakh (Ru-thog ?) in Tibat to welcome and offer my services to the above-mentioned gentlemen. When no news of them was obtainable, I returned and reported the fact to Government. As a reward for this service, I was granted a robe of honour and a *parwānah* expressing the satisfaction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb, signed by the Secretary, and sealed with the office seal.

6. In 1861, in recognition of the high status of his family and in appreciation of his services, my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand Ṣāhib, was raised to the rank of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant [Commissioner]. He was given the power of a police officer of the first grade in criminal cases and of a civil officer with powers to fine up to Rs. 10. The criminal fines were allotted to him. In addition to his ancient ancestral *jāgīr* he was granted a *mu'āfī*[2] of Rs. 100 a year, on Koṭhī Barbog.

7. In 1863, in accordance with orders from Mr. Remūṭan (Egerton ?), Deputy Commissioner of Kāngrah, according to the wishes of Government to establish trade connections between India and Tibat by way of Yabastī Gar, I, in my own person, went as far as Tibat and reported the circumstances of that place to Government. On this occasion Government granted me a reward of five hundred rupees.

9.[3] In 1867, on account of his services and ability and in appreciation of what he had done, an increase was made in the powers of my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand. He was made an Honorary Magistrate of the third grade, with criminal and civil powers of an Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner, [and] according to the powers of an ordinary Assistant Commissioner he could deal with civil cases up to Rs. 100. Criminal fines could be retained by him, and, instead of the exemption of Rs. 100 on Koṭhī Barbog which in 1861 was granted to him as a temporary measure, he was permitted to retain the fourth part of the revenue of Lāhul, a sum amounting to Rs. 550.

10. In 1868 the office of Registration was established in Lāhul, and my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, was appointed Sub-Registrar.

[1] It is not clear whether he had the right of grazing for himself or the taxes for grazing generally allotted to him.

[2] Exemption.

[3] There is no para. (8) in the Urdū.

11. In 1870, when an English Mission, under Mr. Tāmas Daglas Forsāth (Thomas Douglas Forsyth), was sent to Yārkand by the Indian Government, I went with it. Since the English Mission was not permitted to go outside its camp, which was in Yangī Shahr,[1] without the permission of Atālīq Ghāzī, the *Wāli* of Yārqand, I, in my own person, and in accordance with the orders of Mr. Forsāth of the English Mission, came out of the camp and measured the circumference of the ramparts by pacing, and made a map, which is reproduced in the book of travels of the above-mentioned English gentleman, and of which the method of preparation is mentioned in paragraph 176 of the travels.

12. In September, 1871, my father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, voluntarily resigned from the office of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner. The Government accepted my father's resignation, and in place of my revered father appointed your humble servant to this office of Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner; and those powers of a Magistrate of the third grade and civil powers up to Rs. 100 were bestowed upon me; and your humble servant, too, was appointed Sub-Registrar in the place of his revered father.

13. In 1872, with the approval of Government, his [my father's] name was entered as a Member of the Committee of Local Rates of the District of Kāngrah.

14. In 1876, in appreciation of the social position of his family and his services, the title of *Wazīr* was bestowed by Government on him, reference Letter No. 606, dated 30th March, 1876, from the Secretary to the Government of the Panjāb to the Secretary to the Financial Commissioner in answer to Your Honour's letter No. 278, dated 17th of the same month.

15. In addition to this, my revered father, Ṭhākur Tārā Chand, obtained the honour of a seat in the Governor's Darbār, and now your humble servant's name, too, is found in the list of the Governor's *darbārīs*, being number 42 of the list; and, like other chiefs and Rājās, I have five armed retainers exempted from the provisions of the Indian Arms Act.

9th April, 1885.

Ṭhākur Harī Chand, *Wazīr*—Honorary Magistrate and Honorary Civil Judge of Lāhul in the District of Kāngrah.

(*Later additions, not in the Urdū original.*)

15. In the year 1900 A.D. Ṭhākur Harī Chand died, and Ṭhākur Amar Chand succeeded to the *jāgīr* of Ko-loṅ. My claim to the offices of Honorary *Wazīr*, Trade and Civil Judge of Lahul was acknowledged, and my cousin Ṭhākur Jai Chand was appointed *Wazīr* of Lahul during my minority. In June, 1903, on coming of age, I was appointed Honorary Magistrate and Civil Judge of Lahul. I have held the office since then, and have filled it to the full satisfaction of my superior officers. During the absence of Ṭhākur Jai Chand I have also acted as Sub-Registrar of Lahul. I have also been acting as an assistant to the Military Transport Registration Department.

16. In June, 1906, Mr. H. Calvert, Assistant Commissioner of Kuḷū, proposed to visit certain places in Tibet and to take me along with him. I accepted his offer.

[1] 'New City.'

The work of providing beasts of burden was entrusted to me, and before the date of starting I had the required number of horses and mules ready. We went through the Râmpur State (Bashahr) to Tibet. In Tibet we visited places of mercantile interest. The journey lasted from the 18th of June till the 3rd of October. We returned viâ Spiti. During the journey we suffered much through the scarcity of grass and other things; and the bad roads were also a source of trouble to us. We first visited Gartog, where the Assistant Commissioner met with the Garpon (*Sgar-dpon*). He conversed with him on matters of trade facilities. From Gartog we went to Chocho, and from that place to Bongba, and thence to Thog-jalung, Dolang, etc. There are gold-mines in these places, and I guided the Assistant Commissioner. I also took him to Shumorti (Chumurti) and Chhagrachan. These two places are famous for their horses. These places have not as yet been visited by any English traveller, the reason being that the Tibetan authorities do not permit the English to visit them. Even if permission to visit them has been secured, it is very difficult to surmount the many obstacles which arise on the way. For many marches it is difficult to find water, grass, or wood. Even coolies are not supplied for these places in Tibet, so that vast arrangements have to be made before starting. I myself made the arrangements for everything that was needed on such a terrible journey. It was also I who kept the Garpon from refusing us permission.

NOTES.

With regard to the first part of the chronicle, which contains the history of the chiefs from Nīl Chand to Karam Chand, I wish to state that it is not supported by other historical documents or inscriptions. Not a single name of a chief ending in Chand has as yet been discovered in Lahul, apart from the chronicles of the Ko-loṅ chiefs given above. On the contrary, from an old inscription and a document of the sixteenth century we learn that the chiefs of Ko-loṅ had Tibetan names prior to Nono Chogan (Chu-ṅun) and Seṅ-ge, who lived in the seventeenth century. On an old stone inscription discovered by Mr. Howell the name of an ancient Ko-loṅ chief is given as Boldor (probably Hbol-rdor); and in a document referring to the erection of a *mchod-rten* (Inscription No. 128) the name of a chief of Ko-loṅ, who was a contemporary of Parbat-Siṅgh of Kuḷū (1584–1618) is given as Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal. It is quite possible that the names ending in Chand were invented by the chronicler with a view to making the chiefs of Ko-loṅ appear as descendants from Rājpūt ancestors. This, they thought, would raise them in the eyes of the Kuḷū kings. It is also very strange that the Rājpūt origin of the chiefs of Ti-nan is asserted in the Ko-loṅ chronicles. According to the Ko-loṅ chronicles the chiefs of Ti-nan emigrated from Gondha in Baṅgāl; but according to the Ti-nan chronicles they came from Lcags-mkhar in Gu-ge. I should think that the latter statement has a greater claim to our acceptance. The country of Baṅgāl mentioned in the chronicles is the province of Baṛā Baṅgāl, which nowadays forms part of Kuḷū. The many Tibetan names which are found in the second part of the pedigree cannot be recognized in their Urdū dress. They have to be compared with the names contained in the Tibetan document from Ko-loṅ (*q.v.*). Instead of Kolang the Tibetans say Ko-loṅ; and instead of Gumring, Guṅ-raṅ. For Thog-jalung see above, p. 94 (*sub fin.*).

As regards the claim of the Ko-loṅ chiefs to have been in charge of the management of Lahul during the times of Tibetan rule before 1605 A.D., I must say that it is not confirmed by popular tradition. The latter is in favour of the view that the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog were Governors of Lahul during that time.

The conquest of Lahul by the Sikhs must have taken place before 1843; for, when Cunningham visited Lahul in 1839, he found the country already in the hands of the Sikhs (*JASB.*. 1841, pp. 105 sqq.).

Adolf von Schlagintweit was murdered on his expedition to Turkestan on the 26th August, 1857, near Kashgar.

The date of Tārā Chand's death is not clearly given. First we read that Tārā Chand died in 1874; then we read that he was still alive in 1876; and according to Col. Massey he died in 1877.

X. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ in Lahul

In my introductory notes to 'The Chronicles of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ' I remarked that Hari-Chand, when compiling the chronicles in 1880 A.D., made use, according to his own statement, of older documents. I discovered one of these older documents when the present chief of Ko-loṅ, in 1906, very kindly allowed me to examine his family papers. It was a simple pedigree in Tibetan. I had it copied at once by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ, and now publish it. The original is a one-sheet MS. written in Tibetan *dbu-med* characters. At first sight it may appear superfluous to edit it at all, in addition to Hari-Chand's chronicles of Ko-loṅ in Urdū. But, as the Tibetan names of the pedigree are very difficult to recognize in their Urdū dress, it is of importance to show them also in their Tibetan form. This genealogical tree in Tibetan shows a great similarity to the genealogical tree of the Bar-ḥbog chiefs, especially with regard to the first line of the MS., which in both documents is not quite intelligible.[1] I give this line in parallel columns :—

1 Bar-ḥbog : Nag-se-tsi-ka-bai be mu-dzab na-mu-na lam bar 2
2 Ko-loṅ : Nag-śa-cig-kyi ba-yi mu-jub-bad na-mu-na lam bār 2
1 bā-ba-ṭa ji-min-gar-pa-nra ko-khri Bar-bog
2 ba-bad ji-min-gar-spran-na ko-khri Ko-loṅ.

Several words of these lines seem to be Urdū. *Mu-dzab* or *Mu-jub-bad* is probably Hindī-Arabic *mūjib*, 'cause,' etc. ; *namūnah* is Urdū for 'type', 'pattern' ; *bā-ba-ṭa*, *ba-bad*, may be Urdū-Arabic *bābat*, 'account' ; *lam-bar* is the Urdū-English word 'number' ; *ko-khri* is Urdū *koṭhī*, 'granary,' 'government office.'

The fact of the existence of these Urdū words in the first line of both documents would point to a time when Lahul was strongly influenced by her Kuḷū neighbours. This was certainly the case when Lahul was conquered by the Kuḷū kings in the second half of the seventeenth century. That the Bar-ḥbog pedigree was drawn up not much later is proved by the fact that it was not continued after the conquest of Lahul. As the same Urdū words occur also in the Ko-loṅ document, we may conclude that it was also drawn up after 1680 A.D., say in 1700 A.D. (if the word *lambar*, 'number,' does not point to a still later origin). But it was added to as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Another explanation would be that the first lines in Urdū were written at a later date than the rest.

As I stated in my notes on the 'Chronicles of Ko-loṅ '(p. 205 *supra*), it is probable that the names ending in *can* (*cand*) were invented by the chronicler of Ko-loṅ with a view to making the chiefs of Ko-loṅ appear as descendants from Rājpūt ancestors.

[1] [For an explanation see below, p. 209, n. 1.—F. W. T.]

TEXT

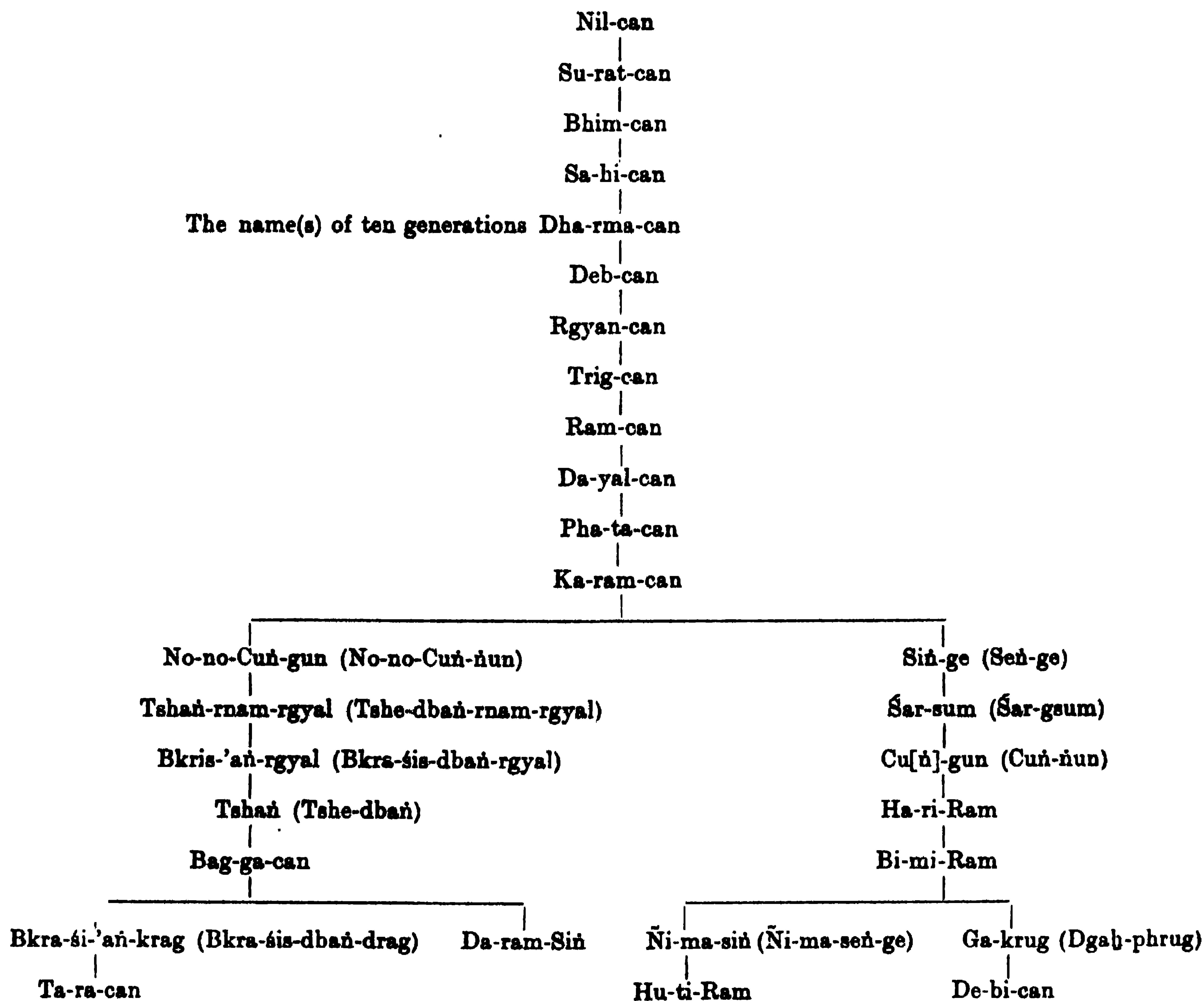
དག་ཁ་ཅིག་ཀྱི་པ་ཡི་སྤུ་རྒྱབ་བདུད་ན་སྤུ་ན་ལམ་བླ་ར་ཞ་པ་བད་ཇི་མཐི་གར་སྣུར་ན་ཀོ་ཁྲི་ཀོ་ལོང

ཉིལ་ཅན་
|
སྤུ་རད་ཅན་
|
ཞྲིམ་ཅན་
|
ས་དེ་ཅན་
|
མི་རབས་བརྒྱ་ཡི་མིང . . . ཧྲེ་ཀྲ་ཅན་
|
རེབ་ཅན་
|
ཀྲུན་ཅན་
|
ཏྲིག་ཅན་
|
རམ་ཅན་
|
ར་ཡལ་ཅན་
|
ཕ་ཏ་ཅན་
|
ཀ་རམ་ཅན་

- ནོ་ནོ་རྒྱང་གུན་
  - ཚོང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
    - བཀྲིས་ཨང་རྒྱལ་
      - ཚོང་
        - བག་ག་ཅན་
          - བཀྲ་ཤི་ཨང་ཀྲག་
            - ཏ་ར་ཅན་
          - ད་རམ་སིང་
- སེང་གེ་
  - ཁར་སུམ་
    - རྒྱ་གུན་
      - ཊ་རི་རམ་
        - ཐི་མི་རམ་
          - ཀྱི་མ་སིང
            - ཀླུ་རྡེ་རམ
          - ག་ཀྲག
            - དེ་བི་ཅན

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

[1] [Zag-śa-cig-kyi-ba-yi-mu-jub-bad-na-mu-na-lam-băr 2 ba-bad-ji-min-gar-spran-na-ko-khri-Ko-loṅ.]

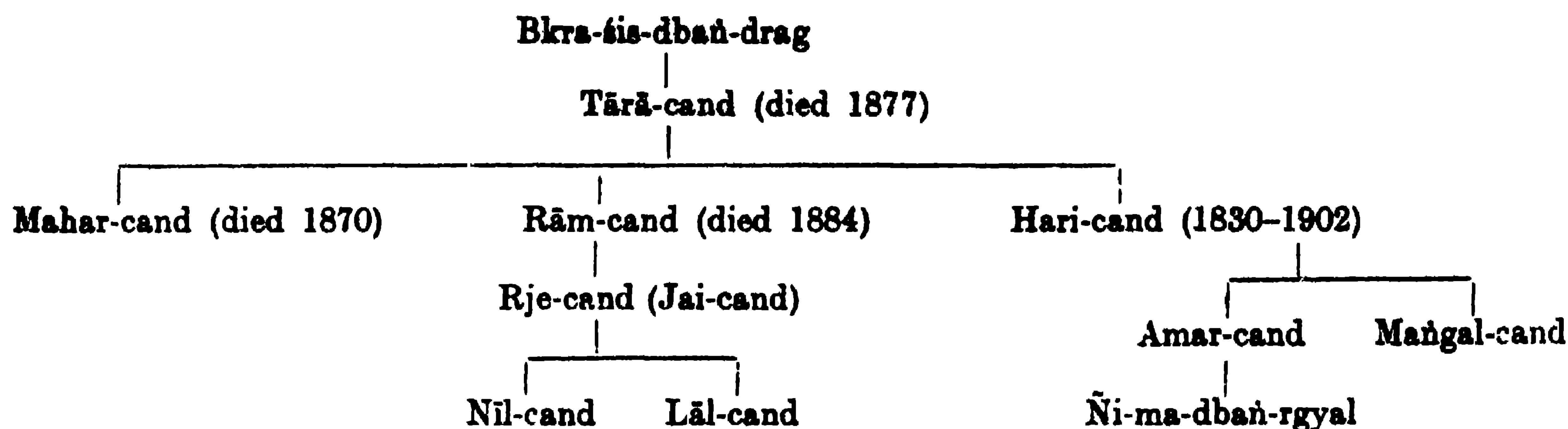


NOTES

The meaning of the words 'name (or names) of ten generations' is absolutely unintelligible to me. As regards the Tibetan forms of the names, the orthography leaves much to be desired. I suppose that the following spellings were intended :—(below Karam-can[d]) : No-no-Cuṅ-ṅun, Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, Tshe-dbaṅ, Bhāga-cand, Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-drag (or grags), Dharma-siṅ, Tārā-cand ; Seṅ-ge, Śar-gsum (?), Cuṅ-ṅun, Harī-rām, Bhemī-rām, Ñi-ma-siṅ, Dgaḥ-phrug, Ḫu-ti-(?)rām, Devī-cand.

The following is the genealogical tree of Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-drag's descendants drawn up by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, and continued to the present day. Some of the dates are taken from Massey's book on Panjab genealogies.

[1] [This seems to be only the heading of an official form (Urdū) on which the genealogy was written. With the aid of Mr. C. A. Storey and Col. D. C. Phillott I make out the reading and rendering as follows :—*naqsh-i-chakī ba mūjib namūnā lambar 2 bābat zamīn parganā koṭhī Ko-loṅ* 'statement of property according to form number 2 : account of the lands of the Parganā (district) of koṭhī Ko-loṅ'.—F. W. T.]



As regards the branch line of Guṅ-raṅ, Seṅ-ge's descendants, the following notes will suffice to bring the pedigree down to the present day:—Dgaḥ-phrug's son, Devī-cand, lived frо́m 1832–1903. Ñi-ma-siṅ's son was Motī-rām (or Ḫu-ti-rām). Motī-rām's son, Bhāg-cand, was born in 1863. He lives at Ga-riṅ (Ska-riṅ). He has a little son called Ratan-cand.

Only a few of the names of chiefs given above are found in Lahuli inscriptions. The earliest among them seems to be Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, whose name is given as a contemporary of Spri-tim-Siṅ (Pritam-Siṅgh) of Kuḷū, *c.* 1767 A.D. It is found in a hitherto unpublished inscription from Khaṅ-gsar, Ko-loṅ. In an old document from Ko-loṅ (see my collection of inscriptions, No. 128) a certain chief called Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal is mentioned. This Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal of Ko-loṅ cannot possibly be Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal's father, as according to this document he is a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Parbat-Siṅgh, *c.* 1584 A.D. He is probably one of the Tibetan ancestors of the Ko-loṅ chiefs whose names were eradicated when the theory of the descent of the Ko-loṅ chiefs from Rājpūt ancestors was invented. As regards Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal, the inscription says that he was of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's (Ikshvāku's) family. This is a statement which reminds us of the claims of the Tibetan Buddhist kings of Ladakh, who also wish to be called Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's descendants. Such a statement is in contrast with the pretended descent of the Ko-loṅ chiefs from Indian Rājpūt ancestors. Possibly in Bkra-śis-dbaṅ-rgyal's days this theory had not yet been started, and the chiefs of Ko-loṅ were quite satisfied with their relationship to the Ladakhi kings. As I see in another hitherto unpublished inscription from Kye-laṅ, one of the Bar-ḫbog chiefs, No-no-(Jo) Rnam-rgyal, is also stated to be of Bu-ram-śiṅ-pa's family. Then the chief Dharma-Siṅgh of Ko-loṅ is mentioned in several inscriptions as a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Bir-khyim-(Bikermān) Siṅgh, *c.* 1810 A.D. There is an inscription in Ṭāṅkrī (Ṭākarī) and Devanāgarī characters at Taṅ-ti, Lahul, which contains the name of Otu-rām. This Otu-rām is possibly identical with Ḫu-ti-rām or Motī-rām of the above pedigree (see Inscription No. 143).

XI. The Chronicles of Ti-nan (Lahul)

When stationed at Kye-laṅ, Lahul, 1906–8, I heard a rumour that the chiefs of Ti-nan (or Gondhla) were in possession of a family chronicle. I did not, however, succeed in getting to see it. I therefore asked Miss Duncan, in 1908, to make efforts to procure it. She actually obtained the MS. from Hīrā-cand, the present chief of Ti-nan. The greater part of the document was copied and translated for her use by Maṅgal-cand, brother of the reigning Jo of Ko-loṅ. Maṅgal-cand did not consider it necessary to copy the latter part of the little book, as it contained only the names of the guests who were present at the death-ceremony of the chief Ha-ri-ya, in the sixteenth century. As Maṅgal-cand's translation was not quite literal, I had a new one made in 1908. For the present publication of the Tibetan text I intended to reproduce Miss Duncan's copy of the document. Miss Duncan had died, too early for Tibetan archæology, in 1909, and her brother's efforts to procure the Tibetan text were in vain. I therefore asked Mr. Hettasch, of Kye-laṅ, to send my old munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, from Kye-laṅ to Ti-nan to copy it once more. After several fruitless attempts to get hold of the MS. the munshi succeeded, and the Tibetan text attached below is based on his copy. My hope that he would include the list of the 40 guests who were present at the Chief Ha-ri-ya's death-ceremony was, however, not realized. On the contrary, Bzod-pa stopped his work a few lines earlier than Maṅgal-cand. He believed that the chronicle proper ended there, and that the rest of the MS. had nothing to do with history. Bzod-pa's copy closely agrees with the translations made from Miss Duncan's copy of the text. A few names of chiefs, omitted in Bzod-pa's copy through some clerical error, were restored from the translations.

The principality of Ti-nan extends from the confluence of the rivers Chandrā and Bhāgā about 20 miles up the valley of the river Chandrā, and is of little importance. The language of its inhabitants is Ti-nan, and Manchat in a few villages. For specimens see my publication, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, and *Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahoul's* (ZDMG., vol. lxiii, pp. 65 ff.).

TEXT

[གསེར་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་པའི་རྒྱལ་རབས་བཞུགས་སོ ||]

༄༅ || ཨོཾ་སྭ | ཨོཾ་སྭ་སྟི་སི་དྡྷཾ |

སྐུ་གསུམ་མངོན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་སྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་[དང་] |[1]

སྒྲིབ་གཉིས་བག་ཆགས་སྦྱོང་མཛད་དམ་པའི་ཆོས |

བསླབ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཛེས་པའི་དགེ་འདུན་སྡེ |

སྐྱབས་གནས་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ||

[1] [The scansion is faulty. Perhaps སྟོན་པ is an insertion.—F. W. T.]

ཆོས་སྐུ་མངོན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་སྣང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་དང་ །
ལོང་སྐུ་འགྲོ་དོན་མཛད་པའི་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས །
སྤྲུལ་སྐྱེ་བརྒྱད་[ཀྱི]་འདུལ་མཛད་པ་དྨ་འབྱུང་ །
སྤྲུལ་སྐུ་ཐུབ་པ་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ॥

ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྤྲུལ་པ་སྲོང་བཙན་གམ(སྒམ) །
ཁྲིམ་གཉེར་སྤྲུལ་པ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཁྲི་བཙུན་དང་ །
སྒྲོལ་ལྗང་སྤྲུལ་པ་ལྷ་ཅིག་ཀོང་ཇོ་དང་ །
འགྲོ་བའི་དོན་མཛད་གསུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ ॥

ཀྱེ་ལགས ། ཁྱེ(ཁྱེ ?)་སྙོད་པེ་ཏུ་རྟ་རྒྱ་གྲམ་ལྡུང་གི་སྟེར །
ཉང་བརྒྱུད་སེམས་ཅན་སྤྱི་མཐུན་ལས་ལ་གྲུབ །
འཁོར་ལོ་རྩིབ་བརྒྱད་ཁྲ་འབབས་ཟུར་འོག །
མདོ་བཀོད་ལགས་རིན་ཆེན་གསེར་གྱི་སྟེང་ །
གཙུ་ཁ་སྒྲུར་གནམ་ས་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར །
སྟོང་གསུམ་མི་མཛེད་ཤ་ཀྱའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མིང་ །
གླིང་ལ་ཁྱད་འཕགས་ཟུར་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ །
ཁྱད་པར་དམ་ཆོས་དར་བ་གངས་ཅན་ལྗོང་ །
སོ་སྣང་ཁྱད་འཕགས་རྒྱལ་ས་མ་གར་ས །

ཆོས་རྒྱལ་ཆེན་པོ་པེ་དྲུར་སེང་གེ་དབུ་རྨོག་མཐོ་བའི་དུས ། ཡུལ་ལ་ཁྱད་འཕགས་སྐུ་མཁར་དལ་སྟེ་འདིར ། ། ཀྱེ་ལགས ། མི་རིགས་ཁྱད་རྒྱུད་འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་རུས་ཆད་ཚུལ་ནི ། གུན་དེ་(གུ་གེ་)ལྷུགས་མཁར་རུས་ཆད ། མི་དབང་ཆེན་པོ་ར་ན་ས་ལ་དང་ ། དེའི་སྲས་ནོ་རྗེ་ས་ལ ། དེའི་སྲས་ཉི་མ་ས་ལ ། དེའི་སྲས་ནང་ཀ་རྒྱལ་པོ ། དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་ལྡེ ། དེའི་སྲས་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོ ། དེའི་ནོ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱ[ལ]་པོ ། དེའི་ནོ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ ། དེའི་སྲས་བཀྲ་ཤིས ། དེའི་སྲས་པའ་རི་མཁན ། [དེའི་སྲས་ནྡ་ནྡ་མན་ཏྲ ། དེའི་སྲས་ཏ་རི་ཡ ། དེའི་ནོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ ། དེའི་སྲས་དཔལ་འབར །] ཆབ་སྲིད་ཡར་ངོའི་ཟླ་ལྟར་འཕེལ་བར་ཤོག ། ཀྱེ་ལགས ། ཡོན་གྱི་བདག་པོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ ། བློ་སྨ[ས་]ཀྱིད་གཉིས་དང་ ། ཡུམ་གྱི་མཆོག་གྱུར་ངང་དབང(ངག་དབང)་སྒྲོ་མ་གསུམ་གྱི[ས] ། སྐུ་གཤེགས་ཏ་རིའི་དོན་དུ་བྱང་ཆུབ་མཆོད་རྟེན་བཞེངས ། གསུང་གི་རྟེན་དུ་རྒྱལ་རབས་གསེར་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་བཞེངས །

ཏྲི་ནན་ཇོས་ཟེར་དོན་ལ ། གུན་དེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཡུལ་ནི་པེར་བང་གླལ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད་དེ ། དེ་དག་གི་མེས་པོའང་དེ་ཡུལ་ནས་ཆད་པ་ཡིན་ཟེར་འདུག ॥

TRANSLATION

The chronicle called the 'Golden Mirror' is set down [in the following]:—

Oṃ-mo | *Oṃ svasti sid[dh]aṃ!* To the Teacher Buddha, who is manifest in the three bodies; to the holy Religion (books), which purify from attachment to the two kinds of moral obscurities; to the Clerical Order, adorned by the three teachings (doctrines ?) —to these refuges, the three jewels, I offer a salutation.

To Amitābha, revealed as the Dharma-kāya; to Avalokiteśvara, who as the Sambhoga-kāya serves the good of the world; to Padmasambhava, who as the Nirmāṇa-kāya subdues the eight classes [of demons]: to these three powerful incarnations I offer a salutation.

To Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, an incarnation of the Greatly Compassionate (Avalokiteśvara); to the goddess Khri-btsun (one of his queens), an incarnation of Khrom-ñer (Bhṛkuṭī); to the goddess Koṅ-jo (his other queen), an incarnation of the green Tārā: to these three helpers of created beings I offer a salutation.

All hail! In the treasure-house of the air, the emerald vessel of the svastika, all the creatures came into existence in a satisfactory manner. Below, the eight-spoked wheel and the thunderbolt of the subjects (?); above, the golden and precious lower ground; between these two dwelling-places or beautiful receptacles there are three thousand suffering worlds under King Śākya.[1]

Among countries the most eminent country is Bur-rgyal-bod (Tibet). The holy religion spread particularly in the snowy regions.

While the exceedingly lofty palace of the capital Ma-gar-sa was held by the great religious King (Dharmarāja), Bi-dhur-Siṅ (Bahādur-Siṅgh), with his helmet high, [there lived] in this castle Nal-rtse, the most eminent in the country—all hail!—a family of undefiled origin called Ḥod-gsal ('Bright Light'), which was descended from the gods. It originated at Lcags-mkhar in Gun-de (Gu-ge). [Its members are the following]:—

The great lord of men, Ra-na-pha-la.
And his son Rdo-rje-pha-la.
His son Ñi-ma-pha-la.
His son Naṅ-ka-rgyal-po.
His son Bsod-rnams(nams)-dpal-[lde ?].
His son Bsod-rnams(nams)-rgya-mtsho.
His younger brother Bkra-śis-rgya[l]-po.
His younger brother Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-po.
His son Bkra-śis.
His son Paḥa-ri-mkhan.
His son Bha-gha-man-rta.
His son Ha-ri-ya.
His younger brother Rgyal-po.
His son Dpal-ḥbar.

[May their lifetime become as firm as the powerful mountains][2] and may their government increase like the fifteenth of the waxing moon! All hail! By the donors

[1] [Perhaps the meaning of this obscure passage is more or less as follows:—'In the treasury of air, the emerald svastika vessel which is the universe (*phyi-snod*), originated through the united works of the creatures in it—below, the eight-spoked wheel with its thralls; above, the bejewelled, golden heaven—between these two . . . are three thousand worlds, which are King Śākya's (Buddha's) name.'—F. W. T.]

[2] Only in Miss Duncan's translation.

Rgyal-po and Blo-dros-skyid, both, and Ṅaṅ(Ṅag)-dbaṅ-gro[l]-ma, the best of mothers, by these three, at the death-ceremony of Ha-ri, a Byaṅ-chub mchod-rten (stūpa) was erected for his soul. And as a verbal record, this chronicle, called 'The golden mirror', was written. [It is astonishing how much was gathered and given for the sake of religion. All hail! The number of what was presented according to the word. . . .

And the others, who brought flesh and beer for the benefit of men, were . . . (*c.* 40 names) . . . like nectar of the gods.

May all the partakers in this sacrifice meet later on in Mṅon-dgaḥi-źiṅ (one of the heavens).

. . . the red colour of idols . . .

. . . be blessed !]

[The chief of Ti-nan says that Gun-de is situated in Bir-Baṅgāl (Baṛā Baṅgāl, a province of Kuḷū), and that his ancestors came from there.]

NOTES

As is plainly stated, the above chronicle was compiled at the death-ceremony of the Chief Ha-ri-ya, who was a contemporary of the Kuḷū king Bi-dhur-(= Bahādur) Siṅgh. King Bahādur-Siṅgh of Kuḷū reigned, according to Dr. Vogel's investigations, about the middle of the sixteenth century. This Kuḷū king claims to have ruled over Lahul, and the chief Ha-ri-ya may have been his agent in the country. The very powerful Ladakhi king Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I, who reigned at about the same time, also claims to have conquered Kuḷū (including Lahul). Possibly one conquest followed the other.

The statement of the Ti-nan chiefs regarding their descent from a Gu-ge family is of great importance. It is in contrast to another statement, found in the chronicles of the chiefs of Ko-loṅ, in Lahul. The latter says that the Ti-nan chiefs came to Lahul from Baṅgāl (Choṭā or Baṛā Baṅgāl, now a province of Kuḷū). The clear statement of the Ti-nan chronicle, which was compiled three centuries before the Ko-loṅ chronicle, is, of course, the more trustworthy of the two. I believe that the family was of purely Tibetan origin. The name Phala (*pāla*) is possibly an Indianization of the Tibetan word *dpal*, glory, which is so often found in Tibetan names. The original name of the family, Ḥod-gsal, is of Bon-po origin. Ḥod-gsal is the name of a Bon-po heaven; see S. Ch. Das' Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 1120. A place called Lcags-mkhar, 'iron castle,' I have not yet been able to trace on a map.

Not a single one of the names of the Ti-nan chiefs has as yet been found in inscriptions of Lahul. A certain inscription from Żug-mur, Lahul, mentions a Ha-yar-jo (No. 127 of my collection). But, as Ha-yar is mentioned in other documents as a place-name, the word Ha-yar-jo had better be translated by 'Chief of Ha-yar'. Otherwise I should have felt inclined to identify Ha-yar with Ha-ri-ya of Ti-nan. There is a somewhat indistinct inscription in Śāradā characters on a boulder about a mile below the present village of Ti-nan. Another Śāradā inscription on a stone idol in the Chos-ḥkhor (probably Stod-rgyal-mtshan-chos-ḥkhor) monastery near Si-su, which belongs to the Ti-nan district, contains nothing but mystic syllables. It was discovered by Mr. G. C. L. Howell and myself, and examined by Dr. Vogel. A Byaṅ-chub mchod-rten is a *mchod-rten* with square steps between the upper bowl and the square lower part. It is a pity that the list of the forty guests was not copied; for it contained, in all probability, the names of several contemporary chiefs of Lahul of those days. The Mṅon-dgaḥi-źiṅ is, according to S. Ch. Das' dictionary, a mythological garden, 'the world of joy in the East.' Ma-gar-sa is the name of the ancient capital of Kuḷū. Bur-rgyal-bod probably stands for Spu-rgyal-bod, an ancient name of Tibet. Compare *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, part ii.

Later additions :—In the place of the name Gu-ge, which was plainly legible in Maṅgal-cand's copy, Bsod-pa-Bde-chen's copy contains the name Gun-de. I am fully convinced that this is due to a recent alteration of the original text. My conclusions, based on the old reading Gu-ge, were not welcomed by the present chief of Ko-loṅ,

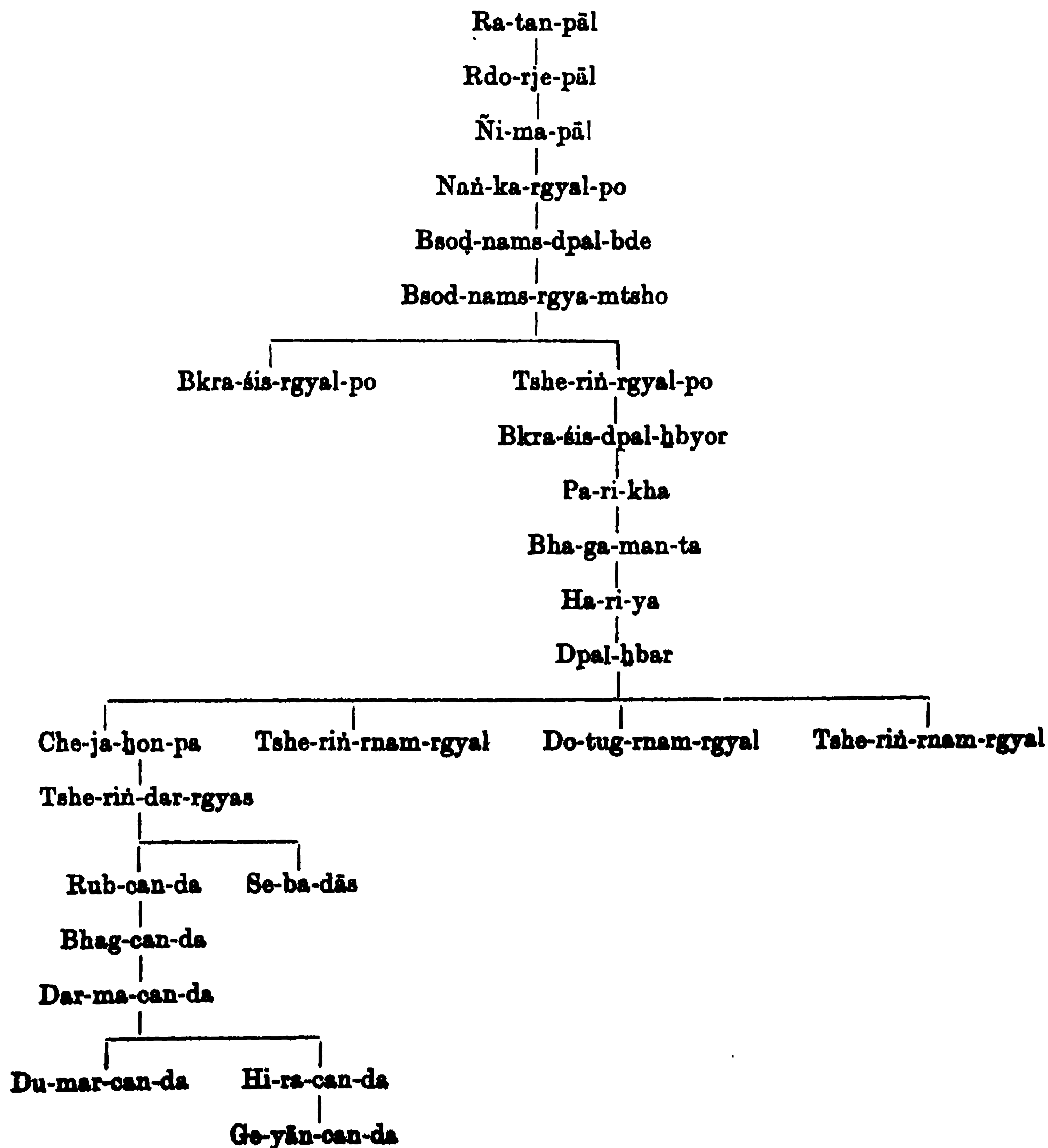
whose interest it is to derive the Ti-nan family, as well as his own, from Rājpūt ancestors. If the family came from Gu-ge, it must be of Tibetan origin; if it came from unknown Gun-de, it might be of Rājpūt origin. The fabricated name Gun-de suited the Ko-loṅ chief's purpose particularly well, as it apparently explained the present name of Ti-nan, viz. Gondhla. But the name Gondhla is of quite different origin. The principality received this name from the important and ancient monastery of Gandhola, which is situated within its boundaries. I am convinced that the text of the original document has been purposely altered since 1908, and that this alteration was suggested by the Ko-loṅ chief. Fortunately, the impostor forgot to alter also the other Tibetan names contained in the chronicle, viz. Lcags-mkhar, Ḥod-gsal, Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po, etc. They point distinctly to a Tibetan origin of the family.

My thanks are due to Dr. F. W. Thomas for his translation of several difficult passages.

XII. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Ti-nan

The following genealogical tree of the chiefs of Ti-nan was obtained at Ti-nan by my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen, of Kye-laṅ, in 1910, when he went to Ti-nan at my request to copy 'The Chronicles of Ti-nan'. By some mistake he got hold of the genealogical tree instead of the chronicles, and in this way this document was unexpectedly discovered. We should have expected the first half, at least, of the genealogical tree to agree with the list of names given in the chronicles. But this is not the case. For this reason it is necessary to publish both separately.

ROMAN TRANSLITERATION



TIBETAN TEXT

- ར་དན་བླལ །
  - རྡོ་རྗེ་བླལ་
    - ཉི་མ་བླལ་
      - ནང་ཀ་རྒྱལ་པོ་
        - བསོད་རྣམས(ནམས)་དཔལ་བདེ་
          - བསོད་རྣམག(ནམས)་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
            - བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་
            - ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ་
              - བཀྲ་ཤིས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་
                - པ་རི་ཁ་
                  - བྷ་ག་མན་ད་
                    - ཧ་རི་ཡ་
                      - དཔལ་འབར་
                        - ཚེ་ཞ་ཞོན་པོ་
                          - ཚེ་རིང་དར་རྒྱས་
                            - ཙུབ་ཙན་ད་
                              - བྷག་ཙན་ད་
                                - དར་མ་ཙན་ད་
                                  - ཀུ་མར་ཙན་ད་
                                  - ཧེ་ར་ཙན་ད་
                                    - གེ་ཤླན་ཙན་ད ||
                            - སེ་བ་དླས་
                        - ཚེ་རིང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
                        - དོ་ཏུག་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་
                        - ཚེ་རིང་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་

NOTES

Taking the names singly, we notice the following deviations from the list given in the *Chronicles of Ti-nan*:— The first chief is here called Ra-tan, instead of Ra-na; the dynastical name is here spelt Pāl, not Pha-la. The chief of the seventh generation is here called Bkra-śis-dpal-ḥbyor, against Bkra-śis of the chronicle. The Chief Ha-ri-ya's brother is omitted here.

But there is another radical difference between the two lists, viz. that, according to the chronicles, Bkra-śis-rgyal-po and Tshe-riṅ-rgyal-po are Bsod-nams-rgya-mtsho's younger brothers, whilst here they are stated to be his sons. Which of the two versions is correct will perhaps remain obscure for ever.

With regard to the second half of the genealogy, which contains entirely new material, it is remarkable that it consists of nine generations only, whereas we should expect about eleven, considering that it covers a period of about 350 years, from 1550 to 1900 A.D.

I do not think that, beside that given under No. 5 below, there exist any stone inscriptions containing the names of Ti-nan chiefs. But, as there are a number of paper documents in the country which commemorate the erection of certain stūpas, or the acquisition of important books, we might examine them in search of names of Ti-nan chiefs.

1. Bar-ḥbog document, commemorating the acquisition of a Sūtra *Za-ma-tog* in the time of Pirtib-Singhe of Kuḷū (Partāb-Siṅgh, 1569 A.D.). It mentions Tshe-riṅ-sa-grub and Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, father and son, chiefs of Bar-ḥbog. Then other chiefs of Kar-sdaṅ (Mkhar-daṅ), Kye-(g)laṅ, Ti-no, Ha-yar, Lcug-dra, Sa-raṅ, Bi-liṅ, etc., are also mentioned, but none of Ti-nan.

2. Bar-ḥbog document, commemorating the acquisition of a *Bkaḥ-ḥgyur* during the reign of Tre-tru-Siṅ of Kuḷū. This Kuḷū king is, as I believe, Pṛithvī-Siṅgh, *c.* 1618 A.D. The syllable *Pri* is pronounced *Tri* in Tibetan. The *v* was changed to *u* in Tibetan. The following chiefs of Bar-ḥbog are mentioned in this document:—Ḫbrug-rnam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, No-no-Phun-tshogs, Ḫbrug-bde-legs, all of whom belong to the third generation after Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, which circumstance again speaks in favour of my identification of Tre-tru-Siṅ with Pṛithvī-Siṅgh. Again, other contemporary chiefs of Lha-braṅ, Pa-spa-rag, Kar-daṅ, Guṅ-raṅ, Ti-mur, and even Ti-nan are mentioned; in the latter place a certain No-no (younger chief) Rnam-rgyal. This Rnam-rgyal is in all probability one of the three Rnam-rgyals who are mentioned in the genealogical tree of Ti-nan as Dpal-ḥbar's sons, viz. the two Tshe-riṅ-rnam-rgyals and Do-tug-rnam-rgyal.

3. Decree of Riddhi(Ṛiddhi)-Siṅgh of Kuḷū to the Gandhola monastery (*c.* 1663 A.D.). Although Ti-nan is mentioned in this decree, the chief's name is not given.

4. Document from Ko-loṅ, commemorating the erection of a *mchod-rten*, in the time of Parbat-Siṅgh, of Kuḷū (*c.* 1584 A.D.). It does not mention Ti-nan, but Śi-la, which name may refer to the same principality. There it mentions a Rgyal-po-Tshe-riṅ (or Rgyal-po-Tshe-riṅ-dpal-lde). It is, of course, possible that this prince is identical with Ha-ri-ya's brother, Rgyal-po, Rgyal-po being the abbreviated form of the name; but there is no certainty about it.

5. Votive tablet from Ko-loṅ (?), time of Spri-tim-Siṅgh of Sur-stan-pur of Kuḷū (Pritam-Siṅgh of Sultanpur, *c.* 1767 A.D.). It mentions a No-no (younger prince) Tshe-dbaṅ-nor-bu of Ti-nan, who cannot be found in the genealogical tree given above.

6. An unknown queen, Rani Dzvivanti (Rānī Jīvantī, perhaps of Ti-nan), is mentioned in an inscription at Gandhola.

That is practically all that can be gathered from documents.

When Dr. Vogel travelled in Lahul in 1902, he made the personal acquaintance of the Chief Hīrā-cand, who showed him the Maṇi monastery at Ti-nan. Of this monastery the Chief said that he had built it himself in 1880 A.D. A small image in this sanctuary had the inscription: *Jo-Bsod-nams-stob-rgyas-la-na-mo.* It was stated to refer to the Chief Hīrā-cand's deceased brother. This inscription apparently contains the spiritual name of the prince.' The following ancient monasteries are situated within the principality of Ti-nan:—Gandhola (Padmasambhava's time), Chos-skor (Atīśa's time), Śi-la (of unknown origin). But the chronicles of the country do not tell us anything about them, nor do they contain the date of the erection of the stately castle of Ti-nan by a Kuḷū king, as tradition has it.

XIII. The Genealogical Tree of the Chiefs of Bar-ḫbog, Lahul

When stationed as a missionary at Kye-laṅ in Lahul, in 1906, I was told that a certain family of zamindars at Bar-ḫbog was descended from an ancient line of chiefs, and that the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog were once the highest among the baronial houses of Lahul. To find out whether the family was still in possession of old documents or a chronicle, I sent my munshi, Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ, to Bar-ḫbog, to make inquiries. Bzod-pa was so fortunate as to discover a MS. containing the genealogical tree of the family and two votive documents. The latter record the acquisition of a *Bkaḫ-ḫgyur* and a *Za-ma-tog* by members of the family, and contain the names of two kings of Kuḷū. This is of great importance; for without this clue we should not be able to furnish the chiefs of Bar-ḫbog with rough dates.

The castle of Bar-ḫbog, which is still the seat of the family, is situated on a hill above Mkhar-daṅ, the ancient capital of Lahul, on the left bank of the Bhāgā river, opposite Kye-laṅ. The very site of the castle indicates that its residents may have really held authority over Lahul.

Neither the chiefs nor the castle of Bar-ḫbog are mentioned in the chronicles of Ladakh or Kuḷū; but they occur occasionally in historical documents from Lahul.

Although I did not succeed in seeing the original MS. of the pedigree, I am convinced that Bzod-pa's copy of it is quite trustworthy, as I know him to be a very reliable worker. With the exception of a short passage in Tākarī, the document is written in Tibetan *Dbu-can* character. But the language does not appear to be Tibetan throughout. As I find it impossible to translate the non-Tibetan passage, I shall simply transcribe it.[1] The few historical notes which Bzod-pa added to the original document will be reproduced and translated in brackets.

NOTES

The word *ko-khri*, pronounced *kothri*, is the Hindi *koṭhī*, a 'government office'. In Lahul, as in Kuḷū, this word is generally used for the whole district which is governed by the office.[2] For notes on the first non-Tibetan lines see 'The Genealogical-tree of the Chiefs of Ko-loṅ'.

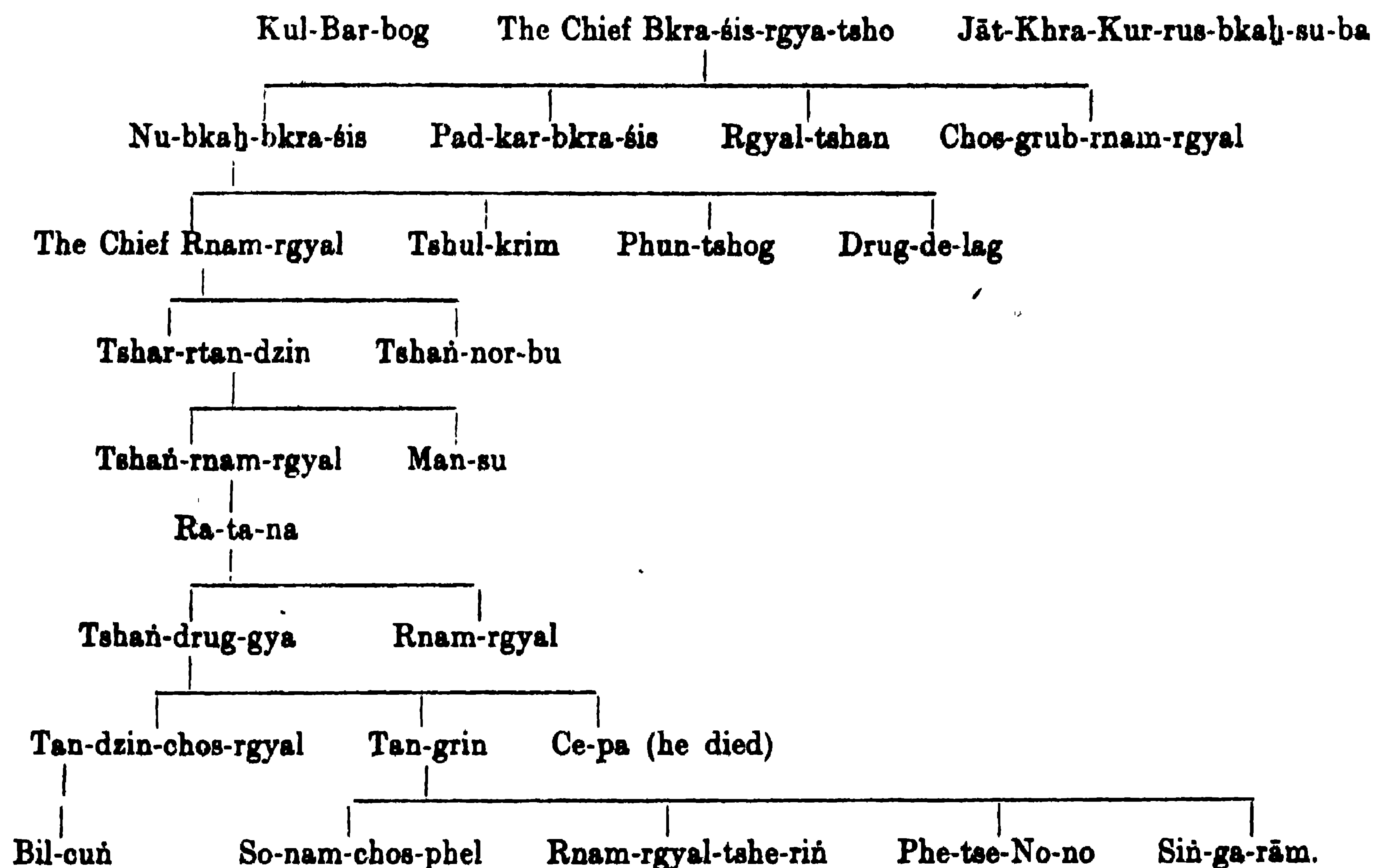
The word *Byo*, which is placed before the name of the first chief, probably stands for *Jo*, 'chief.' It is an orthographical mistake. Hardly any of the names in the list are written correctly. The following is an attempt of my own at restoring them to their correct forms:—Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho, Nu-bkaḫ-bkra-śis, Pad-dkar-bkra-śis, Rgyal-mtshan, Chos-grub-rnam-rgyal, Jo-Rnam-rgyal, Tshul-khrims, Phun-tshogs, Drug(or Ḫbrug)-bde-legs, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-brtan-ḫdzin, Tshaṅ(Thse-dbaṅ)-nor-bu, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-rnam-rgyal, Mansu, Ra-ta-na, Tshaṅ(Tshe-dbaṅ)-drug-brgya, Rnam-rgyal, Brtan-ḫdzin-chos-rgyal, Brtan-drin (Rta-mgrin ?), Goes-pa, Bil-(Bil-ba)-chuṅ, Bsod-nams-chos-ḫphel, Rnam-rgyal-tshe-riṅ, Phe-tse-No-no, Siṅ-ga-Rām.

[1] [But see note 1 on p. 220.—F. W. T.]

[2] Cf. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pt. i, p. 136.

TRANSLATION

[1] [Nag-se-tsi-kabaḥ-be-mu-dzab-na-mu-na-lam-bar 2 ('number two') bā-paṭa-ji-min-gar-pa-nra-ko-khri-Bar-bog ('province of Bar-ḥbog').]



(This genealogy of the chiefs [was copied] from the one that has been preserved in MS. with the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog. According to a statement by the old [ex-]chief who lives there, it is said to have been written during the reign of the Kuḷū Rājā Mān-Siṅgh.

And their power or *jāgīr* remained firmly established down to the chief Bil-cuṅ or Cuṅ-ṅun. After that they were left without a *jāgīr* and [now they] earn a livelihood as peasants. Written by Bzod-pa of Kye-laṅ.)

As we know from other documents from Lahul, Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho was a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Partāb-Siṅgh, who reigned from 1560 to 1584. Bil-cuṅ and his four cousins, on the other hand, were contemporaries of the Kuḷū king, Mān-Siṅgh, 1674–1717 A.D. Thus the genealogical tree has to be placed between the years 1570 and 1700. This is a comparatively short time, if we consider that it comprises nine generations. There must be a mistake somewhere. The genealogical roll was not continued after the chiefs were deposed by Mān-Siṅgh. From another document we learn, in addition, the name of a chief who preceded Jo-Bkra-śis-rgya-mtsho. It is Tshe-riṅ-sa-ḥgrub, a contemporary of the Kuḷū king, Bahādur Siṅgh, and of Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I of Ladakh.[2]

It is very probable that the chiefs of Bar-ḥbog were placed in authority by Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal I of Ladakh on the occasion of his conquest of Kuḷū, which included that of Lahul. The chiefs of Bar-ḥbog had to watch over the interests of the Ladakhi kings. They probably took the side of the Ladakhi kings when Mān-Siṅgh of Kuḷū conquered Lahul, and that may have been the reason why they were deposed.

[1] [On the transliteration and purport of this formula see p. 209, note 1.—F. W. T.]

[2] It is the Bar-ḥbog document that commemorates the acquisition of a *Sūtra Za-ma-tog* in the time of Partāb-Siṅgh of Kuḷū.

ཁོ་རེས་ལ་དགས་མང་ཅགས་རྟེལ་རྒྱུམ་རྩུག་ཁ་དག་མའི་ཀུ་ཟ་རིང་ནང་། གར་ཞང་སིང་པ་ལེབ་ཅིས་དོག་ཅི། ཟ་བྱ་མའི་ཀུ་ཛི་ཨེལ་ཟ།
སིང་པ་ཚོ་ལྷུང་ལིག་ཙ་ཨས་དོག་རེ། རྐྱའི་དོག་བར་དོ་རྡའི་ཀན་ཅིས་དང་། ཅག་ན་རོཁང་མང་མེད་ཀུ་ནང་རྫོད་མེད། ཏུ་ཏུ་ཨས་དོག་
ཀོ་སོང་ཛོ་དུ་ར་ཅན་ངང་། གུང་རང་ཛོ་མོ་དེ་རྒྱམ་གོཁན་ཚ། སྨིམས་ལིག་ཅི་པ་མེ་རྣོག་སྒུ་རང་པ་བ་ལི་རྒྱམ་སྐྱེ་དེ་གི་རིན་ཟ།
སྨིམས་ལིག་ཛི་མི་ཛོག་ཚད་པ་ཁ་ཀལ་རྒྱུམ་རིང་ནང་། དང་ཀའི་ཚད་པ་མ་ཀལ་ག། སྒུ་ཏག་རྒྱན་ཛི་ཀྱུ་རེའི་དེབ་རྒྱུམ། གྲིགས་དང་སྐྱ་བ་
ཛི་ཐག་ལེབ་ཅིས་དང་། ཏུ་རེག་རྩུག་ཨས་དེ་ཁ་ཁ་མོ་རྐྱའི་ལྷུ་ཏེག་ཛི་རྟེལ་རྒྱུམ་གྱི་ཚབས་དོག། ཁ་རྟེལ་ནང་རེ་ཡོག་ཀ་རྟེལ་ཛི།
མི་ཛོག་ཀུར་ཀལ་ནང་། གྲ་ཨེ་བོ་རཨ། རྐྱའི་དོག་ཁ་རེ་གུར་མའི་ཀྱིར་པོ་ཀུ་ཟ།།

ཀྱིར་པ་སྤྱོད་པ་ཏུན་ཏུབ་ཡོ་མར་ཛི། ཀྱེ་ལང་པ་བརྫོད་པ་བདེ་ཚེན་ཟི་ཞི་ཤི་ཡིན།།

TRANSLATION

ACCOUNT OF THE TRADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF LA-DAGS AND KU-ZU

At first the Bod-pa (Tibetans) reigned in Gar-ża; later on a certain king of Ku-zu conquered Gar-ża from the Bod-pa, and he reigned. At that time the kings, both of La-dags and Ku-zu, made an agreement as follows:—The king of Ku-zu [promised] to send much iron to La-dags annually, and the king of La-dags [promised] to send sulphur in this direction. Then they did accordingly, and the king of Ku-zu gave orders that the people of Gar-ża, instead of a field-tax, were to give to the king of La-dags one *ba-ṭi* of iron each annually. The people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog each had to buy a *ba-ṭi* of iron in Ku-zu and to bring it. If you ask how all this iron was sent to La-dags, [we answer] that a man called 'the king's messenger' came from La-dags to Gar-ża to receive the iron. Then all the people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog from Thi-rōṭ up to here had to bring each house one *ba-ṭi* of iron before that messenger, and an old bag to hold the iron. Then that messenger, having loaded the iron on the people of Gar-ża and Me-rlog, transported the iron as far as Liṅ-ti. At that time there was no road through (from) Kye-laṅ, but through (from) Kar-daṅ (Mkhar-daṅ on the left bank of the Bhāgā). As soon as the loads arrived, the call to work was issued, and all the people had to assemble at Kar-daṅ. More than a 100 loads (coolie-loads) had to be sent to La-dags annually. The La-dags people did not give any wages or bakhshish to the carriers; instead of that they wielded the stick, and the transport was carried on under continual beating. The iron had to be taken as far as Liṅ-ti. From there we had to come back, carrying sulphur which had been brought there by the Ladakhis, and the Ladakhis went away, carrying the iron. When the sulphur had been brought to Kye-laṅ, it was passed on from Kye-laṅ according to the inter-village service, and sent to Ku-zu. At that time a man called Drun-drub of the house Myoṅ-pa of Kyor was 13 years old (or Drun-drub saw the trade carried on till he was 13 years old). He told me that he himself did service in the transport of the iron to Liṅ-ti. All that is written here was written as it was heard from his mouth. Now he is 77 years old. If we ask how the transport of iron to La-dags came to an end later on, [we answer] that it came to an end when the Siṅ-pas arrived in Gar-ża. When the Siṅ-pas reigned, they gave much trouble to everybody; every day people fled into the narrow valleys

and remained there. At that time Ta-ra-can was chief of Ko-loṅ, and Moti-Rām chief of Guṅ-raṅ. A man called Bali-Rām, of Phu-raṅ in Me-rlog, was judge. If you ask what kind of punishment he inflicted in passing judgment, [we answer that] he did not fine people; he tied them to a tree and flogged them. Later on the Sā-ba (Sahibs, English) arrived here. Instead of stealing labour, as had been done before, they paid for what they wanted. When they put a load on a man, they paid him good wages; and now there is no more fear, but happiness.

This was told by Drun-drub of the house Myoṅ-pa of [the village of] Kyor. It was written down by Bzod-pa-Bde-chen of Kye-laṅ.

NOTES

The above account contains the date of the abolition of the trade. The account was written in 1907, when Drun-drub was 77 years old. Consequently Drun-drub was born in 1830. The trade was discontinued when Drun-drub was 13 years old, i.e. in 1843 A.D. As Dr. K. Marx tells us in *JASB.*, vol. lx, p. 119, note, the tax-collector of the king of Ladakh used to visit Lahul, and probable Kuḷū, some twenty years ago, i.e. in 1870. I should think that such a thing could be done only secretly. Or does it refer to certain estates in Lahul which in Moorcroft's time (1820 A.D.) were the particular property of the kings of Ladakh ? The Sikhs who abolished the trade are called Siṅ-pa in the above account, because all the names of the Sikh kings ended in Siṅgh.

The text contains a number of local names in their Bu-nan dress. Thus, Ku-zu is the Bu-nan name for Kuḷū. Gar-źa is used in two ways; sometimes it signifies the whole of Lahul, and sometimes it is used as the name of the Chandrā and Bhāgā valleys only, whilst the valley of the united rivers (the district of the Manchad language) is called Me-rlog. Dr. Vogel in his MS. notes on Lahul gives Ku-zuṅ as the Gārī (Bu-nan) name of Kuḷū. Ku-zuṅ is the locative case of Ku-zu. He adds that Kuḷū is called Ram-ti by the people of Ti-nan, and Ram-di by those of Caṅsa (Me-rlog). The Tibetans call it Ñuṅ-ti. Liṅ-ti is the name of a nomad's camping-ground north of the Baralatsa pass.

A family of the name of Pho-ña, 'messenger,' is still resident at She, Ladakh. It is probably the same family of which one member acted as royal messenger to Lahul in former days.

The Bu-nan language was first reduced to writing by the late Rev. A. W. Heyde, of Kye-laṅ, Lahul, in 1869 A.D. He used Tibetan characters for writing Bu-nan. He also made a first attempt at writing a Bu-nan grammar. More grammatical notes are found in vol. iii of the Linguistic Survey, and in my article 'Tabellen der Pronomina und Verba in den drei Sprachen Lahul's', *ZDMG.*, vol. lxiii, pp. 65 ff.

The tree to which culprits were tied for flogging is still pointed out at Taṅ-ti (Tandi) in Me-rlog.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TRADE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF LADAKH AND KULŪ

BY YE-ŚES-RIG-ḤDZIN OF KHA-LA-RTSE

TEXT

ད་ལྟ་སྐྱེལ་མོ་ཀུའི་གནས་ཚུལ་ནི། དང་པོ་མོ་ཀུ་ལ་འགྲོ་མཁན་གྱི་མིང་ནི། མེས་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་དཔལ་འབྱོར། དེའི་བུ་དོན་གྲུབ་བཀྲ་ཤིས། དེའི་བུ་ཚེ་རིང་ཕུན་ཚོགས། མི་རབས་གསུམ་པོ། དཔེ་ནི། དཀར་ཆ། ཞང་ནི་ཟླུག། ལ་དྭགས་ནས་ཟླ་ཞི་འཁྱེར་ནས། ལས་བཟང་པོ་ཡང་ན་ངན་པ་ཅི་འདུག་ལྟ་ཕྱིར་ཏུ་སོང་ནས། ཕྱིར་ལོག་ཡོང་ཟ་ན། ལུགས་བཀལ་ནི་ཁྱོང་སློལ་འདུག། ཚེ་རིང་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བུ། བློ་བཟང་བསོད་ནམས་ད་ལྟ་འདུག། འདི་ལྟར་མོ་ཀུ་འགྲོ་ལུགས་ལ་ལྟ་ན། སྔོན་མ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཡོད་དུས། དཔེ་ནི། དཀར་ཆ། ཞང་ནི། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་གཡོག་ཡིན་ནེ། མོ་ཀུ་འདི་འདུག་པའི་ཁང་པ་ཞིག་ཞང་ནི་ཙ་རག་ས་ཡང་ཡོད་མེར་འདུག།།

TRANSLATION

Now, as regards the position of the *pho-ña* (messengers) of Śel :—The name of the first who went as a messenger was Tshe-dbaṅ-dpal-ḥbyor, the forefather ; his son was Don-grub-bkra-śis ; his son [was] Tshe-riṅ-phun-tshogs. These three generations went as far as Dpe-ti (Spyi-ti), Dkar-cha (Lahul), and Ñuṅ-ti (Kuḷū), carrying sulphur from La-dvags. They also had to look after good and bad works (inflict judgment). There was a custom that on their way back they had to transport iron. Blo-bzaṅ-bsod-nams, the son of Tshe-riṅ-phun-tshogs, is still alive. Regarding the way of travelling of those *pho-ña* : At the time when the kings of La-dvags were still in power Dpe-ti, Dkar-cha, Ñuṅ-ti were under [the sway of] the kings of La-dvags. The house where the *pho-ñas* resided in Ñuṅ-ti still exists, as [people] say.

NOTE

It is remarkable that the only *pho-ña* who is mentioned in the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, viz. Bsod-nams-ṅos-grub, cannot be found in the above list.

XV. The Ministers of Rgya

The following account of the rise of the chiefs or ministers of Rgya to great power is found on pp. 73 and 74 of the Treaty of Wam-le :—

TEXT

p. 73. ལྷག་ཏུ་རྒྱལ་སྲས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་གསུང་ལས་ན་རེ ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་རིམ་བྱོན་པ་ཡི[ས]་བྲུ་ལ་གསང་གཏམ་བཀའ་
ཆེམས་རྩལ་དུ། རྒྱ་བ་ཇོ་བོའི་རིགས་མཁར་གྱི་ལས་ཚན་མགོ་སར་མི་བསྐྱལ་ཏེ། མགོ་སར་བསྐྱལ་ན། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡུལ་འཁོར་
ཚང་མ་ལ་སྲུབ་བརྒྱུག་ནས ། ཞོད་པ་ཞིག་ཡོངས་ལས་མི་འོས་རྩལ ། གསུང་བ་མེས་ལྷད་ཀུན་ལ་ རླུང་ལྷར་དུ་བརྟལ་བ་ཡིན་འདུག་
ཀུང་ ། མེས་ཉེ་མའི་སྐབས ། རྒྱ་བ་ཇོ་བོ་འབྲུག་གྲགས་ཀྱི་བུ་མོ་ཞིག་མར་བཙུན་པ ། ཕྱི་དེ་ལས་ལྡོག་ཏེ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉེ་མའི་དྲུང་འཁོར་
དུ་ཆུད ། མི་རིང་བར་བཀའ་བློན་དུ་འཁེལ ། དེ་ནས་བརྩམ ། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཐང་གི[ས]་སྐྱེངས་ནས་ཟ་བར ། ཇམ་པ་
འབའ་ཞིག་པས་དུས་འདས་མེད་ ། དཔེར་ན ། ས་ཞིང་ཁོ་ནས་མཆོད་པ ། ཁོ་རང་བ་བུ་སྤུན་རྣམས་ནས་མཁར་གྱི་ས་རིས་ཁ་ནས་
གསར་ཆོད་དུ་བླང་བ་དང་ ། མཁར་གྱི་བྲག་འདེབས་ཉེ་མ(ཉ་མ?)་ནས་ཁ་ལ་རྩེའི་བར་བྱིགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་སྒོམས་ན[ས] ། དེ་བས་ལྷབ་
འགྱུར་ལས་ཀུང་ལྷག་པ་ཙམ་ད་ལྟ་མངོན་སུམ་འདི་ཡིན་མཆོད་ལ ། བྲུ་རིག་ཨ་ཁྲ་སྲུལ་པའི་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡང་བློན་བསོད་
ཀྱི་བུ་སྤུན་གྱི་ས་ཞིང་དང་ ། ཨ་ཁྲ་རྒྱ[ལ]་པོའི་བྲག་འདེབས་གཉིས་བློན་པོ་ལ་ལག་འདེབས་བྱས་པ་མ་ངེས་ཡོད་སྐད་དང་ ། དེར་མ་ཟད །
བློན་པོའི་འབངས་སྡེ་ཡང་ཨ་ཁྲ་ལ་བཙོ་བ་ཙམ་ཡོད་འདུག་པ ། དེ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དབང་ཐང་སྐྱེད་ནས་གསར་ཆོད་[1]བྱས་
པ་ཁོ་ན་ཡིན་ལ ། ཁོ་རང་གི་བ་ཞིས་དངོས་མ་རེ ། སོང་ཤུས་ལ་དྭགས་སྐྱོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བ་མཁར་སྐྱེ ། དེ་རི་ལ་དྭགས་ཡུལ་སྲོལ་བཞིན་བྲུ་
གན་པས་འཛིན་པ་ལས ། གཉོད་པས་མི་ཐོབ་སྐྱེ ། རྗེན་རིས་རྒྱ་བ་ཇོ་བོ་མི་རབས་ཅི་རྩེད་མང་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ཡང་ ། བྲུ་ཆུང་ཚོས་སྐོར་
ཞུགས་གཟིགས ། ཐེམས་རྐང་གཅིག་ལས་མ་འཕེལ་ལ ། ངེད་ཀྱི་མེས་ཉེ་མའི་སྐབས ། མཁར་གྱི་ས་རིས་བློན་པོས་ཅི་བདེར་སྤྱད་ཚོག་པ་
བྱུང་གཟིགས ། བློན་བསོད་རང་གི[ས]་བྲུ་སྤུན་ཚོས་སྐོར་གཅིག་ཀུང་མ་བརྒྱུག་ནས ། མཁར་གྱི་ས་གཉིས་འཕོང་མེད་[དུ]་བགོ་ཁ་བྱས །
ཁོ་རང་གི་བུ་མོ་རྣམས་མཁར་གྱི་སྲས་མོའི་ཉེར་དུ་དཔོན་ཁག་རྣམས་ལ་བག་མར་བཏང་ ། རིགས་ཀུང་མངའ་བདག་ཡིན་རྒྱ་བ་བྱས །
མཐར་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་དངོས་ཐོབ་པར་རེ་ཞིང་ ། མཁར་དུ་དབང་ཆོད་དང་ཆོད་ཡོད(མཆོད་ཡོན?)་དམ་པ་ཚབས་པོ་ཆེ་འབའ་ཞིག་གི[ས]་དུས་
འདའ་བས ། འབངས་ཀྱིན་ཕྱིག་གི་རྣམ་པ་བཟོད་དཀའ་བྱས་པ ། རྒྱ་དཀར་རྒྱ་ནག་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་སོགས ། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ལ་རྒྱའི་བདག་པོ་
སྲུ་ཡི[ན]་བས[མ]་ཀུང་ ། བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི[ས]་རྩ་ར་བཏང་དགོས་འོས་སུ་བབ་པའི་དང་རྩལ་ཞིབ་པར་དག་ཐོག ། ལྷ་ཆོག་འབྲུལ་དགོས་
ཡོད་ཀུང་ ། བཟང་མཆམས་ལོ་དུས་ལ་ཞིབ་གླེང་མི་དགོས་པ་དང ། དེར་མ་ཟད ། མཐའ་དག་ཉན་པ་ཡང་ ། མི་སྤྱོད་རྩལ་བཀའ་ནན་གྱི་
བ་ཞེབས་སྐབས་འདིར་ལྷ་མ་སྦྱིན་མེད་ ། གང་ལྟར་བློན་རྩལ་རང་ནས་མཁར་ལ་རྩིས་མེད་ཀྱི་རྒྱར་གནོད་འཕགས་མེད་ཏུ་ཆེ་བར་
བརྟེན ། མཁར་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི[ས]་རྗེ་གདོན་གནོད་དགོས་བྱུང་སོང་བ་དང་ ། བློན་བྲུ་གཉིས་ངེད་ལ་སློག་སྐྱབས་བྱུང་བཞིན ། ངེད་

[1] For ཚོར་གཅོད །

ནས་ཀྱང་སྔོག་རྒྱབས་རྒྱབས་རྗེ་རིམ་པ་འབྲུག་པའི་བཀའ་བཞིན་ཁ་ཞེ་མེད་པར་བྱས་པ། དཀོན་མཆོག་དཔང་བཏུག་ཡིན་ཡང༌། འདི་ལ་རྩིས་མེད་མགོ་བསྐོར་བཏང༌། དེ་མི་དགོན་པ་བཟུར་ནས་ནམ་ཆེན་མཐའ་དག་ཐར་པ་སྐྱིད་ཡིན་ཀྱང། དེ་ལ་ཡང་ཆ་འཛོག་པ་མེད་པར། སྒྲུད་མར་དགོན་སྡེའི་བསྟན་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་ལ་གནོད་པའི་དཔེར་ཁོས་པ་བྱས་ནས། སྔོས་ཉེ་ཨ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་རྩར་སོང༌ ། ། . . .

[Note by Joseph-Thse-brtan : རྒྱ་པ་ཇོ་ལ་སྐྱོད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅ་སྐྱེ། གྲྭལ་བེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐྱུད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅ་སྐྱེ། དེ་གཉིས་ཀྱུགས་ཅན་ཡོད་ཚོད་འདུག། རྒྱ་པ་ཇོ་ཞེལ་སྐྱུན་བླ་བར་མག་མལ་ཉེ་བེ་བསྒྲུངས་ནས། མཁར་ལ་འོངས། དེ་བཞིན་གྲྭལ་བེ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དཔེ་སྲོལ་ཁང་ལྷུག་བར་མག་མལ་ཉེ་བེ་བསྒྲུངས་ནས། མཁར་ལ་འོང་བའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན་ཅེས་ཟེར་རོ།།]

TRANSLATION

p. 73. Furthermore, the precious prince (Tshe-dbaṅ-rnam-rgyal) said: The Ladakhi kings in due succession [told] father to son, a secret word, in the manner of a testament; that the family of the Rgya chiefs must not be given an office in the castle or be entrusted with a high position. If they be placed in a high position, they will put a bridle on the king of La-dvags, and on the country, and behave [like] a rider.[1] This is not right! Although that speech was scattered among all the wise, as if by wind (?), in the time of [my] ancestor Ñi-ma, the younger brother of Ḥbrug-grags, chief of Rgya, first became a monk; then he withdrew from that and entered the court of king Ñi-ma. After a short time he was made minister (*bkaḥ-blon*). Then he began to nibble away the royal power of La-dvags; time passed in continual coveting. For example, he recorded exactly [the] land and fields: he investigated and made inquiries regarding the territories belonging to the castle [of Rgya], according to [the statements of] his father's sons and brothers, and collected into one the registers of the castle extending from Ño-ma (Ña-ma ?) to Kha-la-rtse. Though this was repeatedly done, yet from what now remains, this may be clearly shown:—Although it is falsely said that in the realm of [my] uncle of Pu-rig, king of Mul-be, there are grounds and fields belonging to the sons of the minister Bsod, and that two registers of [my] uncle-king were given to the minister as [his] register; yet, apart from that, the realm of the minister was [so great] as to rival that of [my] uncle. All this has been revoked through the authority of the king of La-dvags. His own real inheritance is the before-mentioned castle of Rgya in Upper La-dvags. According to the custom of La-dvags this was to be taken by the eldest son; the younger ones were not to receive anything. According to that [custom], [among] the chiefs of Rgya, through all generations that can be traced, the younger sons had to enter the clergy. They never increased to more than one branch. But in the days of our ancestor Ñi-ma the territory of the castle was dealt with just as the minister pleased. The minister Bsod did not send a single one of his sons to the clergy, and he distributed the territories of the castle in a lavish manner. His daughters he gave in marriage to officers (*dpon-khag*), instead of princesses of the [royal] castle. His family he made dominant. He hoped that in the end the kingdom would really become his own. At the castle

[1] Or, if *gžon-pa* is to be read instead of *ȷon-pa*, 'a younger one must not be allowed to come up.'

the time was spent in offerings for power (*dbaṅ-mchod* ?), and very great covetousness. The section of the subjects who had to bear the change found it hard to remain patient.[1] The kings of India, China, and Tibet thought 'Who is this master of Rgya [who appears] in the government ? Inquiry must be made according to law! What is due to it ought to be really attached to it!' Although such words should be said, now, in the days of agreement (*bzaṅ-mtshams*), we must not speak about it too closely. Besides, it might be heard by[2] the frontier [nations], and here [I] do not venture [to attack with] heavy orders this unduly behaviour. On account of very great damage to Rgya, through respect not being paid to the castle [of Leh] by the ministers [of Rgya] themselves, it was [found] necessary to suppress the chiefs by law from the castle [of Leh]. The two sons of the minister appeared before me in order to save their lives, and, in accordance with the word of the great saviour, the holy Ḫbrug-pa [lama], their safety was granted by us in a sincere manner, and the [Three] Precious Ones were called as witnesses. Nevertheless they have deceived us innumerable times; and, although the He-mi monastery has been [called] Nam-ṡhen-mthaḫ-dag-thar-pa-gliṅ from early times, they did not adhere to it, but have worked against its teaching. This made them worthy of an example of harm (?) to be done to Rgya. Then they ran away, and went to the uncle-king [of Mul-ḫbye] . . .

[Popular saying reported by Joseph Tshe-brtan :—The chief of Rgya was called king of Upper [Ladakh]; the king of Mul-be was called king of Lower [Ladakh]. Both were powerful. When the chief of Rgya [arrived] at Sman-bla of Śel, he put on a velvet cap, and went to the castle [of Leh]. Likewise, when the Mul-be king [arrived] at Khaṅ-ltag of Dpe-thob, he put on a velvet cap and went to the castle [of Leh]. Such is the custom that is said to have existed.]

NOTES

As regards the genealogy of the Rgya chiefs, two members only are mentioned in the above text. The first generation consists of the Chief Ḫbrug-grags and his brother Bsod (the minister Bsod or Blon-Bsod). The second consists of the two sons of the minister Bsod. According to the 'Treaty of Wam-le' they are called Dbaṅ-rgyal and Bstan-ḫphel. The name of the uncle-king is Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal, king of Pu-rig. He resided at Mul-ḫbye. The Ḫbrug-pa lama who spoke in favour of the sons of the Rgya minister is the same who presided at the Treaty of Wam-le. His name was Bhoṭa-dzo-ki-Harinātha. A Rājā of Giah (Rgya), named Tsimma Panchik (Ḫjigs-med-phun-tshogs), is mentioned by Moorcroft (*Travels*, i, p. 233).

[1] The translation of the passage here following is uncertain.
[2] Or 'listened to'.

XVI. The Services of General Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje according to the account of King Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal

INTRODUCTION

The original of this document was discovered by Joseph Tshe-brtan at Leh, in 1915, and sold to Sir John Marshall, together with a number of other documents of more or less importance. It is No. 45 of Joseph Tshe-brtan's Second Collection of Tibetan decrees.

The document contains a grant of land by the king to his faithful general. The second part, therefore, contains a list of sites given to the general. The first part is that which interests us here. In it king Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal gives a tale of the general's services under several kings of Ladakh. As the general was engaged in more than one expedition against Baltistan, and as the names of several Balti chiefs are mentioned, the document is of importance in regard to Balti history. Concerning this history we have not yet come to know much beyond the genealogies of chieftains collected by Cunningham and published in his *Ladák*. Down to the present time it has not been proved that any of the names found in them are historical. It is through the publication of the present document that at least some of the later Balti chieftains given in Cunningham's list can be proved to have been known to the Ladakhis.

The narrative would have us believe that the Ladakhi kings were the suzerains of the Baltis. But from other documents it appears that on the whole the Balti chiefs did as they pleased. They may have bowed before the Ladakhis whenever the Ladakhi armies were at the gates of their capitals. Otherwise they were apparently rather independent.

TEXT

ཞབས་འདེགས་གྲུབ་པ་རྣམས་གསལ་པོར་ཁྲངས་ལྟར་ཏུ་རྫོང་ན། མི་ཞམ་[ཅི?]་པོའི་གོ་འགྱུར་དང་། དབྱི་རའི་རྒྱུད་མང་སྡེབས་པ་ལྷ་བུའི་སྐད་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཆང་ནང་སྐྱིང་བར་བྱ་བས། ཁྲོད་ཅག་ཀུནཿནི་བའི་སྒོ་ལེགས་པར་གཏོད་ལ། དགའ་བར་བྱེས་མིག། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་འདི་རང་ལོ་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་སྐབས་བསྐོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་དང་མཉམ་ཁ་བྲ་ཡོར་བྱེད་དས། ཞབས་འདེགས་ཀྱི་ཐོག་མར་སྣ་སྣ་ཏ་ཐི་མཁད་པ་བྲ་འཛོད་འཆང་གི་སྐབས། སྣོ་རིག་གྲིམ་པོའི། ཉིད་མཚན་ཏུ་མ་ལྷོགས་པ། དགུ་ཐབས་ཀྱི[ས]་བྱ་བར། སྣོ་འཇུག་པའི་རྐྱར་ཞིག་རྫོད། ཕྱུལ་ཏུ་མནད་པ་བྱུང་བ་དང་།

མིང་ཕྱུག་ཡོར་༤་སོང་ས་དེར་ཡབ་སྲས་རྣམས་པ་སྐྱུམ་ལ་དམག་འཛུག་ཏུ་བཅས་ཏུས་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དས་གང་གྱུར་མཚན་གྱི་ཆག་བཙ་སོགས་ཐབ་ར་སོང་དས། ཉིད་མཚན་ལྷོགས་མེད་དུ་རྐྱར་ཞིག་མིག་ལྷོགས་ལ་མནད་པ་བྱས་མིང་།།

མེ་སྦྲུལ་ལོར་འདབ་ལད་མཁན་དང་དང་མ་མཉམ་པར། མི་སྐྱར་པ་དབྱང་དུ་སྐྱུད་ནས། ས་གླིང་མཁར་བསྒམ་ནས་བྲ་བྲར་ཞུ་ཐུག་བོ་འགྲོ་སྐབས། བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་དང་མཉམ་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས། ས་གླིང་མཁར་ནས་འདབ་ལད་མཁན་བབ་སྐབས་དམག་སྐབས་ཀྱི་གྲོས་རོགས་དང་གང་ཕྱིར་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུན་གྱི་ངག་སྐོར་དུ་ཀྲུར་ཞེག་བྱས་འདུག་པ་དང་ ||

ས་ཐག་ལོར་སྐར་རྡོ་པ་ལ་མི་སྐྱར་ནས་དམག་གཉིས་བྱས། འཇིགས་སྐྲག་མ་ཐོད་པར་འདི་ཁར་དབྱང་རོགས་ཕྱིན་པར། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་དེ་སྐབས་དང་སྐྲ་མེར་པ་བྱུང་ནས། དམག་མགོར་བཏང་བར། ད་དུ་བར་ཕྱིན་ནས། མི་སྐྱར་པ་ལ་སྤྱ་འགྲོས་སོ་ཉ་ཉི་ཉག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྒོ་ནས་སྡིངས་ནས། དེ་བར་ད་ཐུར་འཕེན་འདུག་པར། བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་མེད། དར་སྙེང་དུ་སྨན་སྨིན་པ་ལྕ་བྲ་སོང་ནས། དེ་སོག་ནས་དམག་བཏེག་དགོས་མེད་པ་མི་སྐྱར་པ་འདི་ཁའི་ཞལ་ཚོག་ཏུ་ཞིབ་པ་བྱུང་ ||

ལྕགས་བྱི་ལོར་བསོད་དང་དཀར་རྩེ་གཉིས་ཅིག་སྲིད་བྱས། ཁ་རྒྱལ་དང་རྒྱ་ཐུག་སོགས་པ་ རོལ་པོའི[ས]་བསྒྲུམ་སྐབས། རྒྱ་ཐུག་དཀར་རྩེའི་ཕྱོགས་ལ་དམག་མགོར་རབ་བརྟན་བཏང་ས། བསོད་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ དམག་ མགོར་ ཚུལ་ ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར། ཀུར་སྐར་ཐང་དམག་སྐར་ཐབ་ཐོག། བསོད་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱལ་དམག་ལུགས་སུ་ཐལ་མར་ཕྱིན་ ནས། མཁར་གདོང་དུ་ཁྱུག་པ་སོང་བས། མཁའ་[འགྲོ་]རི་ལ། རི་[སྟོར་དམག་འདེགས་བཏང་]བར། ཚར་སྐྱིད་བཙུང་ཟད་ཙམ་མེད་པར་ རི་ སྟུ་ བཙགས་ནས། [མཁའ་འགྲོ་]རི་བསྒྲུམ་པར་སྟུ་ལྷག་ཏུ་དམག་སྐར་བརྩུགས་ནས་ཞག་བདུན་གྱི་བར་མཁར་ སྐོར་ བཏང་ བར། སྟག་རམ་ཕྱིག་ཐབས། ཁ་སླུངས་ནས་འདིར་ཕྱུག་ལ་ཕྱིངས། སྟ་ཉིལ་མཁན་ལ་སྨར་རྩེ་དང་ལྷ་ལུང་ཚལ་མོ་སོགས་མཁར་སྐལ་དུ་བཏངས། བསོད་ཀྱི་མདའ་ མན་ ཆེན་ མོ་བཙས་གཏམ་དོན་དུ་མན་རྒྱར་འདིར་ཕྱིངས་མེད ||

ཆུ་སྟག་ལོར་མི་སྐྱར་ཛེ་ཨ་ཟམ་མཁན་ནས། སྐར་རྡོ་སྟལ་ཏི་མཐའ་དག་རོང་ཡུལ་སྤྲ་ཁལ་སོགས་རང་དབང་བདག་འདུས་བྱས། ནྡ་ནྡ་ཏ་ཐམ་མཁན་ལ་དམག་གཞོམས་ཀྱི། འཇིགས་ སྐྲག་ཆེན་པོའི། འདི་ཁར་དབྱང་དམག་ཕྲུས་འབྱུང་བར། དགུན་ཟླ་༡༥་པ་ཁ་བའི་དུས་བྱང་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བྱས། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་དམག་མགོར་བཏངས་པར། ལྷུམ་ར་ནས་བྱས། མ་འགྱངས་པར་ཕྱིན་ནས། ནྡ་ནྡ་ཏ་ཐམ་མཁན་ས་བུ་ཛི་ཐན་དང་མི་ཤིམ་པ་སོགས། མཆམས་སྦྱོར་བཟང་པོའི་དང་འགྲིག་བཙུག་ནས། སྐྱོ་རིས་ཀྱི་ཁར་ཐལ་མར་ཕྱིན་ནས། ཀུ་རེས་སོགས་སུ་བུ་མ་[ས]ཕྱོངས་པར་མཁར་ཡུལ་སོགས་ལག་ཏུ་སླྡངས། སྐྱོ་རིས་སུ་ཁྱུག་པ་སོང་བར། མིར་གྱི་བུ་ཞིག་ལ་རང་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ལག་ཐལ་དུ་སོང་ནས་མི་ སྐབས། རང་ཕྱོགས་ ཀྱི་ སྟལ་ ཏི་ ཛེ་ཐན་ཐམས་ཅད་ནས་རང་རེ་ཆོས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་གདམ་འདོད་རྩེས་པའི། ཐམས་ཅད་དགྲར་འབྱུར་བ་སོགས་གཞས་པོ(དཀགས་པོ་?)་འགྲོ་དུས། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་འདི་དགྲ་ཕྱོགས་སུ་དཔའ་ཞིང་། རང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་མཛངས་མེད། ཐར་མཁས་པའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེར་སྐྱེད་ནས། ཕྱི་ནང་ཐོག་མཐའ་[བར་]གསུམ་ དུ་གང་ ལ་གང་མཆམས་ཀྱི་མཆམས་སྦྱོར་བྱས་པར། རང་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་སྟལ་ཏི་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བློ་མཐུགས་ཐུབ་པ་ བྱུང་ ནས། སྐྱོ་རིས་མཁར་ལ་མགྱོགས་ཀྱི་[འ]ཁྱུལ་འཁོར་བརྩུགས་ནས། མག་ཟུར་མཁན་སློབ་རྩེག་རྩམ(= འཇིགས་པ་ཙམ)་ཡང་འགྲོ་མ་བཙུག་པར། སྨྱབ(= ཟབ)་ནས་མཁར་ལག་ཏུ་སླྡངས་མེད། དེ་སོ་རངས་སུ། མི་སྐྱར་སྐར་རྡོ་རོང་ཡུལ་འབྲུ་ཁལ་སོགས་ཀྱི་དམག་དབྱང་ ཕྱོགས་ཅིག་ཏུ་སྒྲིལ་[ནས] ། རང་ཕྱོགས་དམག་སྐར་ཐོག་ཕྱོངས(= མཆོངས)་ནས་འཁྲུག་འཐབ་ཆེན་ པོ་འགྲོ་དུས། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནས་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་སེམ་སྟབས་མ་ཕྱིར་བ་ཡང་བག་ཚ་མེད་པར། དགྲ་སྟབས་ལ་མཁས་པའི[ས]་བཀོད་པ་ཐབས་མེད་པར་སྒྲིགས་ནས་མར་ཐབས་པར། ས་རོལ་པོའི་དབྱང་ཆེན་དུས་ཅིག་ཏུ་བར་[ས]ཅིག། ས་རོལ་པོ་མི་བ་དང་མཆོད་སོག་སོགས་རྩེས་སུ་མེད་པ་ཐལ་ ཆེར་ ཆར་ འཕྱོངས(= མཆོངས)་མེད། འཇིག་རྟེན་ས་རོལ་གྱི་ལས་དུ་ཐོང་བ་བྱས་མེད། གོ་མཚོན་ཉ་དང་བཅས་པ་ཚར་སླྡངས་པ་དང་ |

ཞི་ལྟར་ཞེས་བྱ་ན། གཞན་སྐྱེ་འཇོམས་པ་ལ་མཆོག་ཏུ་རྟུམ་པའི་དམག་དཔོན། དགྲ་སོག་ཏུ་མི་བཟུང་བའི་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་དཔའ་བསྐོར།

མི་སྨྲན་པའི་ངག་གི[ས] ་ཚར་གཅོད ། སྙིང་རྗེ་མེད་པའི་ཡིད་ཀྱི[ས] ་དགྲ་བོ་རྒྱ་ལག་དང་བཅས་པ་གཞོབ་ཏུ་བསྒྲིག་པ་ལ་དཔའ་བའི་མེ་ཐུང་ལྷ་བུར་གྱུར་ཞིང་ ། ཕ་རོལ་གསུམ་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བས ། མཚན་དོན་ལ་རྒྱ་སྲིད་རྗེར་འདེགས་པའི་བྱེད་པོ་ཀོ་ནར་གྱུར་ཞིང་ ། མི་སྨྲར་རྗེ་ཨ་བསམ (= ཐམ) ་མཁན་འཛིགས་སྐྲག་ཆེན་པོའི[ས] ་ཏོང་ཕྱུལ་འབྲུ་མལ་ཕྲོགས་ཐོས ། སྨྲར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་མི་སྨྲར་དུ་བྱེད་ནས ། ཨ་ཞི་མཁན་མཁར་དུ་རྗེ་ལ་བསྐོས ། སྨྲར་རྗེ་ཏུ་མ་མ་ཟ་ཕར་མཁན་རྗེར་བཀོད ། སྨྲར་སྐྲག་མ ། པར་ཀུ་ཏ ། རྩོལ་ཏི་སོགས་ནས་རྗེ་ལྷ་ཟིར་བཅས་རང་རང་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དང་བཅས་དེར་ཐུག་ཐུལ་དུ་ཞེགས [པོ་བྱེད་] པར་ཚོགས་མིད ། [འདི་ཁའི་མཚན་དོན་དུ་] མི་སྨྲར་ཀྱི་མིང་རྒྱལ་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་བཅད ། ཐག་ལ་ཡི་གེ་ཐིམ་སྤྱོད་དུས་ཐོག་མར་ཡལ་བས(= བའི?) ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྐྱང་པོའི་གདུང་རིང་སེལ་ཀྱི་ཕུང་པོ་ཅན ། སངས་རྒྱས་[པ]ས་ཏུར་སྐུ་ལྷམས་པའི་ཏུ་ཅོ ། ཏུ་སྨྲག་དཀར་རྩེ་པ་སོགས་དང་ ། ལུགས་ཀྱི་མདའ་མན་མེད་གྲགས་ཅན་སོགས ། འདི་ཁར་ཐུག་ཏུ་འཁྱེར་ཞིང་ ། གཞན་ཡང་དང་སྨྲན་རྗེར (= སྨྲན་མཛོར?) ་ཁྲང་ཐུར་ཡལ་བའི་ལག་ཚ་རྟ་ཏ་རིབ་སོགས་རྗེས་སོབ་ཐུབ་པ་འབྱུང་ཞིང་ ། མདོར་ན་སྨྲལ་ཏེ་རིགས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་པ་ཐུང་དུར་བྱེད་པའི་ [ག] ཉེན་པོ་ཀོ་ནར་གྱུར་ཞིང་ ||

རྒྱ་ཡོས་ལོར་གཅིག་མ་དོར་འཛིན་དབང་མོ ། སྐྱིའི་སྐྱེ་པ་བཅས་ཕར་ཐེབས་སྐབས་སུ ། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན་སྐྱེལ་དུ་ཐུངས་པར ། སྐྱིའི་སྐྱེ་པ་ཡབ་ནས་མཛད་མ་བདེ་བ་ཞིག་ལ ། . . . . འཛུམ་ལང་པ་དང་ཁོན ། སྐྱེ་པ་དང་ ། ཨ་པི་དོར་འཛིན ། ཞལ་ངོ་དཔོན་སློན་བཞི་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་སྐག་ཏུ་མོན་ཀྱི་བཙོན་དུ་བཟུམ་ནས ། སྐོར་མོན་ཀྱི་འཛིགས་ཉེན་གྱིས་གཞིར་དུས ། ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་ནས་སྤོ་གསོད་དུ་བྱེད་ནས ། སྐྱེ་འཆིང་བླ་དུར་སྐུ་ཞོགས་ཤ་སྦྱོར་མཁས་པ་ཐམས་ནས་སོག་པོ་རྟ་པ་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཞིག་དང་ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་བདུན་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་བཅས ། སྐྱིའི་དམག་ཞིབ་བསྐུལ་ཐམས ། སྐག་རྫོང་དུ་དམག་ཐྲངས་པར ། རྫོང་ནང་ནས་མོན་ཀྱི[ས] ་ཁྲུག་ཐབ་ལ ། ངར་བ་རྣམས་ཕྱིར་ཐོན་བྱུང་ནས ། ཉེ་བར་བཅར་ནས་ཐབ་མོ་སོང་བར ། མོན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པ་གཅིག་ལ་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ནས་མེ་མདའ་རྒྱབ་ནས་བཀུམ་པ་དང་ ། སྨྲར་ཕར་ཅག་ནས་མོན་མང་རྒྱམ་མཚོན་ཐོག་ཏུ་མི་བ་དང་ ། དེ་ཐོག་འཛིན་ར་བཙུགས་ནས་ཐུའི་རྒྱལ་པོར་བང་ཕྱིན(= ཆེན) ་སྲིངས་པར ། ཐུ་བའི་མོན་སྟོང་ཐག་ཅིག་སྐྱེལ་བྱུང་བར ། སྐག་རྫོང་ལ་བསྐོར་རྒྱག་དམ་དུ་བཏང་བར ། ཉེན་མཚན་བཅོ་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་བར་ཐབས་ནས ། སྨྲར་མོན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བབས ། ཁ་སླངས་ནས ། ཡབ་སྐྱེ་པ ། ཨ་པི་དོར་འཛིན ། ཞལ་ངོ་དཔོན ། སློན་བཞི་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཚང་ལག་ཏུ་སླངས་མིང་ ། མོན་དང་འདུས་པ་ཐམས ། སྤྱོད་དུས་བྱི(= བྱི་ཁའི) ་སྣས་དང་བསམ་གྲུབ་དཔལ་འབར་ཀྱི་སྐབས་སྲོལ་རྒྱུད་ལ་གནས་དགོས་ཀྱི་ཕར་ཚུན་གཉིས་སུ་མནའ་ཚང་དམ་པོ་བྱས ། སྐག་རྫོང་གི་མགོན་པོའི་སྐུ་རྗེ་དག་ལས་གྲུབ་པ་དེ་དང་ ། རྒྱལ་པོ་རང་གི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྣང་བ་རྣམས་དཔང་དུ་ [བ] ཞག་ནས ། འཆིངས་དང་སྨྲིགས་ནས་ཞབས་འདེགས་ཕྱལ་དུ་བྱེད་པ [ར] ་གྲུབ་པ་དང་ ། རྗེ་ལྷར་ན ། ཐབ་འཇུག་གི་དཔའ་བརྟུལ་དང་ཕུར་བུའི་སྨྲ་ཤྲིས་ཐུང་དུ་འཕེལ་བ་ཞིག་གི ། ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་རྒྱར་མཚན་དོན་དུ་སྨྲན་པ་སོག་སོད་ཀུན་ཀྱི་དཔ[འ་བོ]ར་བརྗོད་དུ་སྣང་རྒྱུའི་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀོ་ན་འབྱུང་བ་དང་ ||

ས་བྱ་ལོར་བྲི་བ་བྲིས་ལན་དུ་སོ་ཉེ (= ཉའི) ་སྔོ་ནས ། ཀུ་གེ་ནས་འདི་ཁར་མདུན་མ་པའི་སྐོར་དུ ། རྫོང་དུ་མི་སྣ་དྲག་པ་དེ་ཀྱར་ནས་ཡང་ཡང་དུ་ཐུངས་ཀྱང་ ། དོན་རྒྱ་ཚོད(= ཚར་གཅོད) ་པ་ཞིག་མ་འབྱུང་ནས ། སྨྲར་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར ། འཁྱུངས་མེད་དུ་འདིར་ [མདའ་འམ] ་གདན་འདྲེན་ཐམས་པ་དང་ ||

མིང་སྨྲག་ལོར་ངོས་ཉིད་ས་ཡི་ཚངས་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ཁྲིར་ཁོད་ནས ། མཐའ་བཞི་ལས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་ཏུ་མཚོན་འབྱུར་ཞིང་ ། རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྨྲ་བཏུན་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་པའི་སྐབས་དང་པོར ། ས་ [རོལ་པ] ་གྲོལ་བ་ནག་ཕྱོགས་སྨྲལ་ཏེ་རིགས་ཅན་རྣམས་གྲགས་ལྷ་བའི་བྱེར ། འདི་ཁའི་ས་མཚམས་ཁ་བྱ་ལོར་ཐོན་ནས ། འདབ་ལང་མཁན་ལ་ཐོག་རྩིགས(= འཛིགས) ་ཚམ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་ཤ་ཐུབ་སྐབས །

འདི་ཁར་དཔུང་རོགས་ཞུས་འབྱུང་བར། འདི་ཁ་ནས་རང་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ལ་རྒྱའི་ཐོག་མ་ཡིན་སྐབས། ཚུར་རྣོལ་གྱི་དགྲ་བོ་གཉའ་བ་རེངས་སུ་རྒྱུག་པའི་མི་ཐུས་མིང་། ངོས་ཉིད་ས་ཡི་བདག་པོ་ཆེན་པོ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཆེབས་ཀྱི་ཁ་ལོ་བསྒྱུར་ཏེང་། ཐུ་འགྲོས་སུ་རྒྱུག་དམག་ཤུགས་སུ་བཟང་མཁར་ཡ་ཁྲ་ལགས་དང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་རྡོ་རྗེ་བཏང་བར། དེ་ལྟར་འགྲུག་གི་སྐྲ་དབྱངས་མི་ཟད་པར་ཐོས་ཚེ། ངང་པའི་ཕྲུ་ཚོགས་དངངས་མེད་སྐྲག་པའི། ཕྱོགས་བཅུར་ཕྱོས་པ་ལ་རྟོན་པ་བཞིན། ཕྱིར (= ཚུར?) རྣོལ་བ་མཐའ་དག་གི་སྙིང་སྤུབས་ནས་ཕྱོད་དེ། སྐྱོག་སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་སྒྲུགས་སུ་སྐྱབས་ལ་འཛོམ་པའི། འདར་ཞེང་ཤུམ་པ། སྨན་ཅར་རྣོལ་བའི་སྤྱོབས་པ་སྐྱིག་མེད་དུ་བཙོམ་པ་ལ་མངགས་པའི་གཉེན་པོར་བྱུར་པ་གང་དེ་ཉིད། ས་རོལ་པོ་དཔུང་ཆེན་གྱི་སྙིང་དུ་དམག་ཆེན་རྣམས་དང་། རྒྱ་མཚོ་ཆེན་པོར་ངང་པ་འཛུག་པ་བཞིན། [ཐེ]ཚོམ་པ་མེད་པར་ཕྱིན་ནས། ས་རོལ་གྱི་དམག་གསུམ་སྟོང་ལྔ་བརྒྱ་བཙོན་དུ་བཟུམ། གསུམ་བརྒྱ་སྐྱོར་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཕྱི་ལམ་དུ་ལྟར་མོར་རྫོང་བ་བྱས། གོ་མཚོན་རྟ་དང་ལག་ཆ་རྣམས་ཚུར་སླངས་མིང་ཐུག་ཏུ་འབྱོར།། སྨད་བཙོན་[པ་]རྣམས་ཚེ་ཐར་དུ་བཏང་ནས། མ་འོངས་པར་དྲིན་བཞི་ལ་རྒྱར་ཕན་པ་བྱེད་པའི་མནའ་ཚད་བྱས་བཅུག་ནས་བཏངས་མིང་། ཁྲོ་རྩེ་མཁར་བདེ་ཐབས་ཀྱི[ས]་བཀོད་པར་བྱས་མིང་། དུག་གི་རྩ་བ་འདོན་པ་བཞིན། དགྲ་བོ་རྩད་ནས་འདོན་ནོ། བཞེས་བདེན་དང་བྱུན་པས། ཨ་སད (= ཧ་སད)་མཁན་ཀྱི་བུ་རྣམས་རྩ་འདོན་བྱས་ཐོངས། ཧོལ་རྟེར་ཨ་ཞེ་རབ་རྫོང་བསྐོས་ནས། སྐར་སྐྱག་ཤ་ནས་ས་རྒྱུད་སྨྲ་རི་གཡིང་འགྱུར་སོགས་དང་། . . . ནས་ལག་ཆ་རྣམས་དང་ནོར་དགོས་སུ་བྱུང་བ་རྣམས་དང་བཅས། བྲ་ཧྲ་ནམ་བདེ་བར་ས་བཀོས་སུ་འཁགས། སྐྱེ་རིས་ཀུ་རོས (= རིས)་གཉིས་སུ་ཚོར་སྲུལ་བསྟན་བསྐོས་ནས་བཞགས། མདོར་ན་སྟོར་དངོས་རྗེས་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སྒོ་ནས། སྨལ་ཏེ་རིགས་ཅན་མཐའ་དག་ཁྱི་སྦིད་ཚོ་བའི་བར། འདི་ཁའི་ཞབས་ཞིག་ཏུ་ཞིམ་ནས། བསྟོད་པའི་མནའ་ཚད་སྦྱིས་ནས། ཁྲོ་རྩེ་མཁར་གྱི་ནང་གྲལ་རྣམས་ཁོང་མཉམས་ནས། ཞལ་ཕྱུགས་ཀུན་ཏུ་འདི་ཀའི་བསྟན་སྲིད་ལ་རྒྱར་ཕན་པའི་ཞབས་འདེགས་སོགས་དཔེར་རྫོང་དུ་[བ]ཞག་རྒྱའི་བྱས་ཅན་ཀོ་ནར་ཉེན།། . . . . .

TRANSLATION

In order to tell clearly the services rendered [by Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje], and in accordance with the authorities (?), let us tell them as if the voices of Kinnaras were mingled with the beautiful sounds of the *Tambura* (drum). You all must lend an attentive ear, and enjoy [the tale]!—When this Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje had reached his sixteenth year, he went with Bsod-nams-lhun-grub to Kha-bu-lo. As the first of his services, on the occasion when Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan, father and son, were seized, he worked with intelligence, not regarding day or night, in the manner of an enemy [of the Baltis]. To relate summarily, an advantage ensued for our country.

In the Wood-Sheep year (*c.* 1715 A.D.), when we, the exalted father and son, went off to carry war to Pa-skyum, Tshul-khrims (generally ?) went to battle upon a night alarm. Not regarding night or day, he achieved an advantage for us within no time.

In the Fire-Monkey year (*c.* 1716 A.D.), when there was an inner disagreement (?) with Hdab-lad-mkhan, when [the chief of] Śi-sgar summoned an army, when Sa-gliṅ castle was seized, and when they came to Bha-bha (= Ha-tham-mkhan) in distress, he went there together with Bsod-nams-lhun-grub. And, when Ḥdab-lad-mkhan was brought down from Sa-gliṅ castle, [they gave] military advice and assistance in general. Through Bsod-nams-lhun-grub's clever (?) tongue all was brought to a quick end.

In the Earth-Pig year (c. 1719 A.D.), when Śi-sgar made ready an army against the people of Skar-rdo, [the latter] were not only afraid, but even asked here for assistance with an army. Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was able to make all [necessary] arrangements himself (conveying ?). He was sent as head of an army. When he had arrived at Ha-nu, he stopped the Śi-sgar people by means of messengers, both mild and strong, sent in the morning. Meanwhile he waited at Ha-nu. Expert in wise expedients, as if treating an illness with medicines, he thenceforth, without the necessity of keeping there an army, made the people of Śi-sgar submit to our commands.

In the Iron-Mouse year (c. 1720 A.D.) Bsod and Dkar-rtse united (lit. became one government). At the time when Kha-rul and Chu-thug, etc., were seized by the enemy Rab-brtan was sent as general against Chu-thug [and] Dkar-rtse; and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent as general against Bsod. On the Gur-sgar plain an encampment was established, and a quick attack was directed against Bsod. In front of the castle it came to a battle. Also Ri-[sna] on the Mkhaḥ-[ḥgro hill was attacked]. Although there was no fault whatever on our part, Ri-sna was demolished, and the [Mkhaḥ-ḥgro] hill was seized. Then behind [Ri-]sna an encampment was established and for seven days the castle was surrounded. Then Sbag-ram-bhig came down therefrom, and, his face having been raised,[1] was brought here [to Leh ?] to make his salutations. Mu-til-mkhan received Sbar-rtse and Hla-luṅ-tshil-mo as his portion, and the big drums of Bsod, because of their [beautiful] sound, were brought here.

In the Water-Tiger year (c. 1722 A.D.) 'Azam-mkhan, the chief of Śi-sgar, brought Skar-rdo under his sway, together with all Sbal-ti, Roṅ-yul (= Roṅ-mdo), Sbru-śal, etc. As Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan was afraid of war being prepared [against him], he asked here for military assistance. In the twelfth winter month, in the time of snow, we started in (lit. from) the direction of the Byaṅ-la [pass]. Tshul-khrims-rdo-[rj]e was sent as general. Coming from Ldum-ra, he arrived soon [in Baltistan]. Bha-bha Ha-tham-mkhan, father and son, chief and subjects, who did not agree [with one another], were brought to an agreement. [Then we] passed through Skye-ris castle, and seized the castle and country of Ku-res, etc., before [we] could be seen by a bird. At Skye-ris there rose a quarrel, and on the occasion when a hand was raised against a son of Mir from his own side and he died, and when the chiefs and subjects of Sbal-ti who were [originally] on our side, began to talk of their religion, all became inimical [to us], and it was a difficult time, [then] Tshul-khrims-rdo-[rj]e was a hero in the face of the enemies, and a wise man among his own party. He was clever in every situation and showed (lit. produced) great wisdom (?). He made everyone, be he an outsider (Muhammadan) or an insider (Buddhist), be he high, low, or middling, abide by the boundaries due to him. It occurred [even] that the Sbal-ti men of his own side found it easy (?) to bow [their heads]. The castle of Skye-ris was surrounded with magical swiftness; Mag-mud-mkhan was brought down before any-

[1] I.e., he had received grace.

body's life was risked, and [his] castle was taken. Next morning the armies of Si-sgar, Skar-rdo, Roṅ-yul, Ḫbru-śal, etc., assembled in one place; and after they had ascended (lit. leapt to) the top of their own trenches a great battle ensued. Then Tshul-khrims, never making a wrong step, and remaining free from all fear, by his wisdom made clever arrangements to meet the tricks of the enemy in an unembarrassed way. He fought with them, and in a moment annihilated the great opposing host. The dead and wounded of the enemy were beyond counting; many leapt into the water, and were sent on the road [which leads] beyond this world. [Their] armour together with [their] horses were taken by us (lit. taken on this side).

If you ask how, he was a most splendid general in subduing foreign countries; he knew how to humiliate the hostile heroes in a manner which was not mild; he examined them with a tongue that was not well-sounding. When, with a merciless mind, he burnt the enemy together with their belongings, he was like a conflagration of heroism. [In battle] he was victorious over the adversary, and he was a man who worked solely for the advantage and fame of [his own] government. When the chief of Si-sgar, 'A-bsam-khan (or 'A-zam-mkhan), in great alarm fled in the direction of Roṅ-yul and Ḫbru-śal, once more Tshul-khrims marched to Si-sgar and appointed 'A-li-mkhan as chief of the castle. At Skar-rdo Ma-ma Za-phar-mkhan was appointed chief. From Skar-stag-śa, Par-ku-ta, Rtol-ti, etc., the chiefs and wazirs, accompanied by their several armies, were made to assemble there (at Skar-rdo ?) to pay homage.

[For the sake of our fame] the great trees (Chenars ?) of Si-sgar were cut. An inscription was carved on the rock. The relics of Buddha's bones in his elephant incarnation, which had withered through old age and were kept in a mound (lit. having a mound), the horn of Buddha in his rhinoceros incarnation, the rifles, etc., of Skar-rtse [workmanship], the famous iron drums, etc., were handed over to us (lit. to our side): furthermore, the things hidden in a hole at Smen-rtse (or Sman-mdze); horses, and clarionets which could be repaired later, were afterwards recovered (?). In short, he was a discouraging adversary to all the Sbal-ti nobles.

In the Water-Hare year (c. 1723 A.D.), when the noble Nor-ḫdzin-dbaṅ-mo arrived on the other side together with the governor of Glo, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent to meet [her]. Upon an unfair action by the father, the governor of Glo, . . . whilst smiling, he [nurtured] hatred. The governor himself, the grandmother Nor-ḫdzin, and the Żal-ṅo-dpon, with a retinue of forty ministers, were detained at Skag, in the prison of the Mons. At a time when Glo was seized by fear of the Mons, Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje went to Bro-gśod. The Sde-ḫchiṅ-Bha-dur (= Bahādur) asked in a clever way for assistance; and together with an escort of 100 Mongol horsemen and 70 Ladakhis, a call to arms having been issued to Glo, the force was led against the castle of Skag. Whilst the Mons fought from inside the castle, the most ferocious came outside, and, they pressing near [towards us], a battle ensued. One of the Rgyal-ba (leaders) of the Mons was hit by a bullet from Tshul-khrims and died. They were thrown back (lit. turned), and many Mons died from wounds. After that a prisoners'

camp was established, and a swift messenger was sent to the King of Gru. Thereupon one thousand Mons from Gru arrived [at Skag]. The castle of Skag was surrounded in a solid manner, and after the fighting had lasted for eighteen days and nights the King of the Mons came down again. They having been comforted, the father-governor, the grandmother Nor-ḫdzin, [and] the Žal-ṅo-dpon, with [his] retinue of forty ministers, were seized by us (lit. on our side). A meeting with the Mons was arranged, and an oath was written, saying that both sides were to live according to the rules [laid down] at the time of the son of Bhi-[khra] and Bsam-grub-dpal-ḫbar. The stone-image of the Mgon-po of Skag-rdzoṅ, [called] Nag-las-grub-pa (made of black stone ?), and the king's own rosaries of iron were both put forward as witnesses; and, the agreement having been concluded, they came to offer service [to us]. If you ask in what manner they were [expected to work for] the fame of the government and the religion of La-dvags, which combines, as in a couple, the hero-overcoming [power] of Visnu (Khyab-ḫjug) and the wisdom of Phur-bu, they were to tell pleasant things [regarding us] among the heroes of all Mongolia and Tibet.

In the Earth-Hen year (*c.* 1729 A.D.), after many questions had been asked here [regarding a princess] from Gu-ge, and although previously noble messengers had been repeatedly sent, in company with the bride-bidders (*mdun-ma-pa*), no result had appeared. [Then] Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje was sent once more, an [oath of engagement ?] or an invitation here (?) was agreed upon without delay.

In the Wood-Tiger year (*c.* 1734 A.D.), I, the great Brahmā of the earth, was placed on the throne, and the flags of conquest over the four ends [of the world] were hoisted. At the outset of my enjoyment of the seven jewels, inasmuch as our enemies, the clever Sbal-tis of the black region, looked for an opportunity to fight, I went out to Kha-bu-lo on our frontier. Although Ḫdab-lad-mkhan was not in the least danger regarding his life, he was in a helpless state, and asked us for reinforcements. As I was just at the beginning of my government here, and therefore could not march (lit. enter) against the stiff-necked enemies who fought with us, I, the great ruler of the world, having to guide my own steed, sent the King (uncle) of Bzaṅ-mkhar and Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje in the morning as a flying column. Just as a flock of geese which, suddenly hearing the melodious sound of the thunder, become frightened and strive to escape in the ten directions, so our enemies, their hearts leaving their bodies (lit. sheaths), ran to (lit. seized) [all] the secret caverns and recesses for shelter. They trembled and were afraid. Finally, [their] fighting spirit being rooted out, they became adversaries who [may be] sent to defeat. Just as geese rush into the great ocean, so [our] great army rushed on to the great host of the enemy, without hesitation. And the enemy's army, numbering 3,500 men, was taken prisoner. About 300 [of them] were sent on the road to the next world (i.e. were killed) for the sake of [our] entertainment, and their armour, horses, and utensils were brought here and offered into [my] hands. Afterwards the prisoners were released and their lives spared. They had to swear an oath that in future they would work for the advantage of [our] gracious government. The castle of Tho-rtse was built in a beautiful manner. Just as a poisonous root

is taken out, the enemy was thoroughly rooted out. Thus, in accordance with the purpose [of the war], the sons of 'A-sad (or, Ha-sad)-mkhan were rooted out. At Tol-rti 'A-śe-rab was appointed chief. The places Spa-ri, Gyiṅ-ḥgud, etc., which had been taken from Skar-stag-śa, together with the necessary utensils and riches, were handed over for distribution to Bha-bha, for so long a time as he should live. At Skye-ris and Ku-res, both, Sul-bstan was elected and appointed chief.

Finally, for past, present, and future the nobility of Sbal-ti, for so long as it should exist, was brought under our sway (lit. feet). A contract to remain [in that condition] was written; the inner state of Tho-rtse castle was set straight; and it was agreed that for ever, for the present and the future, they [the Sbal-tis] should be an example of service to the welfare of this (our) government, etc. . . .

NOTES

The dates found in the above account appear to be more accurate than is usual in Ladakhi chronicles. They seem to refer to the reigns of Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal and Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal.

The Balti rulers named in the document correspond to the following chiefs of Cunningham's list (p. 30) :—

Ha-tham-khan of Kha-pu-lu is Hatim Khan, No. 63 of C.
Ḥdab-lad-khan of Kha-pu-lu is Daolut Khan, No. 64 of C.
'A-zam-khan of Śi-dkar is Azem Khan, No. 22 of C (p. 33).
'A-li-khan of Śi-dkar is Ali Khan, No. 23 of C (p. 33).
Ma-ma Za-phar-khan of Skar-rdo is Zafar Khan, No. 6 of C (p. 35).

The expedition against the Mons of Blo-bo in *c.* 1723 A.D. led apparently to Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's marriage to Ñi-zla-dbaṅ-mo of Glo-mon-braṅ ; see the Chronicles.

The document contains a number of place-names which at present I cannot identify. The sites of the principal places mentioned in the text are, however, well known, and on the map will be found all those which have been identified. The chief Sbag-ram-bhig of this document is apparently identical with Mag-ram-beg of the Sod genealogy; see *ante*, p. 177.

XVII. The Services of Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, minister of Snon-dar in Ldum-ra, according to the tale of King Tshe-dpal-mi-ḥgyur-Don-grub-rnam-rgyal

PREFACE

The original of the following document was discovered at Leh in 1915 by Joseph Tshe-brtan, and sold to Sir John Marshall, together with a number of other documents of more or less importance. It is No. 46 of Joseph Tshe-brtan's Second Collection of Tibetan decrees.

The document contains a grant of land by the king to his faithful minister. The second part therefore furnishes a list of estates given to the minister. In the first part King Tshe-dpal tells a tale of the minister's services. It comprises several expeditions against Baltistan; and, as the names of several Balti chiefs are given, it has for our study of Balti history a value similar to that of the document containing the services of Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, according to the tale of King Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal. See the latter (pp. 228 sqq.).

TIBETAN TEXT

ལྷུམ་རའི་དང་གསོ་ནོ་ནོ་བསོད་ནམ[ས]་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་ལྷག་བསམ་རྣམ་དག་གི[ས]་ཟླ་ཡི་ཞབས་ཏོག་ཕུལ་བ་རྣམས་སྒྲིང་བར་ཐམས་ཅད་རྣ་བ་ཉེན་ཅིག་དང་། མི་དཀར་ཇོ་ཡ་ཟམ་ཁན་དང་ཁོ་ར[ང་]གི་ལྷ་ཞིར་མ་མ་ཐུལ་ཉན་གཉིས་མ་མཐུན་པ། ཇོ་ཡ་ཟམ་ཁན་མི་དཀར་མཁར་དང་བྲལ་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡི་ཞབས་པད་དུ་མགོ་གཏད་ནས། དཔུང་དམག་ཐུགས་རྗེ་གཟིགས་དགོས། དན་ཆེར་ཞུས་པར། འདི་ནས་བཀའི་དཔུང་བློན་ག་ག་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་དཔུང་ཆེན་དང་བཅས།

ཞ་ཡི་ཟླ་ཝ་ཚེས་ཞ་ཞག་དཔུང་བཏེགས་ནས། ཉིང་སྨད་དུ་ཐེབས་བསྟན། བྲ་རིག་གི་དམག་རྣམས་དང་འཐམ་ཐོག་གསུང་གྲོས་མཛད་དེ། ད་ལྟ་ཚོད་ཆེ་བ་དང་ཞ་ཆེ་སྐབས་དམག་བཅུག་པ་ལ། དགུ་ཡུལ་དུ་ནུས་པ་[འ]ཐོན་རྒྱ་བར(=སར)་བཞག། རང་དེའི་དམག་མི་རྣམས་ལ་ཁག་སྐྱོང་ཡོང་ཚོད་ལ་རེས་ཤིག་དམག་(འ)དུས་པར(=བར?)། སྤྱིང་ཐག་གི་ཆེད་དུ་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དང་། བདེ་སྐྱིད་བློན་པོ་རིག་འཛིན། ལྷ་[བ]ཉིང་སྨད་གི་ནད་པོ་དང་བཅས་སོ་ཉ་ལ་སོང་བར། སྲུར་མོ་[འ]ཐོག་བསྐྱེལ་སྐབས་ཟླ་ཁ་ཟླ་ཤུའི་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཞིར། མི་དཀར་ཇོ་ཡ་ཟམ་ཁན་བཅས་ཚང་མ་བློ་ཁོལ་ཆེར་འབར་དེ། དམག་ཆེན་འཐེབས་པ་ར་མི་སྐྱིད་པར། སྐོར་ཚོ་སོ་ཉ་ཡོང་དོན་མེད་ཞེར་དེ། ཞག་བཅུ་སྐོར་བསྒྲགས་འདུག་ཀྱང་། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ནས་ཐབས་སྒོ་དུ་མའི་[སྒོ་ནས་]། ཁོ་པའི་སེམས་མལ་དུ་སབ་སྟེ། ལོ་ཁ་ཁྲས་དམག་བཏང་མི་དགོས་བྱས་སོ།།

ཀྱིང་གི་ཡོར་བཀའ་མཛོད་ཚེ་དབང་དོན་གྲུབ་དང་། ག་ག་ནོ་རྗེ་གཉིས་དམག་དཔོན་དུ་བསྐོས་སྟེ། མང་ཡུལ་སྤྱོད་ཁམ། བསང་དཀར། ལྷུམ་ར། བྲ་རིག་བཅུ(=བཅས་ཀྱི)་དམག་ཞིབ་བསྐུལ་དང་བཅས། དཔུང་ཆེན་བརྫངས་ནས། རེས་ཤིག་བཀའ་མཛོད་ན་ཉུར་ཐེངས་མེད། ག་ག་ནོ་རྗེ་དང་། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱི་གདོང་མ་མ་ཐལ་དད(=དན?)་ལ་རྒྱ་མཚན་སྤྲད་པར། སྐྱོད་ཁ་བྱེད་བསྟུས་ཀྱི། རང་གི་ཇོ་བསྐུར་ནས། སྐར་དོ་པ་དབྱངས་ཟླ་ཁར་དང་ཚོད་མེད་པ། ཉི་མའི་དོད་ལ་མར་ཤེས་འགྱུར་ཟླ་ཡི་ངོས་ཟླ་མ་

བཀུར་ཅིང་། དེ་ནས་ཁྲིད་སྤྲར་ཁྲམས་ལ་འཁྱིད་བཀགས། ཁྲིན་ཆང་ཁྲིད་རང་བཟོ[ས]་བདེར་སྤྱོད་པར་དགའ་ན། མི་དཀར་མཁར་ཁྲག་ཉིན་ཏུ་ཁྲར་ནས་འགོ་ཁྲུས་འདུར་བྱེད་ན་ཞེགས། དེ་ལྟར་མ་བྱེད་[ན་]། ངེད་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པ་མི་རིང་བར་དེར་ལྟགས་ནས། ཁྲིད་དགུ་དཔུང་འཁོར་དང་[བཅས]་པ་བཅོམ་དུས། ཁྲིད་འཁྱིད་པས་མི་ཐར་ཅེས་སྒྲིངས་འདུག་པ། དེ་ནས་ག་ག་རྗེ་རྗེ་དང་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་པ་ཁ་ཁྲམས་པ་ལྟར་སོང་ནས། དམར་པོ་ཐང་གི་སྐར་རྫོ་པས་བཞམ་ཡོད་ཤོག་ཏུ་ཟུར་བཅགས་ཀྱི་སྐར་རྫོ་པ་བྱེར་བསྐྲད་དེ། རི་སྟོ་དེ་ལྷམ་ཏུ་ཐྲངས། སྨན་མཛེས་ཁྲིམ་ཟུར་དམག་སྐར་གཏད། ཡུལ་སོ་སོར་བརྒྱགས(= རྒྱུག་དམག)་བཏང་ནས། མནོམ་པ་བླངས། དེ་ནས་ནམ་རྐྱ་དང་བསྟན་རང་འཚོ་བརྟན་པའི་བུ་བ་འོས་སུ་བབ་པར། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན། ད་རྟའི་བློན་པོ་རབ་བརྟན་གཉིས་སོ་ཉར་སོང་ནས། བཀའ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་འཕྲིན་ཡིག་སྦྲད་དེ། ཉི་ཟླ་གང་མཚམས་སྐྱོ་ནས་མ་[མ་]ཐུལ་ཉན་གྱི་སེམས་རྒྱུད་དུ་ལྟར་ཕྱོང་བ་དེ་གཙུ་བཞིན་བཀུགས་སྟེ། བུ་ཨབ་འདུ[ལ་]ལ་ཁྲག་ཉེན་གསེར་དང་། རྟ་བག། རྟ་བཅས་བཀལ་ནས། ད་རྟའི་བློན་པོ་དང་སྤྲགས། ག་ག་རྗེ་རྗེའི་གམ་དུ་ཁྲག་ཐུལ་བར་བཏང་ནས། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་རང་མི་ཚབས་ལ་སྡུད་ནས། ལྷ་ཆེར་དང་དང་གྲོས་ཐེབ་ཤིག་གི་ཆང་དོན་བྱས་པར། འདི་ལོ་ང་ཡི་གཉིས་བུ་སློང་རྣམས་སྐར་རྫོང་ཡོད་སྐབས་ཀྱི། མཁར་ཐུལ་བ་རེས་ཤིག་མ་བདེ་ན་ཡང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་མི་རྣམས་སྐར་རྫོ་ནས་འདིར་ཞེངས་ཏེ། མི་དཀར་མཁར་དང་ལྷན་པ་བུ་འཁོར་བཅས་ལ་དྲུགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁྲག་ཐུལ་ངེས་ཀྱི་མདའ་བཅིགས་དང་སྤྲགས་པའི་ཁ་རྟགས་སྦྲར་ཁྲར་ནས། འདིར་ཐུལ་བ་དང་། ཕྱི་ལོ་ཁ་དོན་མཚུངས་པའི། མི་དཀར་ཁྲག་ཏུ་ཐུལ་བ་ནས། ད་བར་འཁྲུར་མེད་དང་།

མེ་སྟག་ལོར་ག་ག་བཀའ་མཛོད། ནོ་ནོ་དཔང་དྲག་གཉིས་མི་དཀར་དུ་ཕྱིན་ནས། དར་ལ་མཁར་སྐོར་བརྒྱབས་ནས། སྐར་རྫོང་སོ་ཉ་ལ་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན། ས་སྤྱི་ཅེའི་བློན་པོ་བསོད་ནམས། བརྟན་པ་ཚེ་རིང་བཅས་སོང་ནས། སྐར་རྫོ་ཛེ་ཨ་མད་ཁ་དང་། མི་དཀར་ཇོ་ལྷ་ཆེར་བཅས། སྤུར་འཁྲུས(= དགུ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་)། ད་འཁོན་མེད་པའི། ཆང་ཡིག་མོར་རྟགས་ཅན། བཀའ་མཛོད་ལ་ཁྲག་ཐུལ་བར་བྲ་རད་ཛེ་དང་། སེར་པོ་པ་གཉིས་ཁྲག་ཉེན་བཀལ་ཏེ། བཀའ་བློན་གྱི་ཙར་ཁྲིངས། དར་ལ་ཡོད་པའི་དམག་རྣམས་སིངས་ནས། རང་རང་འི་མཁར་དཔོན་བཞགས་ནས། ཡོག་ལས་རྒྱུད་ཞེབས་གྲུབ་པ་དང་ ||

ལྕགས་ཕྲུག་ལོར་གར་དག་ཁ་པའི་ས་མཚམས་རྡོལ་ཏེ་རྩ་སྐར་རྫོ་པས་དམག་རྒྱབ་དུས། འདི་ནས་ནོ་ནོ་དཔང་དྲག་དང་དཔལ་རྒྱས་དཔུང་དང་བཅས་ཁ་བུ་ཕུར་འཁྱོར། ལྷལ་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དམག་འགོ་བཅས་བཏང་བ་པར། ཀུ་རིའི་བེཙ(= སྦེཙ)་ཟུར་བཅགས་སུ་བེན་ཏེ། བོད་དོར་མཁར་རྒྱབས་ནས། ཁ་བུ་[ཕུ]་པའི་རེས་པ་བཞགས་མིང་། ཀུ་རི་ལྷ་ལེ་དང་ཟབས་སུ་ཁྲག་ཐུབ་པའི་ཟབས་རྟོག་བྱས ||

རྒྱ་སྐྱེ་ལོ་རྗེ་ཡ་ཡ(= ཡ་དྲི་ཡ)་ཁན་ཚོས་མ་ཐུབ་སྐབས། འདབ་ལད་ཨ་ལི་ཁན་ན་[སོ་]ལྷ་[སོ་]སྐབས། ཨ་རྟོན་རྣམས་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་མང་བར་ཉེན། ཁ་བུ་ཕུའི་དང་ཞིག་ལ་ཐུག་པར། འདི་ནས་ནོ་ནོ་རྟ་མགྲིན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་བདུད་འཛོམ[ས]་དང་ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གཉིས་ཁོ་པའི་བདུལ(= གྲལ)་ཟླ་བར་བཏང་བར། ཀྱི་རེས་སུ་རེས་པ་བཞགས། མཐོར་རྩེ་མཁར་ཏུ་འདབ་ལད་ཨ་ལི་མཁན་སྐལ(= བཀལ)་ཏེ། ཇོ་ལྷ་ཆེར་གྱི་གྲལ་ཁྲིམས། ཨར་ཀོན་རྣམས་དང་། ཟླ་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་གྲ་མ་རྣམས་བསྐྱུས་ཏེ། ཁོ་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱིས་འཛུག་ཏུ་བཟོ(ས)་བདེ་གཞོང་འཛགས་ཡོང་བའི་བཀོད་པ་བཏང་རྗེས། ད་ནས་བཟུང་ཁ་བྱེར་ལྷ་མེད་པ(= ངོ་མ་ལོག་པར)་ལ་དྲུགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་བཀའ་ཤོད་བཅིངས་དང་། འདབ་ལད་ཨ་ལི་ཁན་ལ་བསྐུར་ཏེ་དང་གང་ཟེར་ལ་ཉན་ནས། ཟབས་རྟོག་ཐུལ་བ་མ་རྟོགས་ལོག་པར་ལྷ་བའི་རིགས་ལྟ་ཙམ་ཡང་བྱེད་པ་མེད་པའི་མདའ་བསྐལ་ཏེ་འབའ་གམ་བརྟན་པོ་བླངས་པ། རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཐུལ་བ་སོགས་ཕྱི་ནང་ལ་རྒྱའི་ལས་དོན་ཁྲམ་གཙང་སྒྲུབ་པ་དང་ ||

ཤིང་ཕག་ལོ་སྨིན་ནྡྲོན་པོ་ནོ་ནོ་རྡོ་མགྲིན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དམག་དཔོན་དུ་[བ]སྐོས་ཏེ། ལ་དྭགས་སྟོད་ཁམས་ཀྱི་དམག་ཞིབ་སྤྲུལ། བུ་རིག་གི་དམག་དང་བཅས་སྐྱེ་རིས་སུ་དབྱང་འཇུག་སྐབས་སུ། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་མི་གསུམ་བརྒྱ་དང་ཅས(=བཅས)་སྔུག་ནས། སྤྱོད་ལ་སྔོ་ཟར་ལ་སོང་ནས། ཡོས་ནའི་ཉ་དེ་ཟླ་ཚེས་མ་ཐག་[ཏུ་]། ཀུ་རི་འི་འགོག་རྒྱུད་ནས་སྐྱེ་རིས་བར་མཆོང་སར་སྔ་བསྡད། ཚེ[ས་]བརྒྱད་ཉིན་ཁན་ཀ་ཆར་དཀར་བཏང་བའི་བར་དུ། སྐྱེ་རིས་མཁར་དང་ནས་ཉིན་མཆོངས་པ་བྱུང་བར། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཉམ་ང་མེད་པ། དཔུ་ཐོག་རལ་གྲི་གཏོང་ནས། སར་མཆོངས་པས། མི་གཅིག་གི་ལམ་དུ་བཀུམས། དེའི་འཇུག་དབྱང་བཀྱེ་བས། སྤྲུལ་དེ་གཡུལ་ཆམ་ནས། ཁན་ཀའི་ནང་དུ་ཞུགས་ཏེ། ཟི་ཅ་གཏོལ་མེད། རྒྱ་འབྲུམས་བཏང་སྐབས། ཨ་མད་ཁན་བཟང་སྐྱིག་ཅན་པས། སྐྱེ་རིས་སུ་མཁར་དཔོན་བཞགས་ན[ས]། དམག་ཕྱིངས་ཕྱིར་ལོག་པ་དང་། ནར་དུ་ཡོད་པ་རྣམས་ཚང་ལ་ཆེས། དེ་རྗེས་སུ་ཡོང་བའི་ལམ་པར་བཅད་དེ། དགེ་སྡིག་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་མི་བརྩི་བའི། ཨ་མད་ཁན་རང་རེའི་དམག། སོད་པ། ཆུ་མེད་པ། ཁ་བྲུ་བུ་པ། ཚོང་འཕར་པ། ལྷམ་ར་པ་བཅས་མི་གྲངས་བརྒྱ་སྐོར་ཟུམས་ཟེར་སོང་བ་ལ། ནོ་ནོ་བསྟན་འཛིན་འདི་པ་བློ་སྟོབས་ཆེ་བ་བཅས་རང་སོག་བློས་བཏང་ས་ཀྱི་མི་རྣམས་གཏོན་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཁ་བུ་ལུར་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་བར་དུ་འདུགས་ཏེ། སྐར་དོར་མི་ཚང་གསུ[མ]་བཏང་བར། ཉི་དྲག་ཐབས་སྒོ་དུ་མའི་སྒོ་ནས། རང་རེ་མི་རྣམས་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མ་ཤུས་པ། ལོག་ལྷམ་སྐྱིད། དང་ཡུལ་ཕྱིངས་པའི་ནབས་སྟོག་ཡུལ་པ་ནི། ཡིད་ཅན་ཀུན་གྱིས་རིག་པ་ལྟར་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་སྔ་ཕྱི་བར་གསུམ་དུ་ཁ་ཚམ་ཚོག་ཙམ་མ་ཡིན་པར། ཞི་དྲག་གི་ནབས་སྟོག་གཏན་འགྲན་མེད་པ། རིམ་ཅན་ཡུལ་པའི་མཐུད་རྟེན། ཁོ་པར་བདག་རྒྱན་མཛད་དགོས་ཞེས་སུ་བབ་པ་བཅས།། · · ·

TRANSLATION

Now listen to my tale of the superior and pure services rendered in former times and also later by No-no Bsod-nams-bstan-ḥdzin, warden of Ldum-ra. 'A-zam-khan, the chief of Śi-dkar, and Ma-ma Sul-tan, his wa-zir, did not agree. The chief 'A-zam-khan left the castle of Śi-dkar, bowed before the king of La-dvags and earnestly implored [him], 'Kindly send me an army!' Then from here the minister Ga-ga Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub [was sent] with a great army.

The army was raised on the third day of the sixth month of the Water-Mouse year (*c.* 1792 A.D.); and on its arrival at Tiṅ-sgaṅ it united with the armies of Bu-rig. A council of war was held, [as follows]:—'If now in the time of great heat and high water we should enter into war, we shall [not] succeed in the lands of the enemies.' And it was given up. Only, for the sake of giving some training to the respective soldiers, the armies were occasionally summoned. During this [time of] waiting No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, Rig-ḥdzin, the minister of Bde-skyid, and the elders of Lte-ba-Tiṅ-sgaṅ, went [to Kha-pu-lu] as messengers. When they arrived at Sur-mo-ḥbrog, the chief and the wa-zir of Kha-pu-lu, as well as 'A-zam-khan, chief of Śi-dkar, boiled with anger. They said, 'Having raised an army, you must not come! It is not your intention to come as messengers!' Although they opposed for about ten days, No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, through many contrivances, brought their minds to reason, and it was agreed that for several years there should not be any warfare.

In the Wood-Mouse year (*c.* 1804 A.D.) the minister Tshe-dbaṅ-don-grub and Ga-ga Rdo-rje were both appointed generals. The forces of Upper and Lower Maṅ-yul,

Bzaṅ-dkar, Ldum-ra, and Bu-rig were called up, and a great army was dispatched. Once, when the minister had waited [a little] at Ha-nu, Ga-ga Rdo-rje together with No-no Bstan-ḥdzin [went off] to question Ma-ma Sul-dad (= Sul-tan ?) about his circumstances. 'To examine your position,—you have left your own chieftain, and you have brought here the army of Skar-rdo! [This shows] your own inability. It cannot be right that the lamp should fight against the sun. Therefore you should repent of what you previously did. If henceforth you wish to live in happiness, you should offer the castle of Śi-dkar as a present and bow [before us]! If you will not do so, we shall approach it with an army forthwith! When you are defeated together with your army, repentance will not save you!'—such a message was sent. Then Ga-ga Rdo-rje and No-no Bstan-ḥdzin together with the host marched away in alarm, and the Phur-bcags Skar-rdo people were turned out after they had been seized by the Dmar-po-jaṅ Skar-rdo people. Ri-sna was taken in a moment, and at Sman-mdzes and Khom-bu an encampment was established. Through several villages (countries (?)) flying columns were sent, and booty was taken. Then, the time (*nam-zla* ?) being come to take measures for safety, [and] No-no Bstan-ḥdzin and Rab-brtan, the minister of Da-ru, both went as messengers and delivered the Prime Minister's letter. Through mild and strong means the heart of Ma-ma Sul-tan, which was as hard as horn, was bent like a bow; and after a present consisting of gold, rifles, and horses had been sent with 'Ab-ḥdul-la, the son, they [the Sbalti wazīrs] were sent with the minister of Da-ru before Ga-ga Rdo-rje to greet [him]. No-no Bstan-ḥdzin himself sat there as a representative, and made a contract of clear words with the wa-zirs and Inner Councillors [of Śi-dkar], [as follows]:—'As this year my (i.e. Ma-ma Sul-tan's) son and family are staying at Skar-rdo, it is not proper to offer the castle [to you now]. Next year, when those people will be sent here from Skar-rdo, the castle of Śi-dkar [will be offered], and we, father, son, and retinue, will salute the King of La-dvags!' Such a document, furnished with a true oath and promise, was brought and offered here. The following year, in accordance with the promise, Śi-dkar was offered into [our] hands, and until now has remained so without change.

In the Fire-Tiger year (*c.* 1806 A.D.) the noble Prime Minister and No-no Dbaṅ-drag both went to Śi-dkar and besieged the Nar castle. No-no Bstan-ḥdzin, the Minister Bsod-nams of Sa-spo-rtse, and Brtan-pa-tshe-riṅ went together to Skar-rdo as messengers. 'A-mad-śa, the chief of Skar-rdo, and the chief of Śi-dkar, who before had been quarrelling with his wa-zir, had now given up their hatred and respected their agreement. They offered salutations to the Prime Minister. The chief Mu-rad and Ser-po-pa both sent presents and brought them before the Prime Minister. The garrison posted at Nar was turned out, and, after [our] own castellan had been placed there, we went [home] by the lower road.

In the Iron-Sheep year (*c.* 1811 A.D.), when on the frontier of Gar-dag-śa (Skar-stag-śa) the people of Skar-rdo waged war against Tol-ti, No-no Dbaṅ-drag and Dpal-rgyas marched with an army from here to Kha-bu-lu. Presently No-no Bstan-ḥdzin was sent as (*bcas*, with ?) general, and the tower of Ku-ro was demolished (?). Bon-dor

castle [also] was taken and given to a representative of Kha-bu-lu. Ku-ro-wa-li came into our hands and did service to us.

In the Water-Monkey year (*c.* 1812 A.D.), when the chief Ya-ya (= Yahia)-khan was in bad health, and when Ḫdab-la[d]-'A-li-khan was [still] very young, the 'A[r]-rgon (*Akhon*, children of Muhammadan fathers and Tibetan women) became very busy. For that reason we sent No-no Rta-mgrin-bkra-śis-bdud-ḫjoms and No-no Bstan-ḫdzin both to meet in a place inside Kha-bu-lu; they were to take their side. At [S]kye-ris a representative was placed. Ḫdab-lad-'A-li-khan was sent to Mtho-rtse castle. He took the side of the chief and wa-zir. The *gra-ma* (villages ?) of the 'A(r)-rgon and of the Pā-bcu-gñis (?) were gathered together, and it was arranged for them to settle down happily later on. Henceforth [they had] to remain bound to the orders of the king of La-dvags without any rebellion. [A messenger] was sent to Ḫdab-lad-'A-li-khan, and an oath taken (lit. placed) from him, [as follows]:—He was to heed what he was told. He had not only to serve [the Ladakhis], but also never to show any sign of rebellion. A firm contract was made, and he served [our] government, and with all his power (lit. pure power) he carried out the inner and outer interests of our government (*la-rgya*).

In the Wood-Pig year (*c.* 1815 A.D.) No-no Rta-mgrin-rnam-rgyal, the minister of Slel, was appointed chief-general. He issued a call-to-arms to Upper and Lower La-dvags. When he had entered Skye-ris, together with an army from Bu-rig, No-no Bstan-ḫdzin together with 300 men whom he had collected went first of all to Sna-zar. When he had met with Phos-naḫi-ña (?), he marched through the out-fields of Ku-ro, and pitched his tents opposite Skye-ris. Until Char-dgan (?) of Khan-ka was sent off on the eighth day, they used to issue from the Skye-ris castle in the day-time. Then No-no Bstan-ḫdzin fearlessly drew his sword against the enemy, leaped to the other side, and killed one man with his sword. After that he sent a host, the Sbal-tis were beaten in the struggle, fled right into Khan-ka, and did not know what to do. At the time when a proclamation (*rma-ḫgrams* ?) was issued, 'A-mad-śa made peace. At Skye-ris a castellan was installed. The army returned quietly (lit. in a concealed manner), and those who were at Nar were punished. Later on he was cut off on the way by which he had come. Not considering the fruit of good and sinful works (?), 'A-mad-śa had seized and carried off about 100 men from our own army, people from Sod, from Chu-śod, Kha-bu-lu, Chor-ḫbar, and Ldum-ra. To deliver these men No-no Bstan-ḫdzin, using the great power of his intellect, even risking his life, waited at Kha-bu-lu for three months, and sent a man to Skar-rdo three times; and by using many mild and strong means he brought all his men to their own homes, not leaving a single one; [they were even] equipped with clothing and shoes. Such service was rendered by Bsod-nams-bstan-ḫdzin. It is a clever [kind of service] in the minds of thoughtful people. Besides, in the three times, past, present, and future, there are not words enough to set forth his mild and strong services rendered on occasions when there was no warfare. And it is right that they should meet with recognition.

NOTES

As regards the Balti duchy of Kha-pu-lu, the above text contains the names of two more chiefs, whose names are also found in Cunningham's tables (p. 30). They are :—

Ya-ya-khan, identical with Cunningham's Yahia Khan, No. 66.

Ḥdab-lad-'A-li-khan, identical with Cunningham's Daolat-Ali Khan, No. 67.

The Balti duchy of Skar-rdo appears here under the government of 'A-mad-śa, Cunningham's Ahmed-Shah, No. 8 (p. 35). The capture of a large portion of the Ladakhi army, which is here narrated as having taken place in 1815 A.D., under Ahmad-Shāh, is stated by Vigne to belong to the reign of Ahmad-Shāh's predecessor, viz. 'Alī Sher-Khān.

The names of the chiefs of Śi-dkar, as given in the above text, cannot easily be reconciled with Cunningham's list. The fault may be with the author of the present text, who may not have known the personal names of the Śi-dkar chiefs of those times. It is hardly possible to believe that A'zam Khān, who was a contemporary of king Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal, should have been still alive in 1792 A.D. Possibly the Wazīr Ma-ma (= Muhammad) Sultan became chief in place of A'zam Khān. He is probably identical with Mohammed Khan, No. 25 of Cunningham's list of Śi-dkar chiefs (p. 34): see *ante*, p. 192.

A chief called Murad can only be traced in Cunningham's list of the chiefs of Roṅ-mdo. But Ahmad Shāh's eldest son also was called Murad: see *ante*, p. 186.

I cannot venture to identify the new local names found in the above text: but see the map. It is evident that Sa-spo-rtse is Sa-spo-la, Gar-dag-śa or Skar-stag-śa is Mkhar-stag-śa, Skye-ris is Kye-ris, Bzaṅ-dkar is Zaṅs-dkar.

XVIII. King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal's Account of the Deeds of General Śākya-rgya-mtsho

The following account is found in a decree by King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal concerning the descendants of this eminent general, who died without a son. For some time I tried in vain to obtain information concerning the family of a famous minister called Baṅ-kha-pa, who rendered important services during the times of the Dogra war. I was of opinion that the Baṅ-kha-pa family was probably connected with Śākya-rgya-mtsho. The above-mentioned document shows that, if the Baṅ-kha-pa family is descended from the general, it can only be in the female line. But a connexion is probable, in particular, because the castle of I-gu (Dbyi-gu) was the property of Śākya-rgya-mtsho as well as of the Baṅ-kha-pa family. The following account is of importance as supplementing the meagre notice of the Mughal wars which we find in the Chronicles. By taking account of enemy generals mentioned in this narrative it might be possible to connect the Mughal histories with those of the Ladakhis.

The Baṅ-kha-pas

About eighteen miles above Leh, in a side valley branching off from the Indus valley, is the principality of I-gu (Dbyi-gu). Its castle, called I-gu-khri-khaṅ, is mentioned in many inscriptions. It was the seat of a line of chiefs called Baṅ-kha-pa, who were extremely loyal to the kings of Ladakh. The first chief who distinguished himself by his bravery was Śākya-rgya-mtsho, the field-marshal who conquered Bu-rig and part of Baltistan under king Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal. Oral tradition connects this general with the castle of I-gu. We do not hear anything further of these chieftains prior to Moorcroft's report of them. He visited Ladakh in 1820 A.D. He says (vol. i, p. 425, of his *Travels*): 'The Banka, who to his office of master of the horse adds the government of this district . . . The district under the Banka comprises seventy villages. His office is hereditary, and is held by the condition of bringing 700 armed men into the field when required.' Thus a Baṅ-kha-pa who commanded a Ladakhi army during the Dogra war is repeatedly mentioned. The Baṅ-kha-pas are possibly descended from the traditional king Sūryamati (now pronounced Surgamati) who once resided at a now ruined castle opposite Stag-sna, on the right bank of the Indus.

TIBETAN TEXT

དེད་ལྷ་བཞིན་ཡབ་མེས་རིམ་པར་རིམ་པར། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འི་ཕ་མེས་རིམ་ཅན་དུ་ཞབས་ཏོག་པ་ཡིན་འདུག་པ་དང་། ཁྱད་པར་ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རང་ཉིད་ཚ་མེས་ཆེན་བདེ་ལྡན་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། པུ་རིག་དང་ཁལ་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་དང་། ཁ་པོ་ལོ་འི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་རང་ཞབས་སུ་བསྡུས་པ་དང་། གློ་བོ་འི་སྐག་རྫོང་རྨར(=དམའ་བར)་འཕེབས་བྱས། གློ་བོ་མེས་ཞང་མཚོར་ཞབས་འདེགས་ཕུལ་བ་དང་། ད་ལིང་བཅག་ནས་གངས་རིར་བྱག་ཚོམ་མེད་པ་དང་། ཁ་ཆེ་ཀ་ཁ་ཡུལ་གྱི་དམག་དཔུང་། ན་བབས་ཨིབ་ར་ཧིམ་མཁན་དང་། ཏི་མུར་བྷིག་སོགས་ཧོར་དམག་སྟོབས་ཆེན་ཡང་ཡང་བྱུང་བར། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འི་བློ་གྲོས་ཐབས་མཁས་ཀྱི[ས]་རིམ་པར་ཕྱིར་ཐུབ་ནས་བདེ་འཇགས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། ཡབ་ཆེན་བདེ་ལེགས་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་རིང་ལ། དབུས་གཙང་ནས་སོག་དམག་གི་དུས་ཞིངས་ལངས་པར། ར་ལ་དཔལ་རྒྱས་སོགས་སུ་དམག་འཁྲུགས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ཆེ་བར། ཤཱ་ཀྱ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་འི་བློ་གྲོས་ཐབས་རྣམས་བདེ་བར་ཕྱིར་ཐུབ་རིང་། ལ་དྭགས་གཞུང་ལ་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་འི་དམག་དཔུང་སྟོབས་ཆེ་ལྷགས་པར། ཤཱ་ཀྱའི་བློ་གྲོས་ཀྱི་གོམས་སྟབས་མ་འཁྱོར་བར། པ་ཙ་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་དམག་དཔུང་སྤྱན་དྲེ། ས་དོལ་པོ་རྣམས་རྨུག་མེད་དུ་བརླག་ཤིང་། དབུས་ན[ས]་འབྲུག་ཐམད་མཁྱེན་གཟིགས་པོ་གཏིང་སྒང་སྐད་དུ་སྤྱན་འདྲེན་ཞུས་ནས། གཞུང་ས་མཆོད་ཡོན་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལྷ་ཆེན་པོ་ཇི་སྲིད་བསྐལ་པ་གནས་བར་དུ་ཕྱགས་ལེགས་ཀྱི་བཟང་འཆིངས་སྒྲིག་ནས། མངའ་ཞབས་བདེ་འཇགས་བྱུང་བ་དང་། སྔོན་ལམ་མངའ་རིས་འདི་ཁྲལ་ངོས་ནས་འཁོན་སྐྱོད་བྱེད་སྐབས་ ཕྱི་འི་དགྲ་འདུལ། དང་གི་གཉེན་སྐྱོང་སོགས་མཛད་ན། གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པོ་དེད་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་བུ་དང་། བྱས་ སུ་དམག་དཔོན་དེད་པོ་ཆེ་ལྷ་བུའི་བྱ་བ་ཉམས་མཐུན་བྱས་ཤིང་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་དང་བཅས་རྟགས་བརྗོད་མདོར་བསྡུས་[སོ་] ||

TRANSLATION

The forefathers of Śākya-rgya-mtsho have been in succession servants of our successive god-like forefathers. In particular, Śākya[-rgya-mtsho] himself, during the lifetime of Bde-ldan-rnam-rgyal, who is our second great ancestor (viz. grandfather), gathered under his own feet the entire district of Pu-rig and the kingdom of Kha-po-lo; he brought low the Skag-rdzoṅ [castle] of Glo-bo; he rendered services at the lake Mes-žaṅ of Glo-bo. Having broken Da-liṅ, he did not halt at Gaṅs-ri (Kailāsa); but, when the Kashmir army under Na-babs (Nawāb) 'Ib-ra-him-mkhan, and the Hor (Mughal or Turk) army under Ti-mur-bhig, etc., appeared repeatedly in great force, Śākya-rgya-mtsho was able through his ingenuity and wise methods to turn them back one after another. And during the lifetime of my great father, Bde-legs-rnam-par-rgyal-ba, when a war arose with the Mongol (Sog) army from Dbus-gtsaṅ (Central Tibet), when great battles [were fought] at Ra-la, Dpal-rgyas, and other places, we were enabled by the counsels and measures of Śākya-rgya-mtsho to turn them back in a fortunate manner. When powerful armies assembled from all four sides in the middle of La-dvags, the clever methods of Śākya's ingenuity did not fail. He summoned an army from the great Pa-ca (Mughal emperor), and the enemy was destroyed until no army [of them] remained. Then he invited the Ḫbrug-[pa] lama Thams-cad-mkhyen-gzigs to the palace of Gtiṅ-sgaṅ; and there a fortunate treaty was arranged regarding the offerings to the Gžuṅ-sa (Lhasa government) and the rights of the great Lha-chen-po kings (Ladakhi kings), to last as long as this Kalpa. The subjects lived in a happy

state. In particular, when I became ruler over these districts of the empire, foreign enemies were conquered, friends within were protected, and so on. In brief, at home he was a gem-like minister, and abroad he was a gem-like general. All these deeds were made to agree [with other accounts], and together with the reasons for them collected in a book [containing his] biography.

NOTES

It is of some interest to hear that a biography of the famous general was actually written. Perhaps it may yet come to light. At present we must be content with the slight substitute for it contained in the above text. King Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal's decree further tells us that Śākya-rgya-mtsho's daughter, Rgyal-ḥdzom, married a certain Dbaṅ-phyug from Zaṅs-dkar, and that the couple received the villages of Dbyig-gu (I-gu) and Sa-bu. We also learn that the general belonged to a clan called Ḥoho-ḥbraṅ, and that he was related to the thirteen great hierarchs of Sa-skya. For local names, so far as identified, see the map. Glo-bo is Blo-bo, and Kha-po-lo is Kha-pu-lu.

XIX. Tshe-brtan's Account of the Dogra Wars

When stationed at Kha-la-rtse, Ladakh, in 1899–1904, I made the acquaintance of an old man, Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse, who in his younger days had done military service in the Dogra wars, 1834–42 A.D. I received the impression that he was a reliable man, and that he would not purposely invent. I therefore asked him to dictate to my munshi, Ye-śes-rig-ḥdzin, his reminiscences of the Dogra wars. The munshi's copy was then sent to the late mission schoolmaster and munshi, Shamuel Ḥbyor-ldan, at Leh, who corrected the orthographical mistakes and wrote a fair copy of it for lithographic reproduction. Tshe-brtan told the tale in 1901, and the lithographic printing of 40 to 50 copies took place at Leh in 1903. Tshe-brtan died at Kha-la-rtse in 1905, almost 90 years old. His account was translated into German by my wife, and fifty copies of her translation were printed. I am of opinion that Tshe-brtan's account, although it cannot replace that of the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, throws so much fresh light on the history of that interesting war that it fully justifies its appearance among the Minor Chronicles.

TEXT

ཁ་ལ་རྩེ་པ་མེ་མེ་ཚེ་བརྟན་གྱིས་བཤད་པའི་

ཟལ་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་བཞུགས་སོ ||

ཛོད་མ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་། སིང་པའི་དམག་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དེ། ཀླུ་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་དུས་ལ། བོད་མི་སེར་ཚང་མ་འདུ་ཞི་ལ་དགས་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས། སྤྱལ་དེ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཆོས་འཕད་ལ་དགས་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས། ཟངས་དཀར་གྱི་ལ་འདར་དགས་བྱེད་ཕྱོགས། ལྷུམ་ར་མེ་འདུ་ལ་དང་བྱུགས། བྱང་ཐང་གི་བོ་ཡོང་འདྲ་འདྲ་དང་བྱུགས། དེ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དྭགས་ཀླུ་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མངའ་འོག་གི་ཐད་ཡིན་པས། དྲུ་གྲུམ་ཚང་མ་ཀླུ་ཀླུ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མིན་པ། སུས་ཀྱང་མེད་པ་ཡིན། ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་དས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ས་ལྷམ་ཞུ་ཅེས་ལ། ཁ་ཅེ་མ་ཞིག་ཟེར་མཁན་དང་། ཀོ་ལ་ཡ་དོ་མི་ཀྲ་པ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཡོངས་འདུག་པས། དེའི་ལད་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཁ་ལ་རྩེ་པ་དྲུག་ཚོས་དོད་ཟླུམ་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་དང་མཉམ་པོ། ལ་དྭགས་པའི་བོད་ཁྱུངས་གཡག་གཅིག། ཤུག་གཅིག། ར་མ་གཅིག། ཁྱི་གཅིག། ཡང་བཟང་དོར་ཁ་ཤས་དང་སྐྱབས་དེ་བཏང་སོང་། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཕྱག་མཛོད་ལ་སྐྱེ་མོ་པ་བློན་པོ་ཀ་ཀ་སྲུད་ཚོགས་རབ་བརྟན་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། འདེགས་དཔོན་ལ་སྨན་ལ་པ་གསོལ་དཔོན་པ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། མ་དཔོན་ལ་ཨལ་ཆི་མ་གཉེར་པ་སྐྱབས་ལྡན་དང་། ཙབ་མོ་པ་འགོ་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ཁར་ཞི་ཙེ་དགོས་མཁན་ལྷུམ་ར་ནས་འཚོང་འདུག། ག་ག་བསྐུར་ཞིར་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ཁར་ཞི་ཞི་གཉེར་པ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། གསོལ་མར་དགོས་མཁན་ཚང་མ་ཟངས་དཀར་པས་འཚོང་འདུག། ཡང་ཟ་མིད་ཟླར་ལ་བབ་གསོལ་དང་ཁལ་མཐུར་ཅང་མེད་པ་ཡིན། ལྷ་ས་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ལོ་ཕྱག་པ་ཆ་རྟ་ད། ཡུལ་རེ་རེ་དས་ཀོ་ལ་ཡ་དོ་མི་རེ་བཏང་དགོས་འདུག་པས། དེ་ལ་སྤྲུ་ཆ་འཇུ་གཉིས་རེ་བཏང་

འདུག ། ལོ་ཟླ་གི་ཀོ་བ་ཡུལ་རེ་གཉིས་རེ་ལ ། ཡུལ་ཆེན་མོ་ལ་ཀོ་བ་གསུམ་རེ་འགོག་འདུག ། ཡང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་ ། ཡར་ཀྱེན་པ ། དཀར་ནུ་བ་ཚང་མ་ཚོང་ལ་ཡོད་ན ། མོ་གམ་རེ་ལེན་ཏེ ། ཟླ་རིག་པ ། སྤྲལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་བ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཐོག་ནས་ཅང་ ལེན་པ་མི་འདུག ། དེ་ནས་དཀར་ནུའི་ཁང་གསར་ནས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་སྐྱ་བག་ཅིག་ཕུས་པས ། རྒྱལ་མོ་དེ་ལ་སྦྲུམ་མིག་མ་བསྐམས་པས ། རྗེས་སུ་ཟླ་བ་མོ་འགྲོ་བའི་ཟླ་མོ་འཁོང་ནས ། དེ་ལ་སྦྲུམ་རྒྱལ་ཟླ་ཉིག་བསྐམས ། མཆེད་ལ་དོ་ཆུང་རྫུ་བཏགས ། དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་ཟླ་བཞི་ལ་ བཞེངས་ཙ་ན ། ཡུལ་སོ་སོ་ལ་སྤྱོད་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཟླ་ལོན་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པས ། ཉིང་ཚང་མ་ཟླ་ལོན་ལ་ཡས་ཏེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་ནས་ རྒྱལ་ཟླ་བཞིས་ཐོག་ཏུ་བཞེངས་པའི་ནག་ལ་དེ་ཟླ་ལོན་ཙི་ཡོད་མཁན་ཚང་མ་རྒྱལ་པོས་ཕྱུར་སྨུལ་པས ། དེ་ནས་ཟ་མིན་དྲར་ཚང་མ་མིན་ ཏུ་མང་པོ་འཐད་སོང་ །།

དེ་ནས་ལོ་མང་པོ་སོང་སྟེ ། དེང་ལོ་ཏ་ཡིའི་ཟླ་བ་དགུ་པའི་ནང་ཏུ་ཀ་མིར་ཕྱོགས་ནས ། སེང་པའི་དམག་ཐོན་པའི་སྐད་ཆ་ཆོར ། དེ་ནས་རོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད ། ལྷུམ་ར ། སྤྲལ་ཏི་ཡུལ ། ལ་དྭགས ། ཟླ་རིག་ཚང་མ་ནས་དམག་སྐུལ་བྱས ། དེ་ནས་ཟླ་རིག་ཕྱོགས་ལ་བྱེར་ ནས ། ཟླ་རིག་གི་སང་ཀུ་ལ་སེང་པའི་དམག་དང་ཐུག་སྟེ ། དེ་རྫུ་སེང་པ་དང་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་ས ། སེང་པ་རྒྱལ་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཕམ་ སྟེ ། ཙམ་སེ་ལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་མཆོད་ལ་མཁར་ཏེ་ཡོདས ། དེ་ནས་མཁར་གོ་ལ་ལ་བཙིང་སྟེ ། སེང་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་ལད་དཀར་ཅོ་ཙ་ཟླ་བ་ གཅིག་ཙམ་འདུགས ། ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་པའི་ཟླ་ཉིལ་ཏེ ། དེ་ཙ་དམག་སྐར་བཏབ་ནས་འདུགས ། ཡང་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་ཚེས་མགོ་ལ་སེང་ པ་ཚང་མ་པ་སྐྱུམ་ཡུལ་ལ་བསྐྱོད ། པ་སྐྱུམ་ཡུལ་ལ་ནག་བཙོ་ཟླ་འདུགས་ནས། སེང་པ་ཚང་མ་ཡང་ལད་དཀར་ཅོ་ཙ་ལོག་སྐྱེ་སོང་ ། དེ་ཙ་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་འཁོར་རིང་བར་དུ་འདུགས ། ཡང་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་ མགོ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ ཚང་མས་གྲབས་ བཙོས་པས ། དགུ་ས་དཀྲུད་ལ་ཁ་མང་པོ་ཡོདས ། སེང་པ་ཆོ་ལ་གོས་མེད་པས ། གྲང་མོ་སོང་སྟེ་ཧོ་ཀུན་ཀྱིས་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་མི་ཐུབ ། ང་ཏང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་རྒྱལ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས ། སེང་པ་དང་འཐབ་ཅེས་ལ་སོང་ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་དགུ་ཙམ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན ། དེ་ཚང་ མ་སེང་པ་ལ་རྒྱབ་འདེད་ལ་སོང་ ། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་སྐྱིད་མར་ཙོ་ཙ་བསྐྱོན་སྟེ ། སྐྱིད་མར་ཙོ་ཙ་སེང་པ་དང་འཐབ་མོ་ཆེ་བ་ བཏང་ས་ནས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཕམ་སོང་ ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཅིའི་ཕི་ལ་ཕམ་ཟེར་ན ། ལ་དྭགས་པས་རང་གི་རྒྱགས་དང་གོན་ཆས་སྟུན་ཚང་མ་ བཀུར་ཏེ ། ཀྱིས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱང་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན ། དེའི་ཁ་ཐོག་ལ་ཏུ་བག་ཡང་ཡོད་པས ། ཁྲ་ཙ་མང་པོ་ཡོད་པས ། འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་མ་ཐུབ་ པར་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཕམ ། སེང་པ་རྒྱལ་སོང་ ། སེང་པའི་ཏུ་བག་རལ་གྲི་སོག་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་མི་སུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་དེ་ཙ་ཤི་སྟེ ། དམག་ མགོ་དོག་པ་བཀའ་བློན་ཡང་དེ་ཙ་གྲོངས ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁ་ཤས་སེང་པས་བཟུང་སྟེ་ཁྲིད་ས ། དེ་ནས་ཚང་མ་གར་སོང་གར་མ་སོང་ཤོར་ ཏེ་ཡོདས ། ཀྲམ་ཟིས་པ་ཐུབ་མཛོད་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཀྱིས་སེང་པ་དང་ཆོ་ར་ལུར་ལ ། ཡམ་བསྟན་བཙོ་སྐྱེ་བྱོན་ནས་མཁར་ཟླ་ཙ་ཕྱིར ། དེ་ ནས་གཡུ་ཙ་བ་དང་ལྷན་ལ་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་སེང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་མཁར་ཟླ་ཙ་བསྐྱིབ་ཟེར་བ་སང་འཛིགས་ཏེ ། སེང་པ་ལ་རྒྱ་བར་རྟ་ གཅིག་དང་ ། དཔལ་ཁ་ཤས་ཁྲར་ཏེ་མི་ཚང་མ་མཁར་ཟླ་ཙ་སོང་སྟེ ། སེང་པའི་དམག་ལ་མགོ་དགུས་ནས་ཕྱུ་བྱས ། དེ་ནས་སེང་པ་ དང་ཆོ་ར་ལུར་མིན་ཏུ་མང་པོ་འཐད་སོང་ ། གཡུ་ཙ་དང་ལྷན་ལ་པ་ལ་ཡུལ་ལ་དོག་སད་ཆ་མི་བཙུག་ཟེར་ཏེ ། སེ་པ་རེ་རེ་སུང་ཅེས་ ལ་བཏངས ། དེ་ནས་གཡུ་ཙ་ལ་བསྐྱིབ་པས ། ཡང་སྐྱེ་ས་པ་དང་ཉིད་མོ་སྐྱང་པ་ཚང་མ་འཛིགས་ཏེ ། ཡང་རྟ་གཉིས་དང་དཔལ་ཁ་ ཤས་རེ་ཁྲར་ནས ། གྲོང་རེ་མི་རེ་གཡུ་ཙ་ལ་སོང་སྟེ ། སེང་པ་ལ་ཕྱུ་བྱས ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་སེང་པ་མང་པོ་འཐད་ནས ། སྐྱེ་བ་པ་དང་ ཉིད་མོ་སྐྱང་པ་ལ་སེ་པ་རེ་རེ་སུང་ཅེས་ལ་བཏངས ། དེ་ནས་ཡང་སེ་པ་སྐྱུར་ལ་ལ་ཕྱིར ། ཡང་སྐྱེ་མོ་བ་སྒོ་པ་དང་ ། ཨ་སྒི ། སས་ པོ་ལ ། ལེ་ཀྱིར་པ་ཚང་མ་དོར་རེ་ཁྲར་ཏེ་སེང་པ་ལ་བསྐྱུ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱུར་ལ་ཙ་བསྐྱིབ་པས ། ཡང་སེང་པ་འཐད་ནས ། ཕྱུལ་ཚང་མ་ལ་སུང་ མཁན་སེ་པ་རེ་རེ་བཏངས ། དེ་ནས་སེང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་སྐྱེ་མོ་ཙ་བསྐྱིབ་པས ། འདི་ཟླག་ཟེར་བ ། དཔལ་བཏང་ན ། སེང་པའི་

དམག་ཚང་མ་ལོག་སྐྱེ་ཚ་ཅེས་འདུག་ཟེར་ནས། ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོས་གསན་པས། དཔལ་དང་རྡོ་ཚད་མང་པོ་སྤྲེལ་མཁར་དང་ནས་ཡིང་སྐྱེ། སྐྱེ་མོ་རུ་བསྐྱོབས་ཏེ་སེང་པའི་རྫར་སོང་སྐྱེ། སེང་པ་ཚོ་ཡིས་དོར་དང་དངུལ་ཚང་མ་ཡང་ལེན་ཏེ། སེང་པ་འཐད་ནས་ང་ཉ་ལོག་སྐྱེ་ཆ་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ལྟ་ཅེས་ཀྱི་མི་ལ་སློབ་ཅིག་ཆ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་དང་དམག་མི་ཚང་མ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་སོང་སྐྱེ། ག་ཡུལ་ན་ཡང་མི་མདའ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་རྒྱབ་མཁན་མེད་པར་སྤྲེལ་རུ་བསྐྱེབ་ནས། གར་བསྒོ་རུ་དམག་སྡང་བབ་ནས་འདུགས། ལྷ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ཚེས་མགོ་ལ་བསྐྱེབ་ནས། ལྷ་བ་བཞི་ཕྲུག་སེང་པ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་འདུགས། དེ་ནས་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་གྱིས་ཟེར་དོན་ལ། ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་དྲག་ཆོས་ཀུན་དགའ་ལ། ཁྱོད་རང་གིས་ལ་དྭགས་པ་འདི་ཚང་མའི་ཁག་འཁུར་དགོས་ཟེར་པས། ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་པ་དྲག་ཆོས་ཀྱིས་ལན་ལ། ང་དག་ས་ཕྱུག་པ་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཞབས་འབྲི་བཅོས་མཁན་ཡིན། མ་ཚད་པར་བསང་རབ་སྐྱོགས་ཞབས་མང་པོ་ཞོས། ད་ལྟ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ངོ་ལོག་མི་བཟོ། དེ་ཐུག་ཟེར་པ་སང་། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་ལ་སྨོ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་གཉིས་ནས་ཆད་དོན་བརྟན་པོ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཐབ་སྐྱོང་པ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ལོར་དངུལ་བཅུ་དང་ཨ་ན་རྡུག་རེ་དང་པེ་ནེ་གཉིས་རེ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། སྤྲེལ་བློན་པོ་དངོས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ར་ཛ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། བ་སྒོ་བཀའ་བློན་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་བློན་བཅོས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞང་དུ་དཀར་ནུ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་ཁྱེར་ཏེ་བསྐྱུར། ལྡ་ལྡ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ལས་ཅང་མེད་མཁན་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་བོར་ནས། དེ་ནས་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་དྲག་ཆོས་ལ་དྭགས་ཀྱི་ཁག་མི་འཁུར་ཟེར་མཁན་པོ་ལ་སློ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་ལ་ཡ་དོ་བཅོལ་ཏེ། ཁ་རྩམ་ལ་ཁྲིད་དེ་བཙོན་པ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིད་ནས། དེ་ནས་སེང་པའི་དམག་མི་སུམ་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཀྱི་ལ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་དེ་རུ་བོར་ནས། དེ་ནས་སེང་པ་དམག་མི་ཕྱུས་མཁན་སག་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་ཁ་རྩལ་ལ་སོང་། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་ཉིད་མོ་སྐྱང་མཁར་རུ་བསྐྱེབ་ནས། མཁར་དང་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཉི་མ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གཉེར་མཛོད་བཅག་སྐྱེ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐུམ་རལ་དང་། མུ་ཏིག་གི་ཆུན་པོ། ཁྲི་རྡིའི་ལག་པ། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཆིབས་ཀྱི་སྒ་སྒྲན་དང་། བཟང་དོར་ཚང་མ་སེང་པས་ཁྲིད་ནས།།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལོ་རྒྱུག་འདུག་སྐྱེ། ལོ་བདུན་ཏོ་ལ་ཡང་སྤྱི་རུ་ཡོད་མཁན་ཀྱི་སེང་པ་ཀུན་ལ་ལྟ་སྐྱེ། ལ་དྭགས་པས་གླབས་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། དམག་བཏང་ཅེས་ཞིག་ཞིག་བཅོས། ཧེམ་བབས་པ་གུ་ལ་མིར་ཟེར་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། དེ་མི་པོས་སྤུ་རིག་ན་དམག་བསྐུལ་ཏེ་འཐོང་ཅེས་བཅོས་པས། ཡང་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་གྱིས་སེང་དམག་མང་པོ་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཟངས་དཀར་ཕྱོགས་ཀྱི་ལམ་ནས་ཡིང་སྐྱེ། སྤྲེལ་རུ་བསྐྱེབ། ལ་དྭགས་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། སྤུ་རིག་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་སེང་པའི་དམག་ལ་འཇིགས་པས། ཚང་མ་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་གྱི་མདུན་ལ་སོང་སྐྱེ་འདི་ཐུག་ཟེར་པ། ང་ཉ་ཚང་མ་ཉེ་རང་ལ་ས་ལཱམ་བཅོ་ཅེས་ལ་ཡོངས། ང་ཉ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཨར་ཞི་ཡོད་ཟེར་ཏེ་བཟུང་བཏབས། དེ་ནས་ཝ་ཟིར་གྱིས་ཟེར་པ། ཁྱོ་ཉ་ཚང་མའི་ཨར་ཞི་ཅི་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གསན་ཡིན་མོལ་ནས། ཁྱོ་ཉ་མི་ཁ་ཅིག་རེ་འདི་རུ་འདུག ། གཞན་མ་ཚང་མ་རང་རང་གི་ཡུལ་ལ་ལོག་སྐྱེ་སོང་ཞིག་མོལ་སོང་། སྤུ་རིག་ཧེམ་བབས་པ་གུ་ལ་མིར་དང་། ཅིག་ཏན་པ་ཡིས་མལ་མིར་དང་། སྤུ་རིག་པ་ཡང་མི་ཁ་ཅིག་འདུག་བཅུགས། དེ་ནས་ཞག་ཁ་ཤས་སོང་སྐྱེ། མགོ་མ་དམག་སྐྱུལ་བཏང་མཁན་པོ་སུ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ནས་ཞིབ་ཏུ་བཏངས་པས། ཉིད་ན་ཧེམ་བབས་པ་གུ་ལ་མིར་ཟེར་ནས། གུ་ལ་མིར་ལ་བད་ཀྲམ་བཏངས། ལག་པ་གཡས་པ་བཅད་དེ། ལག་རྡུང་པོ་མར་ཚད་དེའི་ནང་ལ་བཏངས། ཡང་ལག་པ་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཟམ་པ་རུ་གདུང་མའི་ཁ་ཕྱོགས་ལ་གཟེར་བརྒྱབས། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཕྱིང་སྐྱེ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཟམ་པ་རུ་ལག་མིས་མིག་གི་ནང་རུ་བཀྲམ་སྐྱེ་འདུག་ཡིན། ཡང་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཀོ་ཞིའི་ནང་མིག་ཅིག་གི་ནང་ལ་བོར་པས། མཚོན་ལ་བི་ལ་ཞིག་བིས་ལག་པ་དེ་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཉིད་ལ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་ཆད་པ་བཅད་ཡིན་ཟམས་སྐྱེ། མི་མི་ཟླ་མ་ཞིག་ཤི་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། ཁོའི་ལག་པ་བཅད་དེ་ཁ་ལ་ཙེ་ཟམ་པ་རུ་གདུང་མ་ཞིག་གི་མགོ་ལ་བཏག་སྐྱེ་བོར་ས། ཡང་གུ་ལ་མིར་ཀྱི་ལྕེ་པོ་ཡང་བཅད་ས། དེ་ནས་ཡང་སྤྲུལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ་རུ་དམག་འཛིན་ཅེས་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དམག་སྐྱུལ་བཏང་སྐྱེ། གཡུ་རུ་ནས་ཟེད་ཕྱོགས། ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཁྲིད་

ནས། དམག་མགོ་ལ་ག་ག་བང་ཁ་པ་བཙོ་སྐྱེ། ད་དུའི་ཆོས་འབད་ལ་རྒྱུད་ནས་སོང་། ཤིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་མཉམ་པོ་མ་དེ་ན་ཀྲ་ཞེར་མཁན་པོ་ཉིད་མ་ནག་ལ་བཏང་ས། བྲུ་རིག་པ་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། འཛམ་འབྲུ་ནས་དམག་སྦྱོང་བསྐྱོབས་མཁན་དེ་ཚང་མ་ཁྱེར་ནས། སོ་ར་ལྷུར་དཀར་གྱིལ་ཕོའི་ལམ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སོང་སྐྱེ། ཙི་ཙི་ཙན་ཞེར་མཁའི་ས་ཐང་ལ་བསྐྱོབ། ཡ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་སྤྱལ་ཏི་ཕྱལ་གྱི་དམག་དང་བྲུག་སོང་། དེ་རྫ་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་ས་ནས། ཤེ་པ་ཁ་ཀྲས་ཡང་མི། དཀར་གྱིལ་ཕོ་པ་ནེ་ཐམ་དེན་ཞེར་མཁན་པོ་དམག་མགོ་ཡིན་པས། ཁོ་ཡང་ཀྲི་སོང་། དེའི་ཉིད་ད་ལྷ་ཞིར་སོ་ར་ལྷུར་དང་ཞིས་འཐབ་མོ་བཏང་ས། སྤྱལ་ཏི་ཚང་མ་སྐྱབས་ཀྲིག་ལ་ཀྲོར་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཤིང་པའི་དམག་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་ལ་སྐྱེབ་སྐྱེབ་ཚུག་པ་མེ་མདའ་རྒྱབ་མཁན་གཅིག་ཀྱང་མེད་པར་སྐར་རྡོ་མཁར་ལ་བསྐྱོབ། དེ་རྫ་ཚང་མ་འཛོམ་ནས། དམག་སྦང་སབ་སྐྱེ། ཞག་མ་བཅུ་གཉིས་སར་ཚུད་གཉིས་ཀ་འཐབ་མོ་མེད་པར་འདུགས། སྐར་རྡོ་ཇོ་ཨག་མར་ཀྲ་མཁར་དང་རྫ་ཡིབ་སྐྱེ། དེ་ནས་ཞག་བཅུ་གཉིས་སོང་སྐྱེ། ཟང་མེད་ལ་ཇོ་ཨག་མར་ཀྲ་མཁར་དང་ནས་བབས་ཏེ། སོ་ར་ལྷུར་ལ་མགོ་དགྲ་བ་ལ་ཡོངས། ལྷ་ཞིར་འཐད་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱིས་ཇོ་ལ་འདི་བྲུག་ཞེར་པ། ཅིག་ཧན་པ་ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་གར་ཡོད། ཁོ་བསྣམ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོང་ཞེརས། ཇོ་ཨག་མར་ཀྲ་ཁན་གྱིས། ཅི་ཀྲེས་ང་ལ་ཁ་བར་མེད་ཞེརས། ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱིས་ཁོ་མ་འཁྱོང་ན། ཁྲོ་ཟང་ལ་དཀགས་པོ་བཙོ་ཡིན་ཞེརས། ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཅིའི་ཟི་ལ་བཙལ་འདུག་ཞེར་ན། སྒྲོད་ལ་སོ་ར་ལྷུར་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ནས་ཡོང་སོང་ཚུག་པ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དམག་སྐྱལ་བཏང་ས། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དུ་ཇོ་ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ལ་རྒྱང་བཙོད་དྲག་པོ་བཏང་ས། ཉིད་ད་ཇོ་ཨག་མར་ཀྲས་ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་ལ་བཙལ་མཁན་གྱི་མི་བཏང་ས་ནས། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་བསྣམ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོངས། སོ་ར་ལྷུར་གྱི་མདུན་ལ་བསྐྱོབ་པས། སོ་ར་ལྷུར་གྱིས་ཏྲ་ཀྲུམ་ཞིག་བཏང་ས། ཤིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་། བྲུ་རིག་པ་ཚང་མ་དང་། སྤྱལ་ཏི་ཕྱལ་གྱི་བྲ་ཚ་དང་བྲ་མོ་ནན་གཞོན་ནར་བ་ན་པོ་ཚང་མ་དུས་གཅིག་གི་ནང་དུ་བསྒྲུ་སྐྱེ། ཕྱལ་གྱི་གཞུང་ལ་ཕོལ་བང་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་འདུག་པས། དེའི་ཁར་ཚང་མ་སྐྱོངས། སོ་ར་ལྷུར་དང་ནླ་ནླ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཉིས་ཀ་ལ་ཀྲུར་རེ་རེ་བཙུག་སྐྱེ་འདུག། དེ་ནས་དམག་ཚང་མ་གཞལ་ལ་འདུག་བཙུག་སྐྱེ། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཤེ་པ་བདུན་གྱིས་བསྣམ་སྐྱེ་དེ་ཙ་སྐྱོང་སྐྱེ། ཁོ་ལ་ཨ་ཞིམ་མང་པོ་ཟ་བཙུག་སྐྱེ། ར་རྡོས་བཙུགས། རྒྱུད་མོ་མི་ཡོང་ཅེས་ཀྱི་ཟི་ལ་ཡིན་ཞེར་འདུག། དམག་ཚང་མའི་དཀྱིལ་དུ་སོང་ས། མི་ཞིག་ཤིས་མིང་ཅན་ཁྲང་གང་སྐྱོངས། ཡང་མི་ཞིག་ཤིས་ཟངས་བྲ་ཆུང་ཙེ་ཞིག་གི་ནང་དུ་མར་བ་ཧྲི་གཅིག་ཙམ་བརྒྱུད་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོངས། དེ་ནས་སྤྱིར་བྲ་བཙུག་སྐྱེ། ཟངས་ཆུང་དེ་བཀལ་ཏེ། མེ་སྦུས་ནས་མར་ཞོག་བཙུགས། མི་བཤད་མཁན་གྱི་འཁྲུམ་ཞིག་ཡོང་སྐྱེ། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་བསྣམ་སྐྱེ། སྒྲོད་ལ་ལག་པ་བཙང་དེ་མར་ཚན་རྒྱ་ཁ་ལ་བསྐྱུས། དེ་ནས་སྦྱེ་ཡང་བཙངས། ཡང་རྣ་མཆོག་གཉིས་ཀ་ཡང་བཙང་དེ། དམག་ཚང་མ་ལ་མཐོང་བཙུགས། དེ་ནས་མི་ཚང་མའི་གཞུང་ལ་སང་སྐྱེ་སོངས། ཡང་པས་ཀྲུམ་པ་སོང་མོ་པ་ཏྲ་སེན་ཞེར་མཁན་པོས་ཀྱང་ཤིང་པ་ལ་ངོ་ཤོག་བཙོས་མཁན་ཡིན་པས། ཁའི་ལག་པ་གསས་པ་ཡང་བཙངས། སྦྱེ་པོ་ཡང་བཙང་དེ་སྦུང་བཏང་ས། ཁོ་མ་ཀྲི་བར་བྱས། ར་ཡིམ་ཁན་ཞག་གཉིས་ཙམ་ཀྱ་ཙོ་བཏང་གེན་འདུག་སྐྱེ། ཉིད་ད་ཀྲི་དོན། དེ་ནས་ཤིང་པ་རྒྱལ་མལ་མལ་ལ་སོང་སྐྱེ། ཤིང་པ་ཁ་ཀྲས་སྐར་རྡོ་རྫ་སོངས། སྐར་རྡོ་པ་ཇོ་ཨག་མར་ཁན་དང་འགོ་ཡོད་ཚང་མ་ཁྱེར་དེ། ཕྱིར་ལོག་སྐྱེ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོངས། ནླ་ནླ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་བང་ཁ་པ་གཉིས་ཀ་སྐར་རྡོ་རྫ་སྐྱོངས་ཏེ། སྦྱུར་དེ་དོན་ཏུ་སྐྱོང་སྐྱེ། མེ་ལ་ཟུལ། དེ་ནས་ལྷ་ཞིར་གྱིས་སྐར་རྡོའི་མཁར་དང་ནས་དོར་ཅེ་ཡོད་བཀུར་ཏེ་སྐྱེལ་དུ་ཕྱིར། དེ་ནས་དཀྲུད་གཅིག་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་འདུགས ||

དཀྱིད་ཀྱི་ཟླ་བ་གཉིས་པའི་ནང་དུ་བྲང་བང་དུ་དམག་ཁྱེར་ཅེས་ལ། སྤྱལ་ཚང་མ་རྫ་ཤི་པ་བཏང་སྐྱེ། མི་ཚང་མ་ལ་མ་ན་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེརས། ཡང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་ཤིང་པའི་དམག་སྦྱོང་སྐྱོང་དྲུག་ཙམ་ཡང་བསྐྱོབ་པས། དེ་མཉམ་དོན་གྲུམ་ཏུ་ཡང་འདུག། དེ་ནས་ལ་དྭགས། སྤྱལ་ཏི་ཕྱལ། བྲུ་རིག་ཕྱལ། ལྷུམ་ར་གར་ཚོད་ནས་མི་བཅུས་ནས། དམག་མི་སྟོང་བཅུ་གཉིས་ཙམ་འཛོམ་པས།

བྱང་ཐང་ལ་ཁྱེརས། སྐྱོང་བ་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཞི་ཀར་ཁལ་ལྔ་རེ་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེརས། དེ་ནས་ཙ་ཧོག་ཏུ་བསྐྱོད་སྐྱེ། དེ་ཙ་འཐབ་མོ་མ་བཏང་བར་ཙ་ཧོག་ཏུ་དོར་ཅི་ཡོད་མཁན་ཚང་མ་བཀོག་སྐྱེ། ལ་དྭགས་ལ་བཀལ་ཏེ་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་གྲོག་པོ་རབ་གསུམ་ལ་བསྐྱོདས་ཏེ། དེ་ཙ་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཡང་སྡོད་སོང་། དེ་ནས་སིང་པ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པ་གཉིས་གཡབ་བཙོ་སྐྱེ། ང་ཏང་གིས་གྲོག་པོའི་ཆ་སྐྱིལ་ཡིད་ཞེར་ཏེ། གྲོག་པོའི་ཆ་བསྐྱིལས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ཞག་གཅིག་གི་ལམ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་སོང་བས། སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ཡང་སོང་། གྲོག་པོ་རབ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྟོད་ལ་སིང་པ་དང་ལ་དྭགས་པའི་དམག། བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དམག་ཐང་བཏབ་སྐྱེ་འདུགས། མཚན་ཞིག་ལ་ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་སེ་ར་ཙ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས་ནས། ནམ་ལངས་ལངས་ལ་སིང་པ་ཚང་མ་ལ་གོད་ཆས་མེད་སེ་ར་ཙའི་ནང་ཏུ་རུབ་སྐྱེ། སིང་པ་མང་པོ་ཤི་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཉི་མ་སྐེ་ཟར་དང་བོད་པ་དང་སིང་པ་གཉིས་ཀས་འཐབ་མོ་ཆེ་བ་བཏངས། ཉི་མ་ཕྱེད་ཙམ་ལ་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་ལ་བོད་པའི་ཏུ་བག་ཕོག་ནས། རྟའི་ཐོག་ནས་ས་སྟེང་དུ་ལྷུང་སྐྱེ་གི། བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མས་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་གྱི་ཁ་ཚང་མ་བཅད་དེ་ཁྱེརས། ཟོ་ར་ཝར་གྱི་མགོ་བཅད་དེ་འཛམ་འབྲུ་ཙ་བཀལ་བཏངས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པས་སིང་པ་མང་པོ་བསྡུས་སྐྱེ་བོད་ལ་ཁྱེར་སོང་། བོད་པའི་ཞིབ་གཙོད་ཞེར་མཁན་གྱི་མི་ཆེན་མོ་ཞིག་དང་སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་དང་སྒྲིག་སོང་བས། དེ་ནས་ཕྱིད་བར་ཆུན་གང་ནས་ཞེར་ལོ་མེད་མཁན་བཅོས། སྤྱོད་ཁྲིམས་དང་ལྷར་ལོ་ཐུག་པ་འགྲུབ་ཅེས་བཅོས། ཆད་ཡིག་བརྟན་པོ་བཅོས་ནས། སིང་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ལ་དྭགས་ལ་ཡོངས། བོད་པ་ཚང་མ་བོད་ལ་སོང་།།

དེ་ནས་ཡང་ཟླ་བ་གསུམ་སོང་བ་དང་། ཡང་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ཕྱོགས་ནས་བོད་ལ་དམག་འཁྱེར་ཅེས་ལ། དེ་ལྟར་ཧ་རི་ཙནྡ་དང་ལྷ་ཞེར་ར་ཏུད་གཉིས་ཀ་དམག་མགོ་བཙོ་སྐྱེ། སིང་པ་དམག་མི་སྟོང་བརྒྱད་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཟླ་བ་ལྔ་པའི་ནང་ཏུ་སྐྱོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱོར། དེ་ནས་ཡང་ལ་དྭགས་དང་། ལྷུམ་ར། སྤྲལ་ཏེ་ཡུལ། བུ་རིག་ཡུལ་ཚང་མ་ལ་དམག་རྒྱལ་བཏང་སྐྱེ། ཟ་མིད་དྲར་ཚང་མ་ཤ་ཞི་ཀར་བཀལ་ཏེ་ཁྱེརས། མི་དྭག་རིགས་ཚང་མ་དམག་མི་བཙོ་སྐྱེ་ཁྱེརས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཁ་ཤས་ལྕེམ་འབྲེ་མཁར་ནང་ཏུ་བསྐྱོད་སྐྱེ་ཡོད་པས། དེ་ཚང་མ་ལ་མཁར་ནང་ཏུ་ཆ་མེད་མཁན་བཙོ་སྐྱེ། སིང་པའི་དམག་མི་ཁ་ཅིག་དེ་ཙ་སོངས། དེ་ལྟར་དང་སིང་པ་མང་པོ་བོད་པའི་དམག་ཚང་མ་ལ་བཏང་སྐྱེ་སོང་། དེ་ནས་ཆ་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཐུག་སྐྱེ་བོད་པ་ཁ་ཤས་བསད་བཏངས། ཁ་ཤས་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིདས། བོད་པའི་དམག་མགོ་ར་ག་ཤ་ཞེར་མཁན་པོ་ཡང་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ། སྤྱོད་མ་ལྷ་ཞེར་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་བསད་པའི་སྲོག་ལན་ཡིན་ཞེར་ནས། རལ་གྲི་དང་ཀྱི་བཅདས། དེ་ནས་བོད་པ་བམ། སྤྱོད་ཁྲིམས་ལ་དྭགས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁྲིམས་ལ་བཞག་ཅེས་བཅོས། སྤྱོད་ལོ་ཟོ་ར་ཝར་ཤི་ཙ་ན། སིང་པ་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིད་མཁན་ཚང་མ་ཕྱིར་ལོག་བཏང་ཅེས་བཙོ་སྐྱེ། བོད་པ་བཟུམས་མཁན་ཚང་མ་ལོག་ཅེས་བཙོ་སྐྱེ་དང་སྒྲིག་སོང་། དེ་ནས་བོད་ཙ་ཡོད་མཁན་གྱི་སིང་པ་ཚང་མས་བོད་པ་མི་ཨ་དེ་ལ་ཐོང་སྐྱེ། ས་རེ་ལ་སྤུ་རུ་སོང་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིད་ནས། ཚང་མ་ཁ་རྒྱལ་ལ་སོང་། བོད་པ་སིང་པས་བཟུམ་སྐྱེ་ཁྲིད་མཁན་ཀུན་ལ་འཛམ་འབྲུ་མ་ཨ་དེ་ལ་ཐོང་སྐྱེ་སྤུ་རུ་གཉིས་གསུམ་རེ་སོང་སྐྱེ། ཁྲིད་ནས་བོད་ཕྱོགས་ལ་སོང་། བོད་ལ་སིང་པ་མཉམ་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་མི་ཉ་རེ་ཡ་སིང་ཞེར་མཁན་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་ཡིན། ཁོ་བོད་ནས་འཛམ་འབྲུ་ཙ་བསྐྱོད་ནས། མ་ཧ་ར་ཛ་ཡིས་འདི་ཐུག་འདྲིས་པ། བོད་ལ་ཡང་དམག་འཁྱེར་ན། ཉན་ཅེས་འདུག་ག་མི་འདུག་དྲིས་པས། མི་ཉ་རེ་ཡ་སིང་གིས་ལན་ཏུ། བོད་ལ་དམག་འཁྱེར་བ་ཉན་ཅེས་མི་འདུག། ཅི་འདུག་ཞེར་ན། ང་ཏང་གི་དམག་པོ་ཟམ་ཟེག་བོད་པའི་ཟླ་མ་ཚང་མ་འདུག། སིང་པས་ཟླ་བ་གཅིག་ལ་ཁར་ཟེ་ཟ་མཁན་པོ། བོད་པས་ཞག་གཅིག་ལ་ཟ་ཙག། སིང་པ་མི་བཅུ་གོད་མཁན་གྱི་གོད་ཆས་པོ། བོད་པ་མི་གཅིག་གིས་གོད་འདུག། ཡང་ཁོ་ཀུན་ལ་ཟ་ཏུ་མང་པོ་འདུག། ནམ་མཁའ་ནས་ཆར་པ་མང་པོ་བབ་ཅེས་དང་། རང་བཞིན་ནས་མེ་འབར་བཙུག་ཅེས་དང་། ས་དང་གནམ་འགྱུལ་བཙུག་ཅེས་དང་། མཐུ་བཏང་ཅེས་ཤེས་འདུག། མི་ཁ་ཅིག་ནམ་མཁའ་ཙ་འཕུར་ཅེས་དང་། མི་ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་མི་སྲུ་ལ་མཐོང་མ་བཙུག་པར་རལ་གྲི་ཁྱེར་ཏེ་མི་བསད་མཁན་དང་། མི་འདྲ་ཅེས་མང་པོ་འདུག་ཞེར་བས། མ་ཧ་ར་ཛ་ལ་སྤྲོ་མང་པོ་ཡོངས།

ཚོ་རང་གིས་བོད་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བཅོ་སྐྱེ་གདམ་ཞོག་པོ་ཟེར་ས། ཚོ་རང་དོ་ཀ་རི་ལ་མི་འཁོར་ཟེར་ནས། སེང་སྐྱེ་གཞན་ཕྱལ་ཞིག་ལ་
བཏངས། སྔོན་ལ་ལ་དྭགས་པ་བོད་ལ་བསྒྲུམ་སྐྱེ་ཟེར་རིགས་ནི། དབོན་པོ་ཚེ་དབང་རབ་བརྟན། ཆ་ཧོར་ཇོ་སྐྱོ་ལམ་ཁན། ས་སྐྱོ་བཀའ་
བློན། བློན་པོ་ས་བི། ལྐྱེ་བ་པ་འཛོལ་ཆགས་པ་བྲག་རྫོང། ཁང་མི་ལྔ་བོད་ནས་ལོག་སྐྱེ་མ་བསྒྲེབ། དེ་ཅེ་ཡིན་ཟེར་ན། ཁོ་ཚང་ཀ་བོད་
པའི་ཕྱོགས་མ་བཅོ་སྐྱེ། སེང་པའི་ཕྱོགས་བཅོ་མཁན་ཡིན་ཟེར་དེ། བོད་པ་ལ་སྒོ་ཡོང་སྐྱེ། ཁང་ཚང་ཀ་མི་མི་ཞུག་པ་བོད་ལ་བོརས།།

TRANSLATION

In the following is contained the history of the Indian war, as told by the grandfather Tshe-brtan of Kha-la-rtse.

This is the tale of the former king of La-dvags (Ladakh) and of the war with the Siṅ-pas. During the time of the father-king the following [districts were inhabited by] his subjects: [the region] from the Ḫdu-ži pass (Zoji pass) upwards, from the Chos-ḫbad pass of Sbal-ti-yul upwards, and from La-ḫdar in Zaṅs-dkar upwards; [the region] within the Śe-ḫdu-la pass of Ldum-ra (Nub-ra), and within Pho-loṅ-ḫdra-ḫdra of Byaṅ-thaṅ. All those [who lived there] were the subjects of the father-king of La-dvags. Besides the father-king none could give orders to them. To say 'Salām' to the king of La-dvags there came annually from Kashmir [a Kashmiri] called Ma-lig, and together with him about one hundred assistant pony-men. In return to this, the king of La-dvags sent with a man from Kha-la-tse, called Drag-chos-don-grub, various products of La-dvags, for instance, a yak, a sheep, a goat, a dog, and also more valuable things. The king's steward was the minister Ga-ga Phun-tshogs-rab-bstan of Sñe-mo, the chief cook (storekeeper) was a man of the house of Gsol-dpon (cook) at Wan-la. Chief purveyors in flesh were Śa-gñer-pa (meat provider) Stobs-ldan of 'Al-lci, and the magistrate of Rub-śo, these two. What the king wanted of victuals (grain) was brought from Ldum-ra, and a man called Ga-ga Bstan-ḫdzin was the chief caterer of victuals. What was wanted of butter was brought by the people of Zaṅs-dkar. The peasants had [to pay] no taxes, and there was no forced labour. When the biennial embassy went to Lha-sa, every village had to send one man each to attend, and every [peasant] had to contribute two *jau* (a coin) as his wages. Every village had to give two hides (for packing) for the biennial embassy (*lo-phyag*), but the large villages three. Toll had to be paid by the traders of Kha-ce (Kashmir), Yar-kyen (Yarkand), and Dkar-žva (Lahul), on entering La-dvags; but it was not asked of the people of Pu-rig, Sbal-ti-yul, and La-dvags. Then a bride was asked for the king from Khaṅ-gsar (Ko-loṅ) of Dkar-žva. Later on, as a son was not born by that queen, they brought a daughter of the chief of Rub-śo. To her was born a prince, who received the name of No-chuṅ-ṅu (boy prince). Formerly many villages were deeply in debt to the king, and at the time when the prince was raised to the throne the king remitted all the debts. Thereupon all the landholders were much pleased.

Then, many years later, at last, in the ninth month of a Horse-year, a rumour was heard of an army of Siṅ-pas coming from Ka-shir (Kashmir). Then a 'call to

arms' was issued in Roṅ-chu-rgyud, Ldum-ra, Sbal-ti-yul, La-dvags, Pu-rig, and all [the other provinces]. Then [the armies] were led towards Pu-rig, and at Saṅ-ku of Pu-rig the army of the Siṅ-pas was met, and a battle was fought. The Siṅ-pas were victorious, the Ladakhis were beaten, and fled during the night across the Rus-si pass. They came out [of the defile] at Śer-go-la (Śar-sgo-la); and the whole army of the Sin-pas remained at Laṅ-dkar-tse for about one month. There they threw up trenches and remained for the whole of the tenth month. On the first day of the eleventh month all the Siṅ-pas arrived at the village of Pa-skyum. After having remained at Pa-skyum for fifteen days, the Siṅ-pas went back again to Laṅ-dkar-tse. There they remained till the end of the eleventh month. On the first of the twelfth month the whole Ladakhi army held a council [as follows]: 'It is winter now, and much snow has fallen. As the Siṅ-pas have not [sufficient] clothing, they will catch cold and not be able to fight. Then we Ladakhis will be victorious.' Thus saying, they went to fight with the Siṅ-pas. The number of the Ladakhi soldiers was about 9,000. They all went after the Siṅ-pas. When the Ladakhis arrived at Skyid-mar-tse, they fought a great battle with the Siṅ-pas, and the Ladakhis were beaten. If you ask why the Ladakhis were beaten, [we answer] that the Ladakhis had to carry [on their own backs] their food, clothing, and a carpet, which filled a litter. On the top of that was placed the musket. As they had to carry so much, the Ladakhis could not fight and were beaten. The Siṅ-pas were victorious. Being hit by the muskets and swords of the Siṅ-pas, about 300 Ladakhis died there. The chief commander, the minister of Tog, died there also. Several of the Ladakhis were seized and carried off by the Siṅ-pas. Then they fled in all directions. The treasurer Rnam-rgyal of Kram-bis acted as guide to the Siṅ-pas and Zo-ra-war, and [thus] they arrived at Mkhar-bu. When the people of Gyu-ru and Wan-la heard that the army of the Siṅ-pas had arrived at Mkhar-bu they became afraid, and, to welcome the Siṅ-pas, they brought a horse and some money. They all went to Mkhar-bu and, bowing their heads before the Siṅ-pa army, greeted them. Then Zo-ra-war and the Siṅ-pas became very much pleased. He said to the people of Gyu-ru and Wan-la: 'I will not allow any harm to be done to your villages!', and gave them one soldier (*si-pa*) each to guard them. When [Zo-ra-war] arrived at Gyu-ru, the people of Lte-ba and Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ became frightened, and one man from each village went to Gyu-ru, leading two horses and carrying some money. They welcomed the Siṅ-pas, who were highly pleased. The people of Lte-ba and Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ also received one soldier each to guard [their villages]. Then the soldiers arrived at Myur-la, and the people of Sñe-mo, Ba-sgo, A-lci, Sa-spo-la, and Li-kyir, carrying some treasure each, went to meet the Siṅ-pas, and came to Myur-la. The Siṅ-pas liked that, and gave one soldier to each village as a guard. Then the whole army of the Siṅ-pas arrived at Sñe-mo, and the following rumour was spread: 'If some money is given, the whole army of the Siṅ-pas will go back!' When the king of La-dvags heard of it, he took much money and many [silver] ingots out of the Slel castle, went to Sñe-mo, and arrived before the Siṅ-pas. The Siṅ-pas were pleased, took all the treasures and the money, and said: 'We shall go back! Only just now

we want to go to La-dvags for a moment to see it.' Zo-ra-war and all his soldiers went to La-dvags. Nobody fired a bullet in any village, and thus they arrived at Slel and stayed at Gar-bzu (Dkar-zu), where they had their camp. They arrived there on the first of the second month, and the Siṅ-pas and the King of La-dvags stayed without fighting till the fourth month. Then Zo-ra-war said to Drag-chos-kun-dgaḥ of Kha-la-tse: 'You must take the responsibility for all these Ladakhis!' To which Drag-chos of Kha-la-tse replied: 'Until now have I been a servant of the king of La-dvags; not only that, but I have also received ample food and drink from him. I shall not now revolt against the king!' As he spoke thus, Zo-ra-war became very angry. Then the King of La-dvags and Zo-ra-war both made an agreement [as follows]: 'Every peasant among the Ladakhis has to pay ten Tibetan rupees, six annas, and two paisa as tribute [to Jam-mu].' The minister of Slel, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin, was made Ra-ja, and the minister of Ba-sgo (Bab-sgo) was made minister of La-dvags. The 'little king' fled in the direction of Lahul, and the father-king remained [in Leh], being deprived of every power (work) in La-dvags. Then anger was shown against Drag-chos of Kha-la-tse, who had said that he would not accept the responsibility for La-dvags. He was appointed a servant of Zo-ra-war, and taken to Kha-cul (Jam-mu) as a prisoner. Then a fort (*kyi-la*) was erected in La-dvags, and about 300 Siṅ-pa soldiers were placed in it. The remaining Siṅ-pa soldiers were taken by Zo-ra-war to Kha-cul. When Zo-ra-war arrived at the castle of Tiṅ-mo-sgaṅ, he destroyed the treasury of king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal, and the Siṅ-pas carried off the king's sword, the strings of pearl, the branch (hand) of coral, the royal saddle cloth, and all the precious things.

Then there were six years [of peace]. In the seventh year the Ladakhis held a council against the Siṅ-pas who lived in Sle[l]. They made [everything] ready for war. There was a man called Su-ka-mir, of Hem-babs. That man admonished the people in Pu-rig to make war. And, when he led them [against the enemy], Zo-ra-war arrived at Slel, coming by the Zaṅs-dkar road and leading many Siṅ-pa soldiers. The soldiers of La-dvags and Pu-rig, being afraid of the Siṅ-pa soldiers, went before Zo-ra-war and said: 'We have all come [here] to say Salām to you! We want to make a petition.' Such a lie they said. Then the Wa-zir answered: 'Whatever petition you have, I will listen to it. Some of you may remain here; all the rest may return to their own villages.' He kept back Su-ka-mir of Hem-babs in Pu-rig, Yis-mal-mir of Cig-tan, and several more people of Pu-rig. After several days, he began to examine them, saying: 'Who is the one that issued the first call to arms?' After all, Su-ka-mir of Hem-babs was found out. Su-ka-mir was abused, and, his right hand being cut off, the stump was dipped into boiling butter. That hand was fastened with nails on the top of a pole at the Kha-la-tse bridge. Then it was again taken off and wrapped in a handkerchief at the bridge of Kha-la-tse. When that hand was placed in the room of the government storehouse (Ko-khri) of Kha-la-tse, a cat carried it off over night. Then the people of Kha-la-tse thought that they would all be punished. But, a 'grandfather lama' having died, his hand was cut off and fastened on the top of a pole at the Kha-la-tse bridge. Su-ka-mir's tongue was also cut out.

Then a call to arms was issued to all the Ladakhis to carry war to Sbal-ti-yul. The Ladakhis were sent from Gyu-ru in the upper direction, their general being Ga-ga Baṅ-kha-pa. They marched across the Chos-ḫbad pass of Ha-nu. On the following day the Siṅ-pa army was sent off together with a man called Ma-di-na-Śa. Zo-ra-war, leading an army of Pu-rig people and an army from Ḥjam-ḫbu which had arrived only recently, marched by way of Dkar-gyil-lo and reached a place called Tse-tse-tsan. There they met with the army of Sbal-ti-yul, a battle ensued, and several Si-pas were killed. A general called Ne-zam-din of Dkar-gyil-lo also died there. Later on the Wa-zir Zo-ra-war himself fought a battle, and all the Sbal-tis fled at once. Then the [other] army of the Siṅ-pas and that of the Ladakhis arrived at the castle of Skar-rdo, without ever having fired a single bullet. There they all gathered and made a camp. Both sides remained without fighting for twelve days. 'Ag-mad-Śa, the chief of Skar-rdo, remained hidden in the castle. After twelve days had elapsed, the chief 'Ag-mad-Śa came down from his castle for no particular reason, and bowed his head before Zo-ra-war. The Wa-zir was pleased and said to the chieftain: 'Where is Ra-yim-Khan, the chief of Cig-tan? You must seize and bring him [here]!' The Chief 'Ag-mad-Śa-Khan answered: 'Who knows? I have no news [about him]!' The Wa-zir said: 'If you do not bring him [here], I will make it unpleasant for you!' If you ask why the chief Ra-yim-Khan was looked for, [we answer] that, before Zo-ra-war had come from Kashmir, [Ra-yim-Khan] had issued a call to arms to all the Ladakhis. For that reason a strict inquiry was made for Ra-yim-Khan. Later on the Chief 'Ag-mad-Khan sent scouts over the whole country. They seized and brought Ra-yim-Khan [to Skar-rdo]. When he arrived before Zo-ra-war, Zo-ra-war issued an order He assembled the whole armies of the Siṅ-pas and Ladakhis, of the Pu-rig-pas, and of Sbal-ti-yul, men and women, old and young, blind and deaf, all at a time. In the middle of the town was a large field of lucerne, and all men were taken there. Tents were put up for both Zo-ra-war and the father-king. Then the whole army was drawn up in order, and Ra-yim-Khan was seized by seven soldiers and escorted there. He was admonished to eat much opium, which made him intoxicated. It was to save him much pain, they said. He was placed in the middle of the whole army. One man brought an armful of wood, another a small kettle filled with a *ba-ṭi* (four pounds) of butter. Then [three] hearthstones were put up, and the small kettle was placed on them; a fire was lit, and the butter was boiled. A 'man-killing executioner' appeared and seized Ra-yim-Khan. At first he cut off his hand and smeared the hot butter over the wound. Then he cut off his tongue. When he had cut off his ears, he showed him to the whole army. Then he pushed him into the middle of the crowd. There was also a man from Pas-kyum, called Hu-sen of [the house] Boṅ-pho, who had rebelled against the Siṅ-pas. His right hand and tongue were also cut off. Then they let him go. He did not die. Ra-yim-Khan cried for about two days; then he died. Thus the Siṅ-pas were victorious, and everything went as they could wish. Several Siṅ-pas were stationed at Skar-rdo. 'Ag-mad-Khan, the chief of Skar-rdo, and all the [other] chieftains were carried off, and the army returned to La-dvags.

The father-king and Ban-kha-pa both died at Skar-rdo. Their corpses were brought to Tog, where they were cremated. Then the Wa-zir took out of the castle of Skar-rdo the whole treasure that there existed, and went to Slel. He remained for a winter in La-dvags.

In the second month of spring some soldiers were sent over the whole country on account of a war to be undertaken against Byan-than. All people had to carry loads and were taken along [with the army]. About 6,000 [men] arrived from Kha-cul as reinforcements of the Sin-pa army. They had thirty cannons with them. Then [more] men were gathered from La-dvags, Sbal-ti-yul, Pu-rig, Ldum-ra, and all directions; and when about 12,000 soldiers were assembled, they were led to Byan-than. Every villager was made responsible for the transport of five *khal* (150 pounds). Then they arrived at Ru-thog. Without fighting they carried off all the riches that existed at Ru-thog and sent them to La-dvags. Then they arrived at Grog-po-rab-gsum, where the Tibetan army made its appearance. Then the Sin-pas held a council with the Ladakhis [as follows]: 'We will dam up the water of the brook!'; and they dammed up the water of the brook. Then the whole Tibetan army went back for a day's journey, and the army of the Sin-pas followed them (marched also). In the upper part of Grog-po-rab-gsum, the Sin-pa-Ladakhi army, as well as the Tibetan army, made their camps and remained there. During one night much hail came down from the sky. When it dawned, the Sin-pas, who had only little clothing on them, sank under the hail, and many Sin-pas died. When the sun rose above the summits, the Tibetans and the Sin-pas fought a great battle. About noon Zo-ra-war was hit by a Tibetan bullet. He fell from his horse and died. The Tibetan soldiers cut Zo-ra-war's corpse (flesh) to pieces and carried it off. They cut off Zo-ra-war's head and sent it to Hjam-hbu (Jammu). Then the Tibetans seized many Sin-pas and took them to Tibet. A Tibetan of high rank, named Żib-bcod, made an agreement with the Sin-pas: 'What has been done on both sides should not be spoken of again. The biennial trade (*lo-phyag*) is to be continued as formerly.' After this letter of agreement was duly written, the Sin-pa army went to La-dvags, and the Tibetan army to Tibet.

After three months had elapsed, De-wan Ha-ri-cand and Wa-zir Ra-tun, these two generals, came from Kha-cul into Tibet, leading 8,000 Sin-pa soldiers. They arrived at Slel in the fifth month. Then a call to arms was issued to La-dvags, Ldum-ra, Sbal-ti-yul, and Pu-rig. The peasants were taken to do transport work, and the noblemen to serve as warriors. Some Tibetan soldiers, who had arrived at the Lcem-hbre castle, were deprived of their water supply in the castle [and the castle was conquered]. Several Sin-pa soldiers were left stationed there. The De-wan and many Sin-pas pursued the Tibetan army. They caught them at Chu-śul. Some Tibetans were killed, others were seized and carried off. Ra-ga-śa, the Tibetan general, was also seized. They said: 'It is in reply to their having killed Wa-zir Zo-ra-war first!', and severed his neck with a sword. Then the Tibetans were beaten. All the customs of the former kings of La-dvags were re-established. Those Sin-pas who had been made prisoners in the preceding year, when Zo-ra-war died, were

returned, and the captive Tibetans were also returned, and an agreement was arrived at. Then those Siṅ-pas who had been kept captive in Tibet had married Tibetan women. They all went to Kha-cul, every one carrying a child. Those Tibetans who had been taken captive by the Siṅ-pas had married women of Ḫjam-ḫbu. They went [back] to Tibet, carrying two or three children each. Mi-ña-re-ya-siṅ had been in Tibet with the Siṅ-pas as an officer. When he arrived at Ḫjam-ḫbu [home] from Tibet, the Ma-ha-ra-ja asked him: 'If once more we go to war against Tibet, shall we win or not?' To which Mi-ña-re-ya-siṅ replied: 'We cannot make war against Tibet! If you ask why, as many soldiers as we have, so many lamas have the Tibetans; as much food as a Siṅ-pa consumes within a month, a Tibetan eats within a day; as many dresses as are put on by ten Siṅ-pas, a single Tibetan puts on; and they are in possession of much magic. They know how to bring rain from the sky, and how to cause fire spontaneously. They cause heaven and earth to shake, and they can show great power. Some men fly up to the sky; others make themselves invisible and kill people with a sword, and there are many [more] unusual things!' The Ma-ha-ra-ja became angry and said: 'You are taking the side of the Tibetans! You are telling ugly things! I will not keep you in my service!' He turned him out and sent him to some other country. Five Ladakhis out of those who had been taken captive by the Tibetans and carried off, viz. the astrologer Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-bstan, the chief Sgo-lam-Khan of Chu-śod, the minister of Ba-sgo, the minister Sa-bi, and Ḫol-chags-pa-phyag-rdor of Lte-ba, did not return from Tibet. If you ask why, [we answer that] they said they were taking the side of the Siṅ-pas and not that of the Tibetans. Therefore the Tibetans became angry and kept them in Tibet till they died.

NOTES

The language of Tshe-brtan's account is not quite the spoken language of Ladakh, as might be supposed. Tshe-brtan himself spoke the Ladakhi dialect when he told his tale; but the munshi who wrote it down contrived to embellish it with as many classical Tibetan words and grammatical forms as he thought necessary, to make the account acceptable to educated men. The natives themselves would never write as they speak. It is only the missionaries who pursue that aim.

There is a remarkable number of foreign words, Urdū, contained in the account. These words testify to the influence exercised by the Dogras and Kashmiris over the Ladakhis since the times of the Dogra war. Such foreign words are the following: *Bā-bā* (Turk.), 'father'; *hu-kum* (*ḥukm*), 'order'; *sa-lām*, 'peace,' 'salutation'; *khar-ji* (*kharch*), 'taxes in kind,' often used in the sense of 'food'; *za-min-dār*, 'landholder'; *bab* (*bāb*), 'taxes'; *tu-bag* (*tupak*), 'musket,' 'rifle'; *nog-san* (*nuqṣān*), 'harm,' 'injury'; *si-pa* (*sipāhī*), 'soldier'; *'a-na* (*ānā*), 'a coin'; *pe-ne* (Indian *paṇa*), 'one paisa'; *kyi-la* (*qil'a*), 'castle,' 'fort'; *ar-ji* (*'arẓī*), 'petition'; *bad-nam* (*badnām*), 'abuse'; *ko-khri* (*koṭhī*), 'warehouse,' 'granary'; *kha-bar* (*khabar*), 'information,' 'news'; *'a-phim* (*afīm*), 'opium'; *ba-ṭi* (*bāṭ*), 'a weight' (four pounds); *tob* (Turkish *tōp*), 'cannon'; *be-kar* (*begār*), 'forced labour'; *ja-du* (*jādū*), 'magic'; *no-ka-ri* (*naukarī*), 'service.'

Among the local names the spelling Ka-shir for Kashmir is of particular interest, as reminding us of the old name Kaśvīra of that country. It occurs only once: in all other cases we find Kha-cul. Jam-mu is regularly spelt Ḫjam-ḫbu. The Tibetans seem to connect this name with Ḫjam-bu-gliṅ, Jambū-dvīpa.

As regards the use of the pronouns *ṅa-taṅ* and *ṅa-ża*, 'we,' they are very carefully distinguished in Tshe-brtan's account, *ṅa-taṅ* being used inclusively, and *ṅa-ża* exclusively, of the addressed person.

XX. Bastī-Rām's Account of the Dogra War, and Cunningham's 'Other Information'

Bastī-Rām was a Dogra officer and one of the early Wazīrs of Ladakh. His Wazīrate lasted from 1847 to 1861 A.D. Cunningham met him in Ladakh, probably in 1847, and asked him to write an account of the Dogra war, to which he agreed. As Bastī-Rām held a high office in the conquered kingdom of Ladakh, his account has a right to appear among the 'Minor Chronicles' of Ladakh. His account of the Dogra war is of particular importance, for the simple reason that it is the earliest ever written. On the other hand, it is in much need of re-editing; for the names contained in it have never been identified with those contained in the later Tibetan accounts of the same war. The original (probably Urdū) text of Bastī-Rām's tale has been lost. What we possess now is Cunningham's English rendering of the same. Cunningham says (p. 332) with regard to it: 'The following account of the Dogra invasion was kindly dictated, at my request, by Mehta Basti Ram, a Hindu Rajput of Káshtwár, now governor of Lé, who was one of the principal officers of the expedition. As an authentic record of an interesting event, of which no other account exists to my knowledge (in 1847 A.D.), I should have preferred giving the narrative almost literally, but I found that in this shape it would entail the insertion of too many footnotes, which would have completely distracted the attention of the reader. I have therefore re-written the account entirely, and have given the Tibetan names, which my knowledge of the localities enabled me to do without much difficulty. The narrative was of course dictated in the first person, for which I have throughout substituted the name of "Dogra" and "the Dogra troops".' Bastī-Rām's account breaks off immediately before the Balti war. The history of the conquest of Baltistan and the two later Tibetan Dogra wars was compiled by Cunningham from 'Other Information'. The correct Tibetan forms of the names have been added by the present author.

ENGLISH TEXT (Cunningham, p. 333)

1. Conquest of Ladák by the Dogras

1. The chief officers engaged in this expedition under the Vazir Zorávar Sing were, 1st, Mia Rai Sing; 2nd, Mehta Basti Rám; 3rd, Mirza Rasul Beg; 4th, Rána Zálim Sing; 5th, Singhé Mankotiah; 6th, Mian Tuta (Tibetan, Miyanota); 7th, Sirdar Uttam Sing; and 8th, Vazir Khojah Bhunjah.

2. The Dogra troops marched from Káshtwár (T. Kastrawar), and entered the Ladák (La-dvags) territory by the pass at the head of the Suru valley, where, on the 16th of August, 1834, they were opposed by the Boti (Tibetan) leader Mangal, at the head of 5,000 men. The Dogras advanced to the attack up a hill, which was obstinately defended for a whole day, and at last succeeded in dislodging the Ladákis with a loss of only six or seven killed, and five or six wounded; whilst the enemy lost thirty killed, and as many wounded. They encamped on the north side of the hill for the night, and on the next morning marched to Suru, where they halted for eight days. During that time the Vazir prohibited his troops from cutting the corn, which was then ripe, and his politic conduct was rewarded by the immediate submission of the zamindars, who came over to him in a body, and placed themselves under his protection. The Vazir then built a small fort, which he occupied for a month. He next advanced to Shakhar (Śag-mkhar), where there was a fort belonging to Thai Sultan (Khri-Sultan), and having reinstated the zamindars of Janguri (Saṅ-ku-ri ?) and Shakhar (Śag-mkhar) in their villages, he made a summary settlement of the district by imposing a tax of four rupees upon each house.

3. Leaving thirty-five men in the fort and ten men over the bridge, the Dogras advanced by Langkarchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse) and Manji (Mainji of the map) to the bridge of Paskyum (T. Pas-kyum), where they were again opposed by the Ladákis. The struggle was desultory, and protracted, the Dogras losing only seven killed, while the Botis (Tibetans) had fifty or sixty killed, and a greater number wounded. By a skilful manœuvre the Ladákis effected their retreat across the bridge, which they then broke down. On the following day, however, the Dogras managed to cross the river on inflated skins without opposition; on which the chief of the place abandoned Paskyum, and fled to the fort of Sōd (Sod), where, with the zamindars of the district, he determined to hold out.

4. The Dogras advanced towards the place and raised a battery against it; but after ten days' firing nothing had been effected, although they had lost forty men in killed and wounded. The Vazir, who had remained behind at Paskyum, then ordered Mehta Basti Rám, with a party of 500 men, to make a vigorous assault upon the place. Accordingly, early the next morning, whilst it was still dark, the attack was begun by a discharge from the battery, under cover of which the Dogras advanced rapidly to the assault. By daybreak they had gained possession of the place and had captured the Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*, 'king' or 'chief'). Altogether the number of prisoners taken at Paskyum and at Sōd amounted to 6,000 men. A whole month was then wasted in fruitless negotiations with the zamindars of the district, who would not agree to the terms of settlement proposed by the Vazir.

5. In the meantime Akabat Mahmúd Khan (the King of Ladakh), the Gyalpo of Ladák (La-dvags-rgyal-po), with the Banka Kahlan (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon) and four chiefs, named Gapaju (T. Ga-ga-jo ?), Dorje Namgyal (Rdo-rje-rnam-rgyal), Chang or Chovang Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Kahlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḥ-blon), and Rahim Khan, of Chachot (Chu-śod), accompanied by a force of 22,000 men,

arrived at Mulbil (Mul-ḫbye). From thence they dispatched envoys to the camp, who at first talked boldly, and tried to frighten the Dogras, but they afterwards declared their readiness to agree to honourable terms, and proposed that some respectable and confidential agents should be sent back with them to treat with their chiefs regarding the terms of accommodation. To this the Vazir consented, and after having feasted the envoys and placed turbans on their heads, he deputed Mehta Basti Rám, with some other Dogra officers and a guard of 500 matchlock-men, to accompany them. When the men were ready to start, the Vazir was requested not to send so large a party, as their number would be more likely to alarm than to pacify the minds of their countrymen. Accordingly only five men, with two respectable zamindars, named Gola and Nanda, were sent with the envoys. On their arrival in the Ladáki camp, these men were treacherously seized by the chiefs, and dispatched under a guard of 500 men to the bridge of Darkech (perhaps Durkit of the maps between Śar-sgo-la and Pas-kyum). One of the men, however, a Suwar, named Ratan Sing, managed to escape, and returned to the Dogra camp. In the meantime Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon), by a circuitous route, attacked the Dogras in their rear, and made many prisoners, who were thrown bound into the river in sight of their comrades. On this the Vazir, seeing the danger of his situation, ordered a retreat, which with some difficulty was effected to Lang-karchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse), in the Suru valley, to the fort of the Thai Sultan (Khri-Sultan). There the Dogras remained unmolested for four months, procuring a precarious subsistence by plunder alone.

6. At the end of that time Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon) with his 22,000 men advanced towards Langkarchu (Laṅ-mkhar-rtse); but the Vazir, having received intelligence of their movements, dispatched a party of 100 men to oppose them, when they were within one kos (one mile and a half) of the place. Now the straggling manner in which the Dogras were obliged to wade through the snow, and the unsoldierlike way in which their tents were scattered over the open country completely deceived the Ladákis as to the real number of their enemies. They were, besides, quite exhausted with their long and fatiguing march through the snow; and therefore, instead of attacking the Dogras at once, they halted for a consultation, which ended in the whole body sitting down to prepare their evening meal of tea and wheaten flour. On seeing this the Dogras attacked them with their swords, and after five or six were killed on each side, and several were wounded, Banka Kahlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon) and the other Ladáki leaders became alarmed and fled with numbers of their men. The remainder of the Dogras, who had hitherto held aloof, now rushed to the attack, and completed the rout of the Botis (Tibetans); 400 Ladákis, in attempting to escape along the bank of the river, were overwhelmed by the fall of a snow-bed, and 1,200, who had been concealed behind a hill, were made prisoners, along with Moru Tádzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḫ-blon), and his son Gyurmed (Ḥgyur-med). The Dogras lost three of their leaders, namely, Uttam Vazir, Hazru Vazir of Una, and Surtu Rana, with twenty men, and between fifty and sixty wounded.

7. After this victory the Dogras were again enabled to advance to Paskyum by making use of their prisoners for the carriage of their baggage. From thence they marched by Shergol (Śar-sgo-la) to Mulbil (Mul-ḫbye), where they halted for fifteen days, and then proceeded by Kharbu (Mkhar-bu) to Lama-Yuru (Gyun-druṅ), where they were met by an envoy with a letter from Sultán Akabat Mahmud Khán (the King of Ladakh), sueing for peace. Eight months, he said, had now elapsed in the vain struggle for independence, and that, if the Vazir would promise faithfully that he should not be seized, he would himself come to treat about the terms of peace. To this the Vazir at once assented, adding that the king need not be under any alarm, as the Dogras wanted nothing more than the payment of a regular tribute to their master, Maharaja Guláb Sing. On this the Gyalpo (*rgyal-po*, king) advanced to Bazgo (Bab-sgo), and intimated his wish to have an interview, provided the Vazir would not bring a large body of men with him. Accordingly the Vazir, Zoráwar Sing, with Mehta Basti Rám and 100 men, waited upon the Gyalpo, whom they found encamped upon the plain of Bazgo, with a party of 2,000 men. The Gyalpo received the Vazir kindly, and begged that he would move his camp to Bazgo, which was soon afterwards done.

8. When ten days had elapsed, the king wished the Vazir to accompany him to Lé (Sle), but with only a small party, lest the inhabitants should become alarmed. Zoráwar Sing assented, and started for Lé with only 100 men. Soon after their arrival the Vazir waited upon the Gyalpo, and was preparing to make his usual offering of a Sadka of rs. 100 to the Gyalpo's son, named Chang-raphtan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), then only seventeen years of age, when the prince, mistaking the action either for an insult or for treachery, drew his sword. His followers did the same, and the Dogras also drew their swords. On this the Gyalpo fell upon his knees and clasped the Vazir's hands, while the prince and his followers retired into the fort of Lé. Some horsemen carried the intelligence to the Dogra camp at Bazgo (Bab-sgo), when 5,000 men started at once for Lé, which they reached the next morning.

9. For four months the Vazir remained at Lé, when it was finally arranged that the Gyalpo (king) should pay rs. 50,000 for the expenses of the war, and a yearly tribute of rs. 20,000. Of the first, a sum of rs. 37,000 was paid at once, partly in cash and partly in jewels. The balance the Gyalpo promised to pay in two instalments, the first of rs. 6,000 at the end of one month, and the second of rs. 7,000 at the end of four months. The Vazir then fell back to Lama Yurru (Gyuṅ-druṅ).

10. At this place he heard that the chief of Sod had recaptured his fort and had put to death the Dogra garrison of fifty-five men. By forced marches the Dogras reached Sod; but the enemy having dispersed, they halted there for thirteen days. Thence they marched thirty-seven and a half miles (twenty-five *kos*) in two days to Suru, where they surprised the Botis (Tibetans) by a night attack. Thirteen of the enemy were taken prisoners and hanged upon trees; while by a promise of fifty rupees for every head the Dogras obtained 200 prisoners, who were at once beheaded. After this the zamindars of the district tendered their submission.

11. Here it was discovered that this rebellion had been excited by Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, who had even sent a servant of his own, named Jala Sing Gopi, with 50 men, to the assistance of the chiefs of Suru and Sod.

NOTES

For a comparison of Bastī-Rām's account with the other authorities see *Rgyal-rabs* (*ante*, pp. 129 sqq.). As regards numbers, I cannot place any confidence in Bastī-Rām's statements. Thus it is not possible that the first Tibetan force which opposed the Dogras should have numbered 5,000 men. The Dogras surprised the Ladakhis in time of peace, and at the utmost 500 men could be gathered together in the remote Suru valley. Nor can I believe that Baṅ-kha-pa's army numbered 22,000 men, and that even after 6,000 Ladakhis had been taken prisoners at Sod and Pas-kyum. I cannot help suspecting Bastī-Rām of exaggerating the number of the enemy in order to make the victory of the Dogras appear in a better light. With regard to Moru Tadzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin) let me state that according to the Tibetan accounts he was 'minister of Leh'. Cunningham continually mixed him up with Baṅ-kha-pa, the 'minister of Lce-ḥbre', probably because these two persons are often mentioned together. Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan was apparently 'minister of Bab-sgo'. In a later note Cunningham spells his name Chang Raphtan (instead of Chang Nabdan). Rājā Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was visited by Vigne in 1839. He calls him Marut Tanzin, and says that he was only a puppet in the hands of the Dogras. 'Āqibat Mahmūd Khān was the title given by the Mughal emperor to the King of Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo, c. 1650 A.D., when he was supposed to become a Musalman.

2. SECOND EXPEDITION TO LEH (Cunningham, p. 340)

1. Leaving Suru the Vazir marched in ten days to Jasku or Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar), the chief of which, together with all the zamindars, waited upon him, and agreed to pay a tax of three rupees and a half for every house.

2. Intelligence now arrived that an insurrection had broken out in Lé (Sle); that the Gyalpo (king), at the instigation of Mihan Sing, the Sikh governor of Kashmir, had closed the roads to the merchants; that he had confiscated the property of Moru Tâdzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin) and the Banka Káhlon (Baṅ-kha-bkaḥ-blon), and that he had imprisoned and tortured his munshi Daya Ram, on suspicion of his being a partisan of the Dogras. This news distressed the Vazir very much; and his anxiety was further increased by the difficulty of finding a guide, who would conduct him by the direct route to Lé, upon which he determined to march at once. Everyone professed entire ignorance of any direct route, until at length a man named Midphi Sata offered his services, to whom the Vazir gave a present of a pair of golden bracelets, worth rs. 500, besides two rupees a day, and the promise of the district of Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) in perpetuity.

3. With twelve seers of wheaten flour, and a bag of barley upon each horse, the party, under the direction of their guide, marching from 45 to 60 miles a day, in ten days reached the village of Tsumur (Lce-ḥbre), where they most unexpectedly heard that the wife and son of the Gyalpo were then residing. A party of 500 horsemen was sent forward to capture them; but they received early intelligence of the movement, and fled to Lé. On this the Gyalpo waited upon the Vazir at Chachot (Chu-śod), and expressed his sorrow and contrition for what had occurred. The Vazir demanded why he had so shamefully broken his promises, and added, 'Although we conquered your

country with 10,000 men, we did not place a single man of our own over any of your districts, but left you in sole charge of the whole kingdom.' The Gyalpo was much ashamed, and promised to be faithful for the future.

4. On the next day the Dogra troops, accompanied by the Gyalpo, proceeded to Lé, where the Vazir demanded the balance of the tribute, amounting to rs. 13,000, besides the additional expenses of the army. To pay the first the Vazir was obliged to take the property of the royal ladies; and in lieu of the second, the Káhlon, Achu Ganpu ('A-jo-mgon-po), offered tea and wool, gold and silver utensils, and other goods, which were accepted. The government of the country was then bestowed upon Moru-pa Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), the Káhlon of Banka, while the Gyalpo was allowed a jághir. A fort was erected outside the city of Lé, and Dalel Sing was appointed thanadar of the place with a body of 300 men. After this Zoráwar Sing proceeded to Jammu, taking with him the son of Moru Tādzi, and some other respectable men, as hostages for the good behaviour of the new king.

5. Before leaving Lé, the Vazir had ordered Lakpat Rai and Basti Ram to proceed against Baldé (Paldér, Dpal-dar). Accordingly they marched with 1,500 foot-soldiers by the Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) road to Baldé, where they were opposed by Budhi Sing Mithania, the chief of the district. Victory declared for the Dogras, with a loss of eighteen or twenty men killed on their side, and about twenty or twenty-five on that of the enemy. After a halt of seventeen days, they proceeded towards Jammu, leaving a garrison of twenty men in the fort of Chatrgarh.

NOTES

Cunningham has the following note on Miyān-Siṅgh's plans when exciting the Ladakhis to rebel against the Dogras: 'Mihan Sing's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladák by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Káshtwár, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jamu to India. The amount of duties upon merchandise in transit through Kashmir had already fallen off from this cause.' According to Cunningham Bastī-Rām's statement about marching 45–60 miles a day is exaggerated. 'A-jo-mgon-po was not a *bkaḥ-blon* or minister, but the warden of the He-mis monastery; see the Tibetan accounts. As has been stated, Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin was not minister of Baṅ-kha (Lce-ḥbre, etc.), but of Leh. Balde, or Palder, is the Tibetan Dpal-dar, Indian Padar, a district on the Chenab river, east of Kashṭavār, which was in those days under Chamba. It was wrested from the Chamba State by the Dogras. See the account in the Chamba State *Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 105.

3. Conquest of Baltistan (Cunningham, p. 343)

1. Maharaja Guláb Sing and the Mia (Uttam Sing, eldest son of Guláb Sing) were both very much displeased with the Vazir Zoráwar Sing for having made over the country to Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḥdzin), who had no claim to it. The Vazir replied that Moru Tādzi belonged to the royal family of Ladák; but that since his elevation was displeasing to the Maharaja, he would depose him on his return to Lé (Sle). One year after this, news was brought that the new king had revolted, that he had killed the thanadar of Baldé (Dpal-dar, Padar) and his twenty men, that twenty others had been made prisoners; and that the Dogra troops throughout the country were beleaguered in their different forts.

2. On hearing this, the Vazir started at once with a body of 3,000 infantry, and in two months reached the district of Baldé (Padar); but owing to the swollen state of the river he was unable to accomplish anything for two months more. At the end of that time, when the river had become passable, the Dogras attacked the fort of Chatrgarh, which they carried by storm with a loss of fifteen men on their own side and of twenty on that of the enemy. Some twenty or thirty prisoners that were taken, had their ears and noses cut off, which frightened the people so much that they immediately tendered their submission.

3. Leaving a garrison in the fort of Chatrgarh, the Vazir again marched into Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) over the hills. On this march twenty-five men died from the severe cold, and ten men lost their feet and hands in the snow. On reaching Zanskar the Dogras found that the people had fled; but during a halt of two months everything was arranged satisfactorily. After that Rai Sing and Mia Tota (T. Mi-ya-no-ta), with about 1,000 men, advanced towards Lé (Sle), on which Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin), the new Gyalpo (king), who was formerly Káhlon of Banka (no, minister of Sle, F.), fled with precipitation from the capital. Being closely pursued, he was nearly overtaken, when, by the resistance of some of the more trustworthy of his followers, he was enabled to continue his flight. He was at length captured at the village of Tábo (T. Ta-bo) in Spiti, after a loss of six or seven men on each side; on which he was taken back to Lé and imprisoned.

The old Gyalpo, Akabat Mahmud, and the new one, Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin), were both brought before the Vazir, who deposed the latter, and reinstated the former, upon the old terms of rs. 23,000 yearly tribute, but with the stipulation that the expenses of the troops which occupied the country should also be defrayed by him.

The Vazir then again proceeded to Jammu, where he remained for a whole year, after which he returned to Ladák (La-dvags) with 5,000 men, for the purpose of seizing Moru Tādzi (Dṅos-grub-bstan-ḫdzin), the Káhlon of Banka (Baṅ-kha-bkaḫ-blon), and Chang Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḫ-blon), both of whom had been plotting against the Gyalpo Mahmud Khan.

End of Basti-Rām's narrative

Beginning of Cunningham's 'Other Information' (p. 345)

They had been in correspondence with Ahmed Shah of Balti (Sḅal-ti), whom they wished to engage in a general rise against the Dogra authority. The Balti chief imprudently lent too willing an ear to their overtures, and by a subsequent act furnished the long-looked-for pretext for invasion, which Zoráwar Sing was but too glad to seize upon. Early in 1835 Ahmed Shah being dissatisfied with his eldest son Muhammed Shah, had formally disinherited him by the inauguration of his younger brother Muhammed Ali. On that occasion Muhammed Shah fled to the camp of Zoráwar Sing in Suru, and claimed his protection. This the wily Vazir readily granted;

but not wishing to embroil himself with the chief of Balti while the campaign in Ladák was still before him, he contented himself with giving promises of future assistance to the Balti prince. After a time the prince returned to his father; but the reconciliation could not have been very cordial, for early in 1840 the prince fled to Lé, and sought refuge with the Gyalpo, whom he believed to be a puppet of the Dogra chief. The real authority was not, however, in the Gyalpo's hands, but in those of his two ministers, the Káhlon of Banka and the Káhlon of Bazgo; and as they were anxious to have Ahmed Shah on their side during their intended outbreak against the Dogra authority, they suggested to him the propriety of sending a party to seize his son to which no resistance would be offered. Ahmed Shah at once agreed to this proposal, and a small party of fifty men was allowed to carry off the Balti prince to Lé.

When Zoráwar Sing arrived in Zanskar (Zaṅs-dkar) and heard of the flight of Muhammed Shah, he sent strict orders that the prince should be treated with kindness and respect, intending, perhaps, to use him as a tool for the furtherance of his master's view upon Balti. But shortly after, when he heard of the prince's seizure by a party of Balti troops, he determined at once upon the conquest and annexation of that principality. A letter was, however, first addressed to Ahmed Shah, informing him that his son, who had sought the Maharaja's protection, had been forcibly carried off by a party who had invaded the Ladák territory, and that, unless the prince was sent back again, the Dogra troops would enter Balti and force his release. To this letter Ahmed Shah deigned no reply.

Accordingly, in the end of the year 1840, the Vazir assembled an army of 15,000 men, and a large body of Ladákis for the conquest of Balti. Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladákis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras. Zoráwar Sing was obliged, therefore, to march down the right bank of the river, which he followed steadily for twenty-five days, receiving the submission of the chiefs of Khatakchau (Mkhar-maṅ or Parkuda) and Khapolor (Kha-pu-lu), but without finding any place where the army could be crossed. He then detached Mia Nidhán Sing, with a body of 5,000 men, by way of Shigar (Śi-dkar), to look for a road, and to collect provisions, which had now become very scarce in the Dogra camp. But the Baltis kept a good look-out, and had early intelligence of this movement. Mia Nidhán Sing was allowed to advance unmolested for about fifteen miles, when his party was surrounded and attacked by thousands, and he himself was cut off with nearly the whole of his detachment.

About 400 men only managed to find their way back to the Dogra camp with the tale of their defeat. At the same time the winter set in with a heavy fall of snow, and as provisions were extremely scarce, the Dogra troops became so much dispirited, that their discipline was seriously affected. With an impassable river in their front, and certain starvation both from cold and hunger, whether they retreated or remained in their present position, the majority of the troops paid no attention to orders, and of the few who still obeyed, none did so with alacrity.

The Dogra army had halted in this position for fifteen days, exposed to frost by night and to hunger by day. Many had sought shelter from the snow amongst the overhanging rocks, and there they sat listless and vacant, and utterly indifferent whether they should be cut off by the sword of the enemy, or be frozen to death by the cold. The Vazir saw the desperate state in which he was placed, and roused himself to discover a passage across the river, but after several hours' vain search he returned in the evening wearied and despondent. Upon this Mehta Basti Rám and some others, to the number of about forty, determined to make a last effort to extricate themselves from their difficulties. At midnight, with only one companion, Basti Rám examined the bank of the river for several miles, while his party kept up a smart fire upon the Botis (Tibetan Baltis) on the opposite bank, to distract their attention. At length they discovered a place where the river was frozen over sufficiently thick to bear a man's weight, save about 20 feet in the middle, where the ice was thin. Then, sending for assistance, they cut down trees and placed them over the weaker parts of the ice, and by 5 o'clock in the morning the Indus was passable.

Intelligence was sent at once to the Vazir, by whose order this small party of forty men was the first to cross the Indus; but they had been so benumbed by their night's work, and by their previous exposure, that ten of them sank down exhausted, and afterwards lost their hands and feet, and eighteen others were unable to get through the snow. Basti Rám was then left with only twelve men, which the Botis perceiving, they moved to attack him; but, in the meantime, Zoráwar Sing, having roused a number of his men. pointed out to them that the river was passable, and that it had already been crossed by some of their more adventurous fellow-soldiers. Upon this a number of Dogras advanced gladly to the attack. The Indus was rapidly passed, and the small party of daring men, after a smart fight, were safe. The Botis retreated, leaving 200 men dead on the field, and 100 men wounded. The Dogras lost only 25 killed, and 15 or 16 wounded in the action; but they had about 500 men more or less disabled by the loss of hand or foot during the exposure to the snow of the last few days.

The retreating Botis were pursued, and slaughtered for nine miles, as far as Marwan, where the victorious Dogras pitched their camp. The Vazir halted there for a few days to reorganize his troops, and to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the last action. To Mehta Basti Rám he gave rs. 500 and a pair of gold bangles, and to thirty-two others of his party he gave similar presents of less value, to some rs. 100, to some rs. 50, and to others rs. 40, according to their deserts.

Zoráwar Sing then advanced to Skardo (Skar-rdo), and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water. He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zoráwar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammed Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of rs. 7,000. But the astute commander, who had profited by his experience in Ladák, would not leave this new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king, and Ahmed Shah and his favourite son were carried off

as prisoners to Ladák. In this campaign the invaders lost about 200 men, and the Botis (Baltis) about 300 men.

Previous to the conquest of Skardo, the old king of Ladák, Tonduk Namgyal (Don-grub-rnam-rgyal), or 'Akabat Mahmud', had been accused of having intrigued with Ahmed Shah for a simultaneous and organized rising of the Tibetans of Ladák (La-dvags) and Balti (Sbal-ti). He may, perhaps, have been wrongfully accused; but as his feelings must naturally have inclined him to think favourably of any enemy of the Dogras, it would have been impolitic to have left him behind, as the absence of the conquering troops might have tempted him to rebel. Zoráwar Sing therefore carried Tonduk Namgyal (Don-grub-rnam-rgyal) with him on his expedition against Skardo. The old man had outlived the downfall of his country; he had survived close personal restraint and bitter indignity; but when his last hope was cut off with the fall of Skardo, he gave way to despondency, and being attacked with small-pox, he died within a month after the annexation of Balti (Sbal-ti) to the Jammu vice-royalty of the Sikh dominions. On the death of Akabat Mahmud, his grandson Jigmet Singgé Namgyal (Hjigs-med-señ-ge-rnam-rgyal), a mere boy, was acknowledged as Gyalpo (Rgyal-po) by Zoráwar Sing. The father of this lad, Prince Chovang (or Chang) Raphtan Namgyal (Tshe-dbañ-rab-brtan-rnam-rgyal), fled first to Hundar (Sñon-dar) in Nubra, and afterwards to Spiti, on the deposal of Akabat Mahmud. In October, 1837, he reached Sarāhan, in Bisahar (Bashahr); and in April, 1838, he came to Kotgurh, where he resided until his death in 1839. He was then about 21 years of age. His wife, a daughter of the Káhlon Chovang Tandup (Bkaḥ-blon-Tshe-dbañ-don-grub), remained in Ladák with her young son, Jigmet Singgé (Hjigs-med-Señ-ge).

NOTES

According to the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* the deposition of Rājā Dños-grub-bstan-ḥdzin took place immediately before the expedition against Baltistan, and not before Zorāwar's visit to Jammu. The conquest of Chatrgarh was not directed against Ladakh, but against the Chamba State (see the Chamba *Gazetteer*, p. 105). Ahmad-Shāh's quarrel with his eldest son is found fully described in Vigne's *Travels* (see *ante*, p. 186). The chief of Khatakchan (Parkuda) not only submitted to the Dogras, but energetically took their side, because he wished to assist Ahmad-Shāh's eldest son in his plotting against his father. As regards the construction of a bridge across the Indus, it was mainly due to the Dards, who assisted Bastī-Rām. The Dards have traditions about this incident. The Dards every year, in winter, make bridges across the Indus in places where they wish to have them. Their method is the following:—they fasten several beams to the bank of the river in such a way that they project into the river. After a short time they are frozen in an incrustation of ice of such solidity that it is possible to walk on them as far as the outer end. Then several more beams are fastened to the first, and are made to project into the river. When they are frozen in, another set of beams is brought, and so on, until the other bank is reached. It is only Cunningham who knows of Prince Rab-brtan's (or Mchog-sprul's) death in Kotgur. The Ladakhis believe that he died in Spyi-ti. A song of his flight is found in my *History of Western Tibet*, p. 152.

4. War against Central Tibet (Cunningham, p. 351)

Elated with his success, Zoráwar Sing now threatened the neighbouring States, and even talked of invading Yarkand. But the Lhasan provinces of Rudok (Ru-thogs) and Ngari (Mñaḥ-ris) were more accessible; and the unscrupulous conqueror

revived the old claims of Ladák (La-dvags) to those districts which had been alienated since the time of Singgé Namgyal (Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal). It was enough for him that the monasteries were known to possess vessels and instruments of gold and silver for the service of religion; and that the country produced the finest shawl-wool. The plunder of the first would enrich himself and his soldiers, and the acquisition of the latter would be highly pleasing to his master, as it would throw the whole trade in shawl-wool into the hands of the Jammu Raja.

In the month of May, 1841, with an army of 5,000 men, he advanced up the valley of the Indus, and plundered the monasteries of Hanlé (Wam-le) and Tashigong (Bkra-śis-sgaṅ). His troops penetrated to Rudok (Ru-thogs) and Gáro (Sgar, modern Gar-thogs), both of which submitted without striking a blow. The conqueror then passed the sources of the Indus, and established his headquarters on the Sutluj at Tirthápuri, in Gugé, the principal place in the holy district of Lake Manasarovara. The whole country was now occupied by parties of Dogra and Ladáki soldiers. Basti Ram was stationed at Takla-Khar (Dvag-la-mkhar or Stag la-mkhar), on the Karnali or Gogra river, close to the frontiers of Kumaon and Nepal. Rahim Khán, a half-blood Musalmán of Chachot (Chu-śod), was placed over Spiti, while Ghulám Khán, his son-in-law, was employed in the congenial occupation of plundering the monasteries and temples. This work he executed with iconoclastic fury. The gold and the silver were reserved for his master; but the plastic images of clay, the books, and the pictures, excited the religious bigotry of the Musulmán, and were indiscriminately destroyed.

The news of this invasion was speedily carried to Lhasa; and about the 7th of November, Zoráwar Sing first heard of the approach of a Chinese (Tibetan) force. He at once detached a small party of 300 men, under Nono-Sungnam (No-no-Bsod-nams), to oppose the advance of the Chinese (Lhasa-Tibetans); but the detachment was surrounded at Kar-dam-Khar (Kar-dam-mkhar), to the south of the Ráwan-Hrad (Rakas-Tal) lake, and almost cut to pieces. The Nono himself escaped, and was again detached on the 19th of November, with a larger force of 600 men, under the joint command of himself and Ghulam Khán; but this party was also surrounded and cut to pieces, and the leaders were both made prisoners.

Zoráwar Sing, still treating the Chinese (Tibetans) with contempt, although they numbered about 10,000 men, or three times the strength of his own force, at once advanced from his position at Tirthapuri with the whole of his available troops. The two armies first met on the 10th of December, and began a desultory fire at each other, which continued for three days. On the 12th Zoráwar Sing was struck in the shoulder by a ball, and as he fell from his horse the Chinese (Tibetans) made a rush, and he was surrounded and slain. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and fled on all sides, and his reserve of 600 men gave themselves up as prisoners. All the principal officers were captured, and out of the whole army, amounting with its camp-followers to 6,000 men, not more than 1,000 escaped alive, and of these some 700 were prisoners of war.

The Indian soldiers of Zorawar Sing fought under very great disadvantages. The battlefield was upwards of 15,000 feet above the sea, and the time mid-winter, when even the day temperature never rises above the freezing point, and the intense cold of night can only be borne by people well covered with sheepskins and surrounded by fires. For several nights the Indian troops had been exposed to all the bitterness of the climate. Many had lost the use of their fingers and toes; and all were more or less frost bitten. The only fuel procurable was the Tibetan furze, which yields much more smoke than fire; and the more reckless soldiers had actually burned the stocks of their muskets to obtain a little temporary warmth. On the last fatal day not one-half of the men could handle their arms; and when a few fled, the rush became general. But death was waiting for them all; and the Chinese (Tibetans) gave up the pursuit to secure their prisoners and plunder the dead, well knowing that the unrelenting frost would spare no one. A few men made their way to their brethren at Takla-Khar (Dvag-la-mkhar, Stag-la-mkhar); but that garrison was so dismayed by the defeat, that they fled precipitately, even over the snowy mountain-range, near the head of the Kali river, into the British province of Kumaon. But even in this unopposed flight one-half of the men were killed by frost, and many of the remainder lost their fingers and toes. These few, and the prisoners, form the whole number that escaped with their lives.

Amongst the prisoners were Ahmed Shah, the ex-ruler of Skardo, and his favourite son Ali Muhammed, whom Zoráwar Sing was afraid to leave behind. The old man was treated with kindness, and even with distinction; but his heart was broken, and he pined and died in a few months. Other prisoners of distinction were, 1st, Rai Sing, Zoráwar's second in command, for whose liberation Maharaja Guláb Sing wished the Governor-General to intercede with the Lhasan authorities.

2nd. Chang-Nabdan (Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan), the Káhlon of Bazgo (Bab-sgo-bkaḫ-blon), whose wife, a buxom rosy-cheeked dame, came crying to me in 1847 at Nyimo (Sñe-mo), to do something for her husband's release. She had written every year to him by different persons, but had never got any reply, as no communications were allowed with the prisoners.

3rd. Nono-Sungnam (No-no-Bsod-nams), the brother of the last. These two brothers were considered particular friends of the invaders, and were therefore treated more harshly than the multitude.

4th. Ghulám Khán, the active plunderer and desecrator of the Buddhist temples, was tortured with hot irons. His flesh was picked off in small pieces with pincers; and, mangled and bleeding, he was left to learn how slow is the approach of death to a wretch lingering in agony.

NOTES

The statement that Ru-thogs and Mṅaḫ-ris had been alienated from Ladakh since the time of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal is not quite correct. These districts were separated from Ladakh after the battle of Bab-sgo under Bde-legs-rnam-rgyal. With regard to Bastī-Rām's flight from Dvag-la-mkhar (Stag-la-mkhar), Cunningham says in a note that the Dogras were very kindly received by Mr. Lushington, British Resident of Almora. According

to a statement by Dr. Hutchison, Ahmad-Shāh's grave is shown to travellers in Kasṭawār, so that he cannot have died in Lhasa. The minister (*bkaḥ-blon*) of Bab-sgo seems actually to have taken the side of the Dogras; for we find the same statement in Tshe-brtan's account. Tshe-brtan also mentions in this connexion a certain Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan, whom he calls an astrologer. Thus it is quite possible that the minister of Bab-sgo and Tshe-dbaṅ-rab-brtan are two different persons. Cunningham believed them to be one and the same, probably because they were occasionally mentioned together.

5. Second War against Central Tibet (Cunningham, p. 354)

During the winter the Chinese (Tibetans) re-occupied the whole of the Garo (Sgar, Gar-thog) territory, and early in the spring of 1842 a body of about 3,000 men advanced into Ladák (La-dvags), and laid siege to the new fort at Lé (Sle). (The people of Balti (Sbal-ti) also rose; but they were soon reduced by a small force under Vazir Lakpat, who destroyed the fort and palace, to prevent the chance of another insurrection.) They were joined by the boy-king Jigmet Namgyal (Ḫjigs-med-rnam-rgyal), and the unwarlike Tibetans once more began to dream of independence. But after a short reign of six weeks, Dewán Hari Chand and Vazir Ratanu advanced with fresh troops, and the Tibetans were rudely awakened from their dream of liberty by the musketry of their old enemies, and the 3,000 would-be heroes who had talked of invading Kashmir, fled ignominiously towards Rudog (Ru-thogs). There they recovered themselves, and taking up a strong position, they determined to await the approach of winter, and then join in a general rising against the Indian invaders. But the simple Tibetan was no match for the wily Indian, and the Lhasan commander was soon made a prisoner by stratagem. The strong position of the Tibetans was shortly afterwards turned; and the Lhasan Vazir was glad to be permitted to retire on the single condition that the old boundary between Ladák and China (Tibet) should be re-established.

NOTES

In my opinion Cunningham emphasizes the cowardice of the Ladakhis more than is just. A great deal of their inability to resist the Dogras was due to their insufficient armament. The Dogras were equipped in the most excellent way with cannons and modern rifles. The Tibetans had ancient matchlocks, and, as we know from Moorcroft, there was only one matchlock to ten soldiers. Even swords were rare, and most of the Ladakhis had to rely on clubs, bows and arrows, and stone-flinging.

XXI. The Song of the Dard Colonization of Baltistan and Ladakh

The following song is taken from a collection of Dard songs called *Bono-nā-yi-glu-'a-thruṅs*, "the eighteen songs of the Bono-nā festival." When I discovered this collection at Mdaḥ (Dah), in Lower Ladakh, the natives told me that they had written it down about thirty to forty years ago at the request of the famous traveller R. Shawe. No reference to it can, however, be found among Shawe's publications. I published this interesting hymnal in my *Ladakhi Songs*, where it is found under Nos. xxxi–xliv, together with a Tibetan translation; and again in the *Indian Antiquary*, where it was furnished with an English translation. The "Colonization song" is No. vi of the hymnal, and is found under No. xxxvi of *Ladakhi Songs*. As I am not satisfied with my previous translation of this song, I propose to publish a new attempt at solving its difficulties. I have come to the conclusion that several words which I believed to be terms of a descriptive character are in reality local names. These places cannot yet all be traced on modern maps ; but a tour along the Indus from Skar-rdo to Ha-nu would probably help us to identify them all. On the whole the song follows the natural course of the Indus in enumerating them. If several places are mentioned together in a single line, we may expect to find them close together in the district. As I believe, the hymnal contained in earlier times several more Ladakhi names than it does now. Probably some of the names were dropped when the Dard language became extinct in those places. But a study of Ladakhi ethnography and archæology leads to the conviction that several villages which nowadays appear to be entirely Tibetan were in former centuries Dard.

DARD TEXT

1. བོ་དོ་དའི། རོང་ཚར་རྒྱུད་ཏུ་ཙ་ཏྲོ་བླུད་ལོ་སྨམ་མོ།
2. རོང་དེ་ཚར་རྒྱུད་ས་ལི་ལོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་ཉེང་།
3. དང་སེ་དོ་དོ་ལོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཉེང་།
4. བ་སྐོ་གུ་སྲུར་ས་ལི།
5. ཏོ་ཨར་དོ་ཀུ་མར་ས་ལི་རྟོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་ཉེང་།
6. དང་སེ་དོ་དོ་ལོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཉེང་།
7. སྐར་དོ་གོར་དེ་ལྷུང་ས་ལི་རྟོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་ཉེང་།
8. དང་སེ་དོ་དོ་ལོ་དང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་ཉེང་།

9. ཤི་གར་རི་ཆམ་བྲོ་ཞིང་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

10. ཏང་སེ་ཏོ་ཏོ་ལོ་ཏང་སེ་མེན་ན་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

11. ཀྱེ་རིས་ཆུམ་རྒག་ས་ལི་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

12. རྒ་ཤིང་མན་ཁྲོ་ཁར་ཤག་གལ་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

13. པར་ཀུད་ད་ནམ་ཀྱིལ་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

14. ག་ཤེས་སྤུག་ཏུག་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

15. ག་ནོག་སེ་ཙང་གེ་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

16. ཀྱི་སྤུར་ལྷ་འགོག་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

17. ཧ་ཏུ་ཧན་ཟང་མིར་ས་ལི་ཧོ་ཡ་ཤ་ཡན་དྲིང་ །

18. ས་ཉིད་ས་ཚུག་ཟེར །

19. ཟུ་བོ་རོ་ཏ་ཟུ་ནེ་སོ་རེ་ཙན །

20. ཧོ་ཧ་ཡོན་མ་སྲོན་མན་རེ་རེ་མན་རེ་མན་རེ་ཤིན །

21. ཏི་ཏྲོན་མལ་མལ །

22. མན་རེ་རེ་མན་རེ་ཤིན །

23. ཧོ་ཀེ་ཡོན་མལ་མལ །

24. མན་རེ་རེ་མན་རེ་ཤིན །

25. ཧོ་ཀེ་ཡོན་མལ་མལ ༎

TRANSLATION

1. Then they went, and arrived at Roṅ-chur-rgyud, oh Mum-mo !
2. At Roṅ-ṅe-chur-rgyud. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
3. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ ?
4. [They arrived] at Ba-śo [and] Gu-sur,
5. At Go-'ar-to [and] Ku-mar. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
6. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ ?
7. [They arrived] at Skar-do [and] the willow of God. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
8. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ ?
9. [They arrived] at Cham-bro-žiṅ of Śi-gar, oh Yan-driṅ !
10. Is that not a place of pleasure, oh Yan-driṅ ?
11. [They arrived] at Kye-ris [and] Chum-rgag, oh Yan-driṅ !
12. At Rga-siṅ, Man-thro-khar, [and] Śag-gal. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
13. At Par-kud-da [and] Nam-kyil. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !

14. At Ga-bis [and] Śug-tug. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
15. At the willow (*Caṅ*) of Ga-nog-sa. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
16. At Kyi-śur [and] Lha-ḥbrog. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
17. At Ha-nu [and] Han-draṅ-mir. Love, oh Yan-driṅ !
18. Sa-nid is the beginning [of colonization].
19. [There are] two out-fields, oh happy youth !
20. Oh Ha-yon-Ma-sron, Man-de-de-man-de-śin
21. [This is] a dancing-place.
22. Oh Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
23. This [is] a dancing-place.
24. Oh Man-de-de-man-de-śin !
25. This [is] a dancing-place.

NOTES

This song contains the names of several Dard deities which have not yet been identified. *Mum-mo*, literally 'uncle', seems to be a deified forefather. *Yan-driṅ* is probably a corruption of the Tibetan word *Yar-ḥdren*, 'upwards-drawer,' one of the epithets of Kesar. *Ha-yon-Ma-sron* is translated by the Tibetan *Lha-mo, Devi*. *Man-de-de-man-de-śin* is given in Tibetan by *Yul-lha-gži-bdag*, 'local deity.'

Local names.—The following may be identified: Roṅ-chur-rgyud, the Indus valley between Lig-tse and N̄o-ma. Ba-śo, west of Skar-rdo. Gu-sur, Tibetan Khu-tshur, near Ba-śo. Ku-mar, near Skar-rdo. Skar-rdo, the capital of Baltistan. Śi-gar (Śi-dkar), north of Skar-rdo. Kye-ris, close to the confluence of Sha-yok and Indus. Man-thro-khar, probably identical with Anthrokar or Kharmang of the maps. Par-ku-da, below Kharmang. Ga-bis (map Gavis), name of the valley of Palpaldo. Ga-nog-sa (map Ganoks), name of a side-valley above Ga-bis. Ha-nu and Han-draṅ-mir, in a side-valley above the latter. Sa-nid (map Sunnit), a few miles above Mdah (Dah of the map).

As regards the seventh line, another translation, viz. 'willow of Skar-do-god', might be proposed; for among the Dards this town may be known by the name of Skar-do-god. Taṅ-se is probably an abbreviation of [*rtses*]-*btaṅ-sa-ig*, a dancing-place.

XXII. Notes on those Vassal States of which no Chronicles remain

1. The Khri-Sultāns of Dkar-rtse

The principality of Dkar-rtse comprised the valleys of the Su-ru and Dras rivers; but the chiefs of Dras may at times have been independent. The capital of the State was Dkar-rtse in the Su-ru valley, and the towns of Su-ru, Dkar-kyil, Pas-kyum, at times even Mul-ḫbye, Wan-la, Śim-śa-mkhar-bu, and Hem-babs (Dras) were subject to these chiefs. The population was for the greater part of Dard origin, and the Dard language is still spoken in its western villages. The religion of the state was originally Buddhism; but in the fifteenth or sixteenth century this was exchanged for Muhammadanism. Raṅ-ḫdum in the upper Su-ru valley is the only place in the district which has remained Buddhist.

Inscriptions:—At Dras there are several sculptured stones with inscriptions in Śāradā, one even in Tibetan. They go back to the times of the early chiefs of Hem-babs. 'A-la or Dram-'A-la seems to have been the name of one of those chiefs. The huge sculpture of Maitreya at Mul-ḫbye is probably the work of one of the earlier chiefs of Dkar-rtse. It is now stated to be the work of the eight minor sons of N̄e-ba, viz. the eight spiritual sons of Buddha (see S. Ch. Das' dictionary). Similar sculptures near Dkar-rtse are said to be furnished with Tibetan inscriptions, which have, however, not yet been examined. A sculpture at Śiṅ-go is pictured in Drew's book (*The Northern Barrier of India*, p. 270). A Tibetan inscription mentioning one of those chiefs by his dynastic name *Khri-rgyal* (later on changed to *Khri-Sultān*), is found in my collection of historical inscriptions under No. 42.—King Ḫod-den, mentioned in a votive inscription at Mul-ḫbye, may be one of the Muhammadan chiefs (Khri-Sultāns) of Dkar-rtse.—An inscription from Wan-la is of the greatest importance with regard to the history of these chieftains. It seems to be the only Tibetan record of the Kashmir expeditions against Ladakh in the fifteenth century. It is found on one of the walls of the Bcu-gcig-żal monastery at Wan-la. There the chiefs are called *Khri-dpon* (a synonym of *Khri-rgyal*). Their dominions are said to have included Wa-kha, Kan-ji, Su-ru, En-sa-ali, and Maṅ-rgyu. The Chief Ḫbhag-dar-skyabs became a vassal of the Kashmir king, and apparently in his service conquered (or assisted in the conquest of) Sbal-ti, Ḫbrog-pa (district of Mdaḫ), Gu-ge, Pu-hraṅs, and Mṅaḫ-ris-skor-gsum. At that time began the introduction of Muhammadanism into Pu-rig; for names like Khātūn and 'Alī appear in the record by the side of perfectly Tibetan names.

Other records:—In the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* (*c.* 1532 A.D., pp. 462sqq.) we read of several expeditions of the Turkomans under Mīrzā Haidar against Su-ru. Apparently they were not crowned with much success. From the Ladakhi chronicles we learn that two chiefs of Pu-rig were fighting with one another (*c.* 1550–80 A.D.). One of them was the chief of Cig-tan, and the other in all probability the chief of Dkar-rtse.—Then in the

course of the great Mughal wars during the first half of the seventeenth century the chief of Dkar-rtse, the Khri-Sultān, was taken prisoner and transported to Leh. We do not know whether he again obtained his liberty and his kingdom. During Bde-skyoṅ-rnam-rgyal's reign Bkra-śis-rnam-rgyal ruled over Pu-rig ; and at the beginning of the Dogra wars (1834 A.D.) we find a Ladakhi garrison stationed at Dkar-rtse.

2. The Ancient Kings of Kha-la-rtse

Kha-la-rtse must have been in ancient times an important place ; for here we find the most ancient rock-inscriptions of Ladakh. The inscription in Maurya Brāhmī characters discovered here contains nothing but the name Bharadaya (Bharadvāja) in the genitive case, as stated by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. This may be the name of some Hindu or Buddhist priest. But one of the ancient Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Kha-la-rtse begins with the title Mahārāja, as pointed out by Professor Rapson. Unfortunately it has not yet been possible to make out the proper name of this king. Then there is a Gupta inscription at Kha-la-rtse, which has not yet been read with absolute certainty. Dr. Vogel proposed the reading *Śrī-Sacamatisya*, the genitive case of Śrī-Sacamati (Satyamati), whilst Mr. F. W. Thomas suggested the reading *Śrīma*[*c*]-*carpatisya*. [*Carpati* is known as the name of a Buddhist divinity, and a legendary Yogin of this name is mentioned in the Chambā *Vaṃśāvalī*. See Dr. Vogel's *Antiquities of Chamba State*, pp. 92–3.—F. W. T.] With the former reading the inscription would seem to contain the name of one of the old [perhaps Dard] chiefs of Kha-la-rtse, who will have reigned there *c*. 400 A.D. In the close vicinity of this inscription are found the so-called *mgo-chen-mchod-rten*, the ancient *stūpas* of those chiefs, as I suppose. I have not yet been permitted to open any of these monuments. The names of the last kings of Kha-la-rtse are found on some of the boulders near Kha-la-rtse bridge. There the names Khri-ḥod, Rgya-śin (Brgya-sbyin, Indra), and Śi-ri-ma (Śrīmān) occur. The orthography of these inscriptions points to the time between 1000 and 1300 A.D. These kings probably reigned during the twelfth century, when Lha-chen Nag-lug of Leh built the Brag-nag castle of Kha-la-rtse. Probably the firm establishment of the Ladakhi rule put an end to their power.

3. The Chiefs of Nub-ra

Nub-ra is a province of Ladakh, situated in the Śha-yok valley, to the east of Chor-ḥbad. In classical Tibetan it is called Ldum-ra, 'fruit garden.' Nub-ra means 'western realm'. To judge by the two inscriptions which have come to my knowledge, it looks as if in former days Nub-ra had been ruled by its own princes. Inscription No. 40 of my collection, which comes from Hun-dar in Nub-ra, speaks of a king Tshe-dbaṅ-brtan-pa, who resided at a castle called Bde-chen-rtse-mo. His wife was called [R]nam-rgyal-skyid, and his son Mgon-po-[r]nam-rgyal. Inscription No. 41 speaks of a king Bhag-ram-mir, who resided at the same castle. This king is in all probability identical with Bahram-Chu (Jo), mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī* as having guided the Turkoman army to Śi-dkar (1532 A.D.). There he is called a chief of Baltistan. This is not so extraordinary. As his country bordered on Baltistan, he

may in the eyes of the Turkomans have appeared a Balti chief. Lha-chen Grags-pa-ḥbum (*supra*, p. 102) is the first Ladakhi king whose name appears on votive tablets in Nub-ra. Bhag-ram-mir was probably the last native chief of Nub-ra. He may, moreover, be identical with Sultan Bairam of Kha-pu-lu (*supra*, p. 189), since, as I was informed, Nub-ra was at one time a province of that state.

4. The Chiefs of 'A-lci

'A-lci is an old town, situated on the left bank of the Indus, opposite Sa-spo-la. Judging by its many ruins, it may have been a place of importance in ancient times. Most of the inscriptions near the bridge of 'A-lci contain only the names of colonels who guarded the bridge, probably after the Tibetan conquest in the tenth century. But there is a single inscription which may contain the name of a king. It is No. 5 of my collection, and the king's name would be Rgyal-khri. Local tradition connects the castle above the bridge with a legendary king Bandel or Bahand, or it attributes the erection of the castle to king Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh. The latter statement is apparently a mistake for Ñi-ma-mgon, the conqueror of Ladakh, who may have placed his colonels together with a garrison in this castle.

5. The Chiefs of the Rub-śo Nomads

The chiefs of the Rub-śo nomads are a recognized family of high rank. It intermarries with the kings of Ladakh. Thus one of the most famous queens of Ladakh, Bskal-bzaṅ-sgrol-ma, wife of Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, was a Ru-śod (Rub-śo) princess; and the present ex-king Bsod-nams-rnam-rgyal is also married to a Rub-śo princess. As the nomads are also in the habit of building *maṇi* walls furnished with votive tablets, it may be possible to gather from such tablets a few names of chiefs. Thus on a tablet discovered in 1909 in the vicinity of the Dkor-mdzod monastery, on the shore of the Tsho-mo-ri-ri lake, are found the names Ga-ga Tshe-riṅ-bkra-śis, father and son. As far as I remember, they are the names of the father and grandfather of the present chief.

6. The No-nos of Spyi-ti

The No-nos are the ruling family of chiefs in Spyi-ti. At present it is impossible to decide whether they are descended from a native Spyi-ti family or from certain governors of Spyi-ti, posted there by the kings of Ladakh. Thus a Rdzoṅ-blon-chen-po, mentioned on a votive tablet, is called Stan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. He may be identical with king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal's step-brother, Bstan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal. (See *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs*, part vii.) From the list of Spyi-ti MSS. and inscriptions collected by Mr. Howell's two pandits in 1908 the following names of Spyi-ti No-nos or Ga-gas may be gathered. (But these documents have never as yet been properly examined.) 1. Ga-ga Mkhyen-rab (Kanrab), supposed to have been the first No-no of Spyi-ti. 2. Stan-ḥdzin-rnam-rgyal, mentioned again in an inscription from Raṅ-rig. 3. The name of a certain Ga-ga Rdo-rje is found on a dedication sheet from Kyi-bar. He was a contemporary of Tshe-dpal-don-grub-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh (beginning of the

nineteenth century). The No-nos of Sku-gliṅ are adherents of the Sa-skya school of Lamaism. The name of the capital of Spyi-ti is spelt in various ways, Gra-mkhar, Graṅ-mkhar, Braṅ-mkhar, etc. A legend telling of the extermination of the Ladakhi garrison at this castle is found in my collection, *Die historischen und mythologischen Erinnerungen der Lahouler*, No. 17. The most famous monasteries of Spyi-ti are: Ta-bo (formerly under Gu-ge), Ki (or Skyid) (Dge-lug-pa order), Spyin (Rñiṅ-ma-pa order), and Btaṅ-rgyud (Sa-skya-pa order). According to information obtained by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth, there are several (four ?) families of No-nos in Spyi-ti, who have never had much political importance: districts and residences will be mentioned in a description of localities to be published later.

7. The Chiefs of Na-ko

A line of chiefs is known to have once resided at Na-ko in Kunawar. As Na-ko is situated exactly above the ancient town of Li, it is possible that the chiefs of Na-ko reigned over the town and district of Li. I found the name of a single chief only in a votive tablet inscription at the ancient Na-ko monastery. It was Jo Dpal-ḥbyor. His wife's name is given as Jo-jo Bsam-brtan.

It is interesting that in 1870 a brother of the rājā of Bashahr, called Fatḥ-Siṅgh, made himself the head of this old principality. He fortified the bridge between Na-ko and Li; but in the same year he was caught and seized by the Bashahr troops.

8. The Chiefs of Ru-thog

From the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* we learn that in the days of king Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal there existed a chief at Ru-thog called 'Aṅ-pa (Dbaṅ-pa, ruler). No inscription of any 'Aṅ-pa has yet been found. Ru-thog was a Station of the Tsaparang (Rtsa-braṅ) mission; when that mission was destroyed by Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal, the 'Aṅ-pa shared the fate of the Rtsa-braṅ ruler.

9. The Chiefs of Pu-hraṅs

From the *La-dvags-rgyal-rabs* we learn that the name of the last member of the native line of Pu-hraṅs chiefs (tenth century) was Dge-bśes-btsan. He gave his daughter Ḥbro-za-ḥkhor-skyoṅ in marriage to king Ñi-ma-mgon; and thus Pu-hraṅs became part of the West Tibetan empire. When the Gu-ge kings ruled over Gu-ge and Pu-hraṅs, the latter province was given apparently to a branch line of the royal family of Gu-ge, the Lde dynasty. When the line of the kings of Gu-ge came to an end, one of the Pu-hraṅs princes, a certain Bsod-nams-lde, was asked to become king of Gu-ge. (Compare the chronicles of Gu-ge.)

NOTE

As regards the so-called kings of He-na-sku, only one name has as yet been discovered. On p. 87 of the MS. copy of the treaty of Wam-le (*c.* 1751 A.D.) we read that the He-na-sku king of that time was named Dkon-grub, perhaps Dkon-mchog-lhun-grub. On p. 31 it is stated that the line of the He-na-sku kings branched off under Ñi-ma-rnam-rgyal. The so-called kings of Rgya were only ministers (*blon-po*). See my notes on them in my book *Archæology in Indian Tibet*, p. 63, and *supra*, pp. 225 sqq.

TEXT

مورخان مدت فرمانروائی راجها تا عهد رینچن چهار هزار و چهارصد و چهل و پنج سال شمسی می نویسند وتا این زمان طریقه مذهب هنود رواج داشت اما هیچکسی بر معرفت خود نبود تعدد واختلاف مشارب وتنوع و تکثر مذاهب بسیار داشت ازانجمله بمقتضای "الناس علي دين ملوكهم" در مذهب بوده تکثر ورواج بیشتر بود وغیر ازین مذاهب مختلفه مثل کهتري و ویش و کایت و پارسی وناگ پرست وغیره بسیار فرقه در اینجا سکونت میداشتند چون در واقعهٔ زوالچو خلقت بسیاري بقتل رسید وجمعي قلیل بمذاهب مختلفه موجود ماند وقتیکه رینچن که بمذهب بود بود برسریر جهانبانی استقلال یافت بکثرت و اختلاف مذاهب وملل مذهب اصلی را خلل دیده خواست که در ملک ما تحت خود یک ملت مروج سازد چونکه دخول در مذهب شبود متعذر بود و در مذاهب دیگر متردد ماند پس با دل خود سنجید که فردا کسیکه اول صبح مي بينم بمذهب اوگرایم بامدادان جناب سید شرف الدین را ملقب به بلبل شاه دید که برساحل آنروی دریای بهت نماز میخواند نماز ونیاز او پسندیده با اهل وعیال خود بمذهب اوگر وید وطوق اسلام بگردن انداخته خود را بملک صدرالدین ملقب ساخت فردا بمتابعت او راون چندر پسر رامچندر وسران سلطنت وعامه خلائق جوق جوق بردست سید بزرگوار بشرف اسلام مشرف کشت طلوع افتاب دین احمدی تاریخ اینواقعه گفته اند این ابیات بر یک سنگ کندد در مسجد بلبل لنکر اند

یار من بهر محفل آرائی شد تماشاي هر تماشائی
روي او کرد دعوی اسلام موی او کرد کفر آرائی
کفر و اسلام را بجنگ آرد خود مرآن جنگ را تما شائی

رینچن شاه بعد یافتن دولت اسلام براي مرشد بزرگوار خود خانقاهی رفیع برکنارهٔ دریاي بهت ترصیص نمود و این اول خانقاهي است که در کشمیر تعمیر یافت و در انجا براي آمد ورفت محتاجان ومسافران لنگر جاري ساخت وبجهت مصارف مطبخ واخراجات خانقاه چند قریه ازبرگنه ناگام معین فرمود که تا زمان شاهان جغت بدستور معمول بود وفقرا ومساکین ازانجا راتبه خوار بودند ازینجهت آن محله را بلبل لنگر میگفتند رینچن شاه برای سکونت خود دولتخانهٔ شاهي آباد ساخت که فی الحال مرقد حضرت سید محمد امین ویسی در آنجا است متصل آن مسجد جامع در غایت وسعت معمور ساخت وخود در انجا نماز جمعه ادا میکرد بعد چندگاه مسجد جامع سوخته شده بجاي آن مسجدي قصیر از احجار تراشیده ترصیص نمود که تا حال موجود است و آنرا رینڅن مسجد میگویند رینچن شاه همگی دو سال وهفت ماه بحکومت بسر برده انتقال متصل خانقاه بلبل شاه آسود

Another tale of Renchan Shāh (Riñcana Bhoṭṭa) is given on pp. 180–1 of my *History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907).

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

p. 7, l. 18: For *bram-zehi* read *bram-zeẖi*.

p. 14, l. 24: For 'Bu-rig' read 'Pu-rig'.

p. 14, l. 26: For 'Bar-bog' read 'Bar-ẖbog'.

p. 55, l. 16: For ེ་ཇ read དེ་ཇ.

p. 64, l. 17: For *Mṅon-pahi* read *Mṅon-paẖi*.

p. 64, ll. 26 ff. It is remarkable that the four points of the compass are here given in the order east, north, west, south, not east, south, west, north, which is usual in the Northern Hemisphere. The inverted order, together with the inverted *svastika*, is found in Bon-po literature, for instance, in the *Gzer-mig*. And the fact that this order is followed here speaks in favour of my view that the chapter shows influences of the Bon religion.

p. 67, l. 29: For 'Brāhma' read 'Brahmā'.

p. 71, l. 18: My opinion that the tribe of Ḫa-ža (Se-ḫa-ža) are the Lahulīs is questioned by M. Paul Pelliot in his article 'Notes à propos d'un catalogue du Kanjur', *Journal Asiatique*, 1914, p. 144, note. He says that the Ḫa-ža are the Tou-yu-houen of the Ku-ku-nor. Without doubting that he is right in his identification, I believe that it is quite possible that the tribe has separated, and that nowadays members of the same original tribe are found in different localities. Thus it was a tribe of Me-ñag who founded the village of Sa-bu, a few miles east of Leh, whilst the other Me-ñag are found in Eastern Tibet. It is the Lahulīs themselves who assert that the word Ḫa-ža, found so often in Padmasambhava literature together with the local names 'U-rgyan (Udyāna) and Mandi (Za-hor), actually refers to their own country. In the present designation of Lahul, viz. Gar-ža, two original names, viz. Ḫa-ža and Dkar-žva (white-caps), were combined. According to Bon literature, the Ḫa-ža are a tribe of fairies, and it is therefore interesting to note that in many inscriptions, as well as in folklore, Lahul is called a 'land of fairies' (*Mkhaẖ-ẖgroẖi-yul*).

p. 71, ll. 19-20: For 'Krakucehanda' read 'Krakucchanda'.

p. 76, ll. 30-1: For *Rgyal-spun-po-* read *Rgyal-rabs-spun-po-*.

p. 81, ll. 9 and 32 The *Spaṅ(Dpaṅ)-skoṅ-phyag-rgya* (Bkaẖ-ẖgyur, Mdo 24) is a short ritual tract, containing invocation, confessions, etc. It is printed in a volume entitled *Dkar-chag-dgos-ẖdod-kun-ẖbyun*, preserved in the Prussian State Library.

p. 82, l. 26: For 'Ḫ-nu' read ''A-nu'.

p. 87, l. 9: A possibly better translation, according with the views of the Tibetans, is that given in *J. and P.A.S.B.*, vol. vi, 1910, p. 412. 'He (i.e. Padmasambhava) put a *vajra* into the water, whereupon Zil-chen took the shape of a boy.'

p. 87, ll. 38-43: The Report of Nain Singh's journey is contained in *Report on the Trans-Himalayan Explorations in connexion with the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India during* 1865–7, *drawn up by Captain T. G. Montgomerie* (u.d. Dehra Dun (?)).

p. 90, ll. 28-9: For 'Brāhma-' read 'Brahmā-'.

p. 92, last line: The *Ḫbum* is the *Prajñā-pāramitā* in 100,000 verse-lengths (*Śata-sāhasrikā*).

p. 96,	l. 1 :	The three lakes. In the Ladakhi Marriage Hymnal (see *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, by A. H. Francke, p. 50) the names of three lakes are given as follows :—(1) Ma-phaṅ, (2) La-ṅag, (3) Sgo-mo.
p. 97,	l. 22	For 'Pu-raṅs' read 'Pu-hraṅs'.
p. 97,	l. 31	The *Rgyud-ẖbum* does not seem to be known : probably it was a collection of Tantras.
p. 101,	l. 20	For 'Ddud-' read 'Bdud-'.
p. 104,	l. 5 :	For *btsun-gral* read *btsun-khral*.
p. 105,	l. 13	For 'H̱khar-ẖo-ldoṅ' read 'H̱khar-'o-ldoṅ'.
p. 110,	l. 10	'Chief and owner.' The Tibetan phrase *Jo-bo-bdag-po* is the official title of the Gu-ge kings, the *Chodāpo* of the Jesuit records ; cf. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, p. 79.
p. 112,	ll. 11-12 :	With regard to d'Andrada's mission to Tsaparang, the work of L. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603–1721 (The Hague, 1924), should be consulted. It contains a chapter on the Tsaparang Mission. We learn from this book that the first European known to have visited Leh was the Jesuit Azevedo. He was received in audience by the King of Ladakh, probably Seṅ-ge-rnam-rgyal. The Rev. H. Hosten's statements will have to be corrected accordingly.
p. 112,	l. 39 :	For 'H̱grug-pa' read 'H̱brug-pa'.
p. 114,	l. 31 :	For 'Sod' read 'Śod'.
pp. 119–20 :		The *Bkaẖ-ẖgyur-ro-chog*, which is contained in an existing xylograph, is a recital of the titles of works in the *Bkaẖ-ẖgyur*. *Gser-ẖod* and *Gyaṅ-skyabs* are also known as the titles of two short xylographed tracts. See the volume entitled *Dkar-chag-dgos-ẖdod-kun-ẖbyuṅ* in the Prussian State Library.
p. 123,	l. 3 from end :	Gzims-cuṅ (or Gzim-chuṅ) is a house for retirement, e.g. that of the Dalai Lama at Lhasa.
	l. 35 :	For 'tafetta' read 'taffeta'.
p. 126,	l. 6 :	For *khaṭmband* read *k̲h̲ātamband*.
p. 127,	ll. 7–9 :	
p. 128,	l. 33 :	For 'Sar-re' read 'Śar-re'.
p. 139,	ll. 6 sqq. :	Rāmbīr is a mistake of the Tibetans for Raṇbīr (Raṇavīra).
p. 141,	l. 27 :	
p. 140,	l. 29 :	For 'Dharma-'āt-mas' read 'Dharmātmas'.
p. 141,	l. 21 :	For *al-wan* read *'al-wan*.
	ll. 32 sqq. :	For *pao* read *paẖo*.
	ll. 33 sqq. :	For *bati* read *ba-ti*.
	l. 34 :	For *rdo-saṅ* read *rdo-sraṅ*.
p. 142,	l. 4 :	Concerning Gzim-chuṅ see the note above on p. 123.
p. 142,	l. 7 and later :	Wāzīr, for Wazīr, is a mistake of the Tibetan text.
p. 142,	l. 47 :	For 'Reb-slob' read 'Redslob'.
p. 143,	l. 3;	Tika. The *ṭikā*, Sanskrit *tilaka*, is a mark imprinted in the centre of the forehead as a sign of heir-apparency or, in the case of women, of marriage.
	l. 10 ·	For 'the lancers' read 'the bugles'.

p. 143, l. 3 from end : Hakīm, for Ḥākim, is perhaps a mistake of the Tibetan text.

p. 152, ll. 23 ff. : With regard to Csoma de Körös' Tibetan studies in Zaṅs-dkar Mr. Lee Shuttleworth, I.C.S., believes that he has found the exact site. According to his investigations it is the Rdzoṅ-khul monastery on the Dpon-tse River.

p. 156, l. 2 from end : } p. 157, l. 2 : } The Yab-sgod king is perhaps identical with Sultan Yagu, No. 39, on p. 189.

p. 157, l. 3 : The Ga-rogs (poor people) are probably a family of smiths. In the *Kesar-saga* the name of a famous smith is Ka-rog.

p. 159, l. 35 : For ' together with the valley ' read ' together with Gsum-mdo (a village) '.

p. 166, l. 49 : The name Tshul-khrims-ñi-ma, as found on one of the walls of the cave temples of Sa-spo-la, is of ancient date. The present head-lamas of Ri-rdzoṅ who are called by the same name are probably the spiritual descendants of the ancient lama of Sa-spo-la. In the same manner the spiritual descendants of Stag-tshaṅ-ras-pa who reside at He-mi[s] are at the present day also called Stag-tshaṅ-ras-pa.

p. 169, l. 6 : For ' the Smṛtis (śāstras) came ' read ' the (teachers) Smṛti and others came '. Smṛti seems to be a personal name : see Walleser, *Prajñā-pāramitā*, p. 28, and *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzaṅ*, ed. S. C. Das, ii, p. xiii.

l. 10 : It is interesting that the name of Sroṅ-ṅe's son Żi-ba-ḥod is found in an inscription on a brass image discovered by Mr. H. Lee Shuttleworth at Graṅ-rtse, Spyi-ti. The image represents Śākya-muni.

ll. 15–16 : Grags-pa-lde is probably an abridged form of the name Khri-bkra-śis-grags-pa-lde. The latter form occurs, in a votive inscription found by me on a *maṇi*-wall at Tabo in Spyi-ti, as the name of a king who reigned at Tsaparang.

p. 174, ll. 42–3 Chod is generally spelled Phyod.

p. 181, l. 22 : Another period when the Dras district may have felt the yoke of the Chinese was the time of the great Mughal emperors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

p. 185, l. 16 : Add to the account of Zufur Khan that he built the *darwāza* (barrage) at Torgo (Thur-dgon) ; see Vigne, *Travels*, ii, p. 244.

p. 186, last line but one : Add that one of the inscriptions contains the name of one of the ancient Balti kings. It is Lag-chen, ' great hand,' Mahābāhu.

p. 190, l. 33 : For ' (Haidar-khān) ' read ' (Hatim-khan) '.

p. 191, l. 9 : The full name of the duchy of Keris is Skye-ris, meaning ' home '.

p. 194, l. 24 : Add that Biddulph gives (*Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, pp. 144–5) a line of predecessors of Ali Sher, among whom are found the titles Fakir, Tham, Singe, and Bokha : See K. E. von Ujfalvy, *Aus dem westlichen Himalaya*, pp. 254–7. He himself made the acquaintance of the chiefs Ali Shah and his son Shah Abbas.

p. 195, l. 35 : p. 206, last line For ' Massey ' read ' Massy '. His work is entitled *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Delhi, Jalandhar and Derajat Divisions of the Panjab* (Allahabad, 1890).

p. 214, l. 29 : Add that Lcags-mkhar (which is also mentioned above, p. 206) is found in the Bon-po book *Gzer-mig* as the name of a castle of the Nāgas.

p. 218, l. 29 : For ' (Ṛiddhi) ' read ' (Biddhi or Pṛithvī) '.

p. 220, end : Add that, according to the colophon of a MS. of the Tibetan *Vetāla*-stories recently found in the possession of the Bar-ḥbog family, the family is descended from a Brāhman ancestor.

INDEX

(Containing chiefly proper names (of persons and places), titles, technical terms, etc.)

N.B.—The variations and inconsistencies in the spelling are due for the most part to (a) *variations in the original documents, Tibetan and other* ; (b) *differences in the systems of transliteration or spelling adopted by European writers from whom quotations are taken* ; (c) *particular deviations on the part of the same writers.*

A—*contd.*

B

B—*contd.*

B—*contd.*

B—*contd.*

B—*contd.*

B—*contd.*

C

C—*contd.*

C—*contd.*

D

D—*contd.*

D—*contd.*

G—*contd.*

G—*contd.*

H

H—*contd.*

H—*contd.*

I

J

J—contd.

K

K—contd.

K—*contd.*

K—*contd.*

L

L—*contd.*

L—*contd.*

L—*contd.*

M—*contd.*

M—*contd.*

N

N—*contd.*

O

P

P—*contd.*

Q

R

R—*contd.*

R—*contd.*

R—*contd.*

S

S—*contd.*

S—*contd.*

S—*contd.*

S—*contd.*

S—*contd.*

S—*contd.*

S—*contd.*

T

T—*contd.*

T—*contd.*

U

U—*contd.*

V

W

Y